

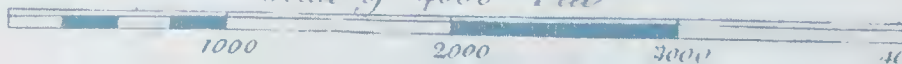


## REFERENCES

- |                                   |                                  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 Federal Hall                    | 19 Lutheran Church               |
| 2 St Paul's Church                | 20 French D <sup>o</sup>         |
| 3 Trinity D <sup>o</sup>          | 21 New Quaker Meeting            |
| 4 Old Presbyterian D <sup>o</sup> | 22 Seceder D <sup>o</sup>        |
| 5 Exchange                        | 23 Moravian D <sup>o</sup>       |
| 6 North Church                    | 24 Fort George in Latitude 40.42 |
| 7 New Presbyterian D <sup>o</sup> | 25 Fly Market                    |
| 8 St George's Chapel              | 26 Oswego D <sup>o</sup>         |
| 9 St Peter's Church               | 27 Bear D <sup>o</sup>           |
| 10 The College                    | 28 Peck's Slip D <sup>o</sup>    |
| 11 New Scots Meeting              | 29 New D <sup>o</sup>            |
| 12 Old Dutch Church               | 30 Bridewell                     |
| 13 New Dutch D <sup>o</sup>       | 31 City Alms House               |
| 14 Jews Synagogue                 | 32 Prison                        |
| 15 Old Quaker Meeting             | 33 Hospital                      |
| 16 Methodist D <sup>o</sup>       | 34 Theatre                       |
| 17 Baptist D <sup>o</sup>         | 35 Jews Burying Ground           |
| 18 Calvinist Church               | 36 Lower Barracks                |
|                                   | 37 Upper D <sup>o</sup>          |
| N <sup>o</sup> 1 South Ward       |                                  |
| 2 West D <sup>o</sup>             |                                  |
| 3 North D <sup>o</sup>            |                                  |
| 4 Dock D <sup>o</sup>             |                                  |
| 5 East D <sup>o</sup>             |                                  |
| 6 Montgomery D <sup>o</sup>       |                                  |
| 7 Out D <sup>o</sup>              |                                  |



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25

March 1, 1788–July 25, 1789

with

Supplement, 1774–87

Paul H. Smith, Editor

Ronald M. Gephart, Associate Editor

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The Supplement, 1774-87, begins on page 547 of this volume.



## Editorial Method and Apparatus

In its treatment of documents this edition of delegate letters strives to achieve a middle ground between facsimile reproduction and thorough modernization. The original spelling and grammar are allowed to stand except where editorial changes or insertions are required to make the text intelligible. Words omitted through oversight, however, have been supplied at appropriate places in italic type in brackets, and obvious slips of the pen and inadvertent repetitions are usually silently corrected. Capitalization and punctuation have been standardized according to certain conventions. Each sentence begins with a capital letter, as do all proper and geographic names as well as days of the week and months of the year. Doubtful cases have been resolved in favor of modern usage; otherwise the usage of the original texts has been followed. Generally, abbreviations, contractions, and monetary signs are preserved as they appear in manuscript except when they are ambiguous or misleading. On the other hand, the thorn and the tilde are consistently expanded. "Ye" always appears as "The," for instance, and "reçvd" as "received." Likewise, "pr." and tailed *p*'s are always expanded to "per," "pre," or "pro," as the case demands. Finally, superscript letters are always lowered to the line.

Gaps in the text are indicated by ellipses in brackets for missing words and by blank spaces in brackets for missing numbers. Conjectural readings are supplied in roman type in brackets, and editorial insertions in italic type in brackets. Material canceled in manuscript but restored to the printed text is included in italic type in angle brackets ("square parentheses"). Marginalia in letters are treated as postscripts if not obviously keyed to the body of the document, and postscripts which appear without explicit designation are supplied with a *P.S.* in brackets. Documents are arranged chronologically, with more than one document of the same date arranged alphabetically according to writer. Documents dated only by the month or by the year are placed at the end of the respective month or year. Place-and-date lines always appear on the same line with the salutation regardless of their position in the manuscript.

A descriptive note at the foot of each entry provides abbreviations indicating the nature and location of the document when it was copied for this project, except for privately owned manuscripts whose ownership is explained. The descriptive note also contains information on the document's authorship if explanation is necessary, and endorsements or addresses are quoted when they contain more than routine information. Other editorial practices employed in this work are explained in the sections on editorial apparatus which follow.

## TEXTUAL DEVICES

The following devices will be used in this work to clarify the text.

[...], [...]	One or two words missing and not conjecturable.
[...] <sup>1</sup> , [...] <sup>1</sup>	More than two words missing; subjoined footnote estimates amount of material missing.
[ ]	Number or part of a number missing or illegible.
[ ] <sup>1</sup>	Blank space in manuscript; explanation in subjoined footnote.
[roman]	Conjectural reading for missing or illegible matter; question mark inserted if reading is doubtful.
[ <i>italic</i> ]	Editorial insertion in the text.
< <i>italic</i> >	Matter crossed out in manuscript but restored.

## DESCRIPTIVE SYMBOLS

The following symbols are used in this work to describe the kinds of documents drawn upon. When more than one symbol is used in the descriptive note, the first to appear is that from which the main text is taken.

RC	recipient's copy
FC	file copy
LB	letterbook copy
MS	manuscript
Tr	transcript (used to designate not only contemporary and later handwritten copies of manuscripts, but also printed documents)

## LOCATION SYMBOLS

The following symbols, denoting institutions holding the manuscripts in the present volume, are taken from *Symbols of American Libraries*, 14th ed. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1993). Each volume of this edition will contain a revised list.

CCamarSJ	Saint John's Seminary, Camarillo, Calif.
CLjC	James S. Copley Library, La Jolla, Calif.
CSmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CWhC	Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.
CtHC	Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Conn.
CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford
CtY	Yale University, New Haven
DLC	Library of Congress
DLC(ESR)	Library of Congress, Early State Records Collection
DN	United States Navy Department Library, Washington, D.C.
DNA	National Archives and Records Administration

DNDAR	Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D.C.
DNCD	National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Washington, D.C.
DSI	Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
DSoc	Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, D.C.
De-Ar	Delaware Public Archives Commission, Dover
DeHi	Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington
ICHi	Chicago Historical Society
IMunS	Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Ill.
InHi	Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis
InU-Li	Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington
KyLoF	Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.
M-Ar	Massachusetts Archives, Boston
MB	Boston Public Library, Boston
MBNEH	New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston
MBU	Boston University, Boston
MBevHi	Beverly Historical Society, Beverly, Mass.
MH-H	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MNF	Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
MdAA	Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MeHi	Maine Historical Society, Portland
MiDbEI	Edison Institute, Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village Library, Dearborn, Mich.
MiU-C	William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.
N	New York State Library, Albany
NCmM	Museum Manor of St. George, Center Moriches, N.Y.
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York
NN	New York Public Library, New York
NNC	Columbia University, New York
NNPM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
NbO	Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Neb.
Nc-Ar	North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh
NcD	Duke University, Durham, N.C.
Nh-Ar	New Hampshire Division of Archives and Records Management, Concord
NhHi	New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J.
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
O	Ohio State Library, Columbus
OCIWHI	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio
OMC	Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.



PHarH	Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PP	Free Library of Philadelphia
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia
PU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PWacD	David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, Pa.
R-Ar	Rhode Island State Archives, Providence
RHi	Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence
RNHi	Newport Historical Society, Newport
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence
ScCoAH	South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia
ScHi	South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston
Vi	Virginia State Library, Richmond
ViHi	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond
ViU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville
ViW	College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.
Vt-Ar	Vermont State Archives, Montpelier
VtU	University of Vermont, Burlington
WHi	State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

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PCC

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## Acknowledgments

This edition began in 1970 as a project of the Library of Congress American Revolution Bicentennial Office, now incorporated into the Library's Manuscript Division as the Historical Publications Office. The Library has had a long tradition of publishing scholarship on the period of the American Revolution. Its monumental edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (34 vols., Washington, 1904-37) is a predecessor of the present work and will be a companion to it. The editors wish to thank the Ford Foundation for a substantial gift which has been indispensable to the progress of the edition. Our appreciation is also extended to the innumerable individuals who have contributed to enriching the holdings of the Library of Congress to make it the premier institution for conducting research on the American Revolution.

The photocopies of the twenty-three thousand documents that have been collected for this project have been assembled through the co-operation of several hundred institutions and private individuals devoted to preserving the documentary record upon which the history and traditions of the American people rest, and it is to their work that a documentary publication of this nature should ultimately be dedicated. Unfortunately, all the many contributors to this collecting effort cannot be adequately recognized, but for permission to print documents appearing in the present volume we are especially grateful to the following institutions: the American Antiquarian Society, American Philosophical Society, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères (Paris), Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Beverly Historical Society, Boston Public Library, Boston University, John Carter Brown Library, Chicago Historical Society, Society of the Cincinnati, William L. Clements Library, Colonial Dames of America, Columbia University, Congregational Library (London), Connecticut Historical Society, James S. Copley Library, Daughters of the American Revolution, David Library of the American Revolution, Historical Society of Delaware, Delaware Public Archives Commission, Duke University, Filson Club, Forbes Library, Greenfield Village and Henry Ford Museum, Harriton House, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Harvard University, Haverford College, Henry E. Huntington Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indiana University, Maine Historical Society, Museum Manor of St. George, Marietta College, Maryland Hall of Records, Maryland Historical Society, Massachusetts Archives Division, Massachusetts Historical Society, James Monroe Memorial Founda-

tion, Pierpont Morgan Library, Morristown National Historical Park, National Archives and Records Administration, New England Historic Genealogical Society, New Hampshire Division of Archives and Records Management, New Hampshire Historical Society, New-York Historical Society, New York Public Library, New York State Library, Newport Historical Society, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Ohio State Library, Omaha Public Library, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, Free Library of Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, Princeton University, Rhode Island State Archives, Rhode Island Historical Society, Saint John's Seminary, Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary, Scottish Record Office (Edinburgh), Smithsonian Institution, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, South Carolina Historical Society, United States Navy Department Library, Vermont State Archives, University of Vermont, Virginia Historical Society, Virginia State Library, University of Virginia, Western Reserve Historical Society, Whittier College, College of William and Mary, Dr. Williams's Library (London), State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and Yale University. And in addition we express our thanks and appreciation to Mr. J. Winthrop Aldrich, Mrs. Ann and Mr. Lewis Buckner, Mr. Richard Gilder, Mr. Lewis E. Lehrman, Dr. Gary Milan, Mr. Joseph Rubenfine, Mrs. Elsie O. and Mr. Philip D. Sang, Capt. J.G.M. Stone, and Mr. Michael Zinman.

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Paul H. Smith  
Historical Publications Office  
Manuscript Division



## Chronology of Congress

MARCH 1788–MARCH 1789

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| March 4     | Debates Kentucky statehood in committee of the whole.   |
| March 6     | Receives reports on the claims of French settlers in the Illinois country and on the survey of western lands.   |
| March 10–11 | Fails to achieve quorum.  |
| March 12    | Receives report on military bounty lands.   |
| March 18    | Receives communications on Indian affairs.  |
| March 19    | Debates western land ordinance amendment.   |
| March 24–27 | Debates western land ordinance amendment.   |
| March 31    | Fails to achieve quorum.  |
| April 1–30  | Fails to achieve quorum.  |
| May 1       | Fails to achieve quorum.  |
| May 2       | Receives treasury report on proposed new Dutch loan, three war office reports on Indian affairs, and ten communications from the secretary for foreign affairs. |
| May 5       | Receives reports on western land issues.  |
| May 8       | Elects Jonathan Burrall and Benjamin Walker commissioners for settling the accounts of the five wartime departments.  |
| May 20      | Authorizes fortnightly posts between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.   |
| May 21      | Receives treasury report on coinage.  |
| May 22      | Orders institution of suits to collect outstanding Continental accounts.  |
| May 26      | Receives treasury report on western land contracts and war department report on settler violations of Cherokee treaty rights.                                   |

- May 27–29 Debates western land ordinance amendment.
- May 30 Debates Kentucky statehood in committee of the whole.
- June 2 Receives committee of the whole report recommending Kentucky statehood.
- June 3 Elects grand committee on Kentucky statehood.
- June 5 Fails to achieve quorum.
- June 6 Authorizes survey of New York–Pennsylvania boundary preparatory to granting Pennsylvania greater access to Lake Erie.
- June 9 Directs treasury to submit 1788–89 fiscal estimates.
- June 12 Receives report on land reserve for French settlers in the Illinois country.
- June 13 Responds to French protest against Virginia's harboring a French pirate.
- June 17 Receives war office report on manpower and recruitment.
- June 18 Receives report opposing state inspection of the mails.
- June 19 Debates western land ordinance amendment.
- June 20 Elects Joseph Martin Continental agent to the Cherokees; authorizes negotiation of western land contract with George Morgan associates.
- June 24 Authorizes three-month extension of Continental claims.
- June 25 Abolishes office of inspector of Continental troops.
- June 27 Debates report on Georgia–Creek Indian affairs.
- July 2 Debates western land ordinance amendment; receives notification of the ratification of the Constitution by the ninth state (New Hampshire); appoints committee "for putting the said constitution into operation."
- July 3 Postpones action on Kentucky statehood until proceedings shall commence under the new Constitution.

- July 7–8 Debates western land ordinance amendment.
- July 9 Refers fiscal estimates to committee; adopts “supplement” to western land ordinance.
- July 14 Debates report on implementing the Constitution.
- July 15 Rejects terms of Georgia’s western land cession, but accepts responsibility for southwestern frontier defense.
- July 17 Directs resumption of western land surveys; rejects proposed Virginia western land reserve for military bounties.
- July 21 Receives report on Continental Army manpower needs.
- July 25 Orders deployment of Continental troops to pacify Luzerne County, Pa.
- July 28 Debates report on implementing the Constitution; rejects motion to establish capital at Philadelphia.
- July 30 Rejects motion to establish capital at New York.
- August 1 Extends term of northern superintendent of Indian affairs.
- August 4 Extends term of southern superintendent of Indian affairs.
- August 5–6 Debates motions on the location of the capital.
- August 7 Debates status of delegates from states that have not ratified the Constitution.
- August 12 Plans mobilization of frontier militia against western Indians.
- August 13 Debates report on implementing the Constitution.
- August 20 Adopts 1788 requisition.
- August 26 Debates report on implementing the Constitution; seeks Spanish cooperation for apprehending fugitive slaves fleeing to Florida.
- August 28 Revises George Morgan associates western land contract.



August 29	Confirms land titles of French settlers in the Illinois country.
September 1	Condemns settler encroachments on Cherokee lands.
September 2	Debates report on implementing the Constitution.
September 3	Reserves Ohio lands of Christian Delaware Indians; rejects motion to establish capital at Annapolis.
September 4	Debates report on implementing the Constitution; confirms land contract giving Pennsylvania large tract bordering Lake Erie.
September 8	Receives John Jay report on negotiations with Spain concerning the Mississippi question.
September 13	Adopts plan for implementing the Constitution.
September 16	Recommends that states ban importation of felons; directs suspension of negotiations concerning the Mississippi question.
September 18–24	Fails to achieve quorum.
September 26–29	Fails to achieve quorum.
September 30	Receives report on treasury department inquiry.
October 1	Rejects Silas Deane settlement of Beaumarchais' accounts.
October 2	Receives report on war department inquiry.
October 6–7	Fails to achieve quorum.
October 8	Receives communications on Indian relations in the western territory.
October 10	Suspends the work of the commissioners appointed to settle the states' Continental accounts; adjourns what proves to be its final session under the Articles of Confederation.
October 13–16	Fails to achieve quorum.
October 21– November 1	Fails to achieve quorum.
November 3	Assembles for the new federal year—only two delegates attending.

November 15–  
March 2, 1789

Secretary Charles Thomson records occasional attendance of 17 additional delegates.

July 25, 1789

Secretary Thomson delivers papers and records of the Confederation to new federal government.

## List of Delegates to Congress

This section lists both the dates on which delegates were elected to terms falling within the period covered by this volume and the inclusive dates of their attendance. The former are generally ascertainable from contemporary state records, but the latter are often elusive bits of information derived from the journals of Congress or extrapolated from references contained in the delegates' correspondence, and in many cases the "facts" are inevitably conjectural. It is not possible to determine interruptions in the attendance of many delegates, and no attempt has been made to record interruptions in service caused by illness or brief trips home, especially by delegates from New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey living within easy access of Congress. For occasional references to such periods of intermittent service as survive in the correspondence and notes of various delegates, see the index under individual delegates. Until fuller information is provided in a consolidated summary of delegate attendance in the final volume of this series, the reader is advised to consult Burnett, *Letters*, 8:lxxxiii–xcviii, for additional information on conjectural dates of attendance. Brief biographical sketches of all the delegates are available in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989*, and fuller sketches of more than half of the delegates can be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

### CONNECTICUT

#### *John Chester*

Elected: October 11, 1787; May 8, 1788

Did not attend Congress

#### *Joseph Platt Cooke*

Elected: May 10, 1787

Attended: March 1–31, 1788

#### *Pierpont Edwards*

Elected: October 11, 1787

Attended: June 9 to July 2; July 10 to August 6?; August 28 to September 12; October 10? to November 1, 1788

#### *James Hillhouse*

Elected: May 10, 1787; May 8, 1788

Did not attend Congress

#### *Benjamin Huntington*

October 11, 1787

Attended: July 1 to November 1, 1788



*William Samuel Johnson*

Elected: May 10, 1787

Did not attend under this election

*Stephen Mix Mitchell*

Elected: May 10, 1787; May 8, 1788

Attended: March 1 to May 15

*Jesse Root*

Elected: May 8, 1788

Did not attend under this election

*Jonathan Sturges*

Elected: May 10, 1787; May 8, 1788

Did not attend under these elections

*John Treadwell*

Elected: May 10, 1787

Did not attend Congress

*Jeremiah Wadsworth*

Elected: October 11, 1787; May 8, 1788

Attended: March 1–31; July 10 to August 26; September 12? to October 2? 1788

*Erastus Wolcott*

Elected: May 10, 1787; May 8, 1788

Did not attend Congress

#### DELAWARE

*Isaac Grantham*

Elected: November 10, 1787

Did not attend Congress

*Dyre Kearny*

Elected: November 10, 1787

Attended: March 1 to June 17; July 10 to October 14, 1788

*Nathaniel Mitchell*

Elected: November 10, 1787

Attended: March 1–19; April 13–20; May 20 to June 13; July 10 to September 13, 1788

#### GEORGIA

*Abraham Baldwin*

Elected: January 29, 1788

Attended: May 31 to September 18, 1788

*William Few*

Elected: February 7, 1787

Attended: May 26 to September 18, 1788

*James Gunn*

Elected: January 29, 1788

Did not attend Congress

*William O'Bryen*

Elected: January 29, 1788

Did not attend Congress

*Nathaniel Pendleton*

Elected: January 29, 1788

Did not attend Congress

*Edward Telfair*

Elected: January 29, 1788

Did not attend under this election

#### MARYLAND

*Benjamin Contee*

Elected: December 11, 1787; December 1, 1788

Attended: June 13 to August 13; October 6 to November 3, 1788

*William Harrison*

Elected: December 11, 1787

Did not attend after March 1, 1788

*John Eager Howard*

Elected: December 11, 1787

Attended: July 7–18? 1788

*David Ross*

Elected: December 11, 1787; December 1, 1788

Attended: March 10 to May 26; July 16 to September 8, 1788;

February 6, 1789

*Joshua Seney*

Elected: December 11, 1787; December 1, 1788

Attended: April 28 to May 30; July 14 to September 8, 1788

#### MASSACHUSETTS

*John Adams*

Elected: June 6, 1788

Did not attend under this election

*Nathan Dane*

Elected: June 27, 1787

Attended: March 1 to September 15? 1788

*Nathaniel Gorham*

Elected: June 6, 1788

Attended: January 26, 1789

*Samuel A. Otis*

Elected: June 27, 1787; June 6, 1788

Attended: March 1 to August 14; September 19? to October 31; December 30, 1788

*Theodore Sedgwick*

Elected: June 27, 1787; June 6, 1788

Attended: July 31 to September 3, 1788

*George Thatcher*

Elected: June 27, 1787; June 6, 1788

Attended: March 1–15; August 6 to October 21? 1788; January 29, 1789

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

*Nicholas Gilman*

Elected: June 23, 1787; June 17, 1788

Attended: March 1 to August 26; September 4 to November 1, 1788; February 19, 1789

*John Pickering*

Elected: June 23, 1787

Did not attend Congress

*Benjamin West*

Elected: June 26, 1787

Did not attend Congress

*Paine Wingate*

Elected: September 29, 1787; June 17, 1788

Attended: March 1 to September 13, 1788

## NEW JERSEY

*Abraham Clark*

Elected: October 31, 1787; November 25, 1788

Attended: March 1 to October 15, 1788

*Jonathan Dayton*

Elected: November 7, 1787; November 25, 1788

Attended: March 1 to November 1?; December 11, 1788

*Jonathan Elmer*

Elected: November 7, 1787; November 25, 1788

Attended: July 1 to August 14, 1788

## NEW YORK

*Egbert Benson*

Elected: January 22, 1788

Attended: July 14 to August 13? 1788

*Leonard Gansevoort*

Elected: January 22, 1788

Attended: March 1 to May 19; August 25 to October 10, 1788

*David Gelston*

Elected: December 16, 1788

Attended: February 18, 1789

*Alexander Hamilton*

Elected: January 22, 1788

Attended: March 1–4; May 26 to June 12?; July 30 to October 10, 1788

*John Hathorn*

Elected: December 16, 1788

Did not attend Congress

*Samuel Jones*

Elected: December 16, 1788

Did not attend Congress

*Ezra L'Hommedieu*

Elected: January 22, 1788

Attended: June 16 to August 13? 1788

*Philip Pell*

Elected: December 16, 1788

Attended: March 2, 1789

*Abraham Yates, Jr.*

Elected: January 22, 1788; December 16, 1788

Attended: May 26 to September 5? 1788

NORTH CAROLINA

*John Baptiste Ashe*

Elected: December 17, 1787

Did not attend under this election

*Robert Burton*

Elected: December 17, 1787

Did not attend under this election

*Benjamin Hawkins*

Elected: December 17, 1787

Did not attend under this election

*Joseph McDowell*

Elected: December 20, 1787

Did not attend Congress

*John Stokes*

Elected: December 17, 1787

Did not attend Congress

*John Swann*

Elected: December 20, 1787

Attended: May 29 to August 26? 1788

*James White*

Elected: December 17, 1787

Attended: March 1 to April 26; October 10? 1788

*Hugh Williamson*

Elected: December 17, 1787

Attended: May 16 to November 3, 1788 (remained in New York and continued to exercise his franking privilege after election of 1st Federal Congress, although North Carolina had not ratified the Constitution)



## PENNSYLVANIA

*John Armstrong, Jr.*

Elected: November 13, 1787; November 14, 1788

Attended: March 1 to May 31; July 28 to August 13?; September 3-13? 1788

*William Bingham*

Elected: November 13, 1787

Attended: May 20 to August 7?; August 25? to September 5? 1788

*Tench Coxe*

Elected: November 14, 1788

Attended: January 10, 1789

*William Irvine*

Elected: November 13, 1787

Attended: March 1 to May 23; July 14 to November 1, 1788

*Samuel Meredith*

Elected: November 13, 1787

Attended: July 29 to September 13? 1788

*James R. Reid*

Elected: November 13, 1787; November 14, 1788

Attended: March 1 to August 8; August 20 to October 10, 1788; January 1, 1789

## RHODE ISLAND

*Peleg Arnold*

Elected: May 2, 1787; May 7, 1788; May 6, 1789

Attended: May 6 to August 7; September 8 to November 1, 1788

*John Gardner*

Elected: May 7, 1788; May 6, 1789

Attended: February 12, 1789

*Sylvester Gardner*

Elected: May 2, 1787

Did not attend Congress

*Jonathan J. Hazard*

Elected: May 2, 1787; May 7, 1788; May 6, 1789

Attended: June 2 to August 7, 1788

*Thomas Holden*

Elected: May 7, 1788; May 6, 1789

Did not attend Congress

*Daniel Manton*

Elected: May 2, 1787

Did not attend Congress

## SOUTH CAROLINA

*Robert Barnwell*

Elected: January 31, 1788

Attended: January 1, 1789

*Nicholas Eveleigh*

Elected: January 31, 1788

Attended: December 6, 1788

*Daniel Huger*

Elected: March 8, 1787

Attended: March 1 to September 12?; October 15? to November 1, 1788

*John Parker*

Elected: March 8, 1787

Attended: March 1 to November 1, 1788

*Thomas Tudor Tucker*

Elected: March 23, 1787; January 31, 1788

Attended: March 1 to October 31?; December 15, 1788

## VIRGINIA

*John Brown*

Elected: October 23, 1787; October 31, 1788

Attended: March 1 to July 9?; August 4?–12, 1788

*Edward Carrington*

Elected: October 23, 1787

Attended: May 6? to October 10, 1788

*John Dawson*

Elected: October 31, 1788

Attended: December 1, 1788

*Cyrus Griffin*

Elected: October 23, 1787; October 31, 1788

Attended: March 1 to November 15, 1788

*Henry Lee*

Elected: October 23, 1787

Attended: July 29 to September 13, 1788

*James Madison, Jr.*

Elected: October 23, 1787; October 31, 1788

Attended: July 17 to October 15, 1788

*Mann Page*

Elected: October 31, 1788

Did not attend under this election

## Illustrations

### Plan of the City of New York

endpapers

This plan was drawn by John McComb in 1789. Federal Hall, where Congress met from 1785 to 1789, is located at the intersection of Wall and Broad Streets, one block southeast of Broad Way.

Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress. G3804.N4 1789.M3.

### Benjamin Contee

18

Contee (1755–1815), a Maryland merchant, was born and reared in Prince Georges County, Md., where he attended private schools and entered public life as an officer in the Third Maryland Battalion in 1776, before setting himself up in trade at Nottingham. He was elected a delegate to Congress in 1787 and 1788, and a representative to the First United States Congress, 1789–91, but refused to stand for reelection. Contee later turned to the study of theology, and was ordained an Episcopal priest in 1803. He was pastor of the Episcopal Church of Port Tobacco, Md., for several years and served for a time as judge of the Charles County Orphans Court before his death in 1815. In Congress, Contee was particularly interested in obtaining the removal of the federal capital from New York to Baltimore or Philadelphia, arguing that the country's harmony depended upon a more central location. He also submitted a formal protest to Congress in March 1788 over alleged mail tampering by the Post Office, which he regarded as a reflection on his "patriotism and love of his country," an "insinuation" that wounded his feelings "both as a citizen and a man."

"From a miniature" owned by a descendent. From Clarence W. Bowen, *The History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as First President of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1892).

### Cyrus Griffin

25

Griffin (1748–1810), a lawyer of Richmond County, Va., studied law at the Middle Temple and in Edinburgh, where he met Christina Stuart, eldest daughter of the earl of Traquair, with whom he eloped without the earl's consent. A political moderate, Griffin was somewhat active in the Virginia resistance to the North ministry's colonial poli-

cies. Before acquiescing in the reality of war, however, he returned to London in 1775 where in December he proposed a "Plan of reconciliation" to the earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies. He later served in the Virginia Assembly in 1777, the Continental Congress in 1778–80, and as judge of the Continental Court of Appeals, 1780–87. He was reelected to the Virginia Assembly in 1786–87 and to Congress 1787–88, where he served as its last president from January to October 1788. In 1789, President Washington appointed Griffin a commissioner to negotiate with the southern Indians and later the same year a federal judge for the District of Virginia, a post he held until his death in 1810. In Congress Griffin was a member of the standing committee of commerce, a critic of paper money policies, a defender of Virginia land claims, and an advocate of America's right to navigation of the Mississippi. He was also aligned against the party of the Lee family of Virginia and supported Dr. John Morgan in his efforts to prosecute Dr. William Shippen, Jr., husband of Alice Lee, for misappropriation of medical supplies as director general of Continental hospitals.

Drawing from a portrait by Thomas Sully. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-22728).

#### Abraham Baldwin

34

Baldwin (1754–1807) was born and raised in Connecticut, graduated from Yale College in 1772, studied for the ministry, and began to preach in 1775. He was also a tutor at Yale from 1775 to 1779, when he entered the Continental Army to serve as a chaplain. Baldwin rejected the offer of a position as professor of divinity at Yale in 1781 to begin the study of law, and he was admitted to the Connecticut bar in 1783, practicing briefly at Fairfield before moving to Georgia in 1784. There he was quickly accepted as a public leader, being elected to the Assembly in 1785, as a delegate to Congress in 1785 and 1787–88, and as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Baldwin was also a driving force behind the founding of the University of Georgia, whose charter he drafted, and he served as its titular president from 1786 to its actual founding as Franklin College in 1789. He continued to serve Georgia under the new federal government, as a United States representative from 1789 to 1799 and as a senator from 1799 until his death in 1807. In Congress, Baldwin served on a number of committees concerned with western land policy and Indian affairs, issues of particular concern to Georgia, and he was a member of the committee appointed to implement the new government under the Constitution that he helped to draft.

Pencil on paper by Robert Fulton. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.



## Thomas Tudor Tucker

57

Tucker (1745–1828), a Charleston, S.C., doctor, was born in Bermuda, studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh, and moved to South Carolina to establish a practice in 1771. At the outbreak of the revolution, Tucker became a military surgeon, first to South Carolina grenadiers and then to the Continental Army, and was captured by the British in 1780. He was elected to the South Carolina Assembly, 1782–87, was wounded in a duel with Ralph Izard over political differences in 1787, and was elected a delegate to Congress in 1787 and 1788. He further served as a Federalist member of the First and Second Congresses, 1789–93, and ended his public career as United States Treasurer from 1801 until his death in 1828. In Congress, Tucker served on a number of committees concerned with Indian affairs and western land issues, resisted efforts to move the federal capital from New York, urged adoption of the Federal Constitution, and served on the committee charged with putting a new government into operation after its ratification.

Black-and-white chalk on paper by Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin. Courtesy of Cynthia (Beverly Tucker Kimbrough) Barlowe.

## John Brown

147

Brown (1757–1837), born in Staunton, Va., the son of a Presbyterian minister, was educated at the College of New Jersey and William and Mary College. He studied law before moving to Kentucky and opening a practice at Frankfort in 1782. There he quickly became a promoter of the region's material growth and a leader in the movement for Kentucky statehood. He represented the district of Kentucky in the Virginia Senate, 1784–88, and served as a Virginia delegate to Congress in 1787–88. In New York he confronted the threat of Spain's closure of the Mississippi River to American navigation, an issue of paramount importance to his constituents, and had conversations with Diego de Gardoqui, who held out the prospect of free navigation of the river to an independent Kentucky. He was a delegate to the Kentucky constitutional convention of 1788 and to the Virginia ratifying convention of the same year, where he voted against ratification of the new Federal Constitution. Brown served as a Virginia representative to the First and Second United States Congresses, and, following Kentucky's entry into the union in 1792, he was elected to the Senate, where he served until 1805, including a term as president pro tempore in 1803–4, before returning to his legal practice in Frankfort.

Pastel on paper by James Sharples. The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth

228

Wadsworth (1743–1804), a Connecticut merchant, was the son of a Hartford minister who died when Jeremiah was four, and he was subsequently placed in the care of an uncle who was a Middletown shipowner. He took to the sea as a young man, rising to the rank of captain, and at the outbreak of hostilities in 1775 was appointed commissary to Connecticut troops. Wadsworth was elected deputy commissary of purchases of the Continental Army in 1777, and served as commissary general in 1778–79, but resumed his mercantile trade during the later stages of the war. He served at various times as a delegate to Congress, 1787–88, and a member of the Connecticut ratifying convention, 1788, of the United States House of Representatives, 1789–95, and of the Connecticut Assembly in 1795. He ended his public career on the executive council of Connecticut, 1795–1801. Wadsworth was also a founder of the Bank of North America and of the Bank of the United States, and a promoter of the Hartford Manufactory Company. He spent his final years engaged in scientific agriculture and livestock breeding. He vigorously supported ratification of the Federal Constitution, and in Congress was a member of committees appointed to report on Indian affairs, western land policy, and the improvement of the Post Office.

Painting by James Sharples, Sr. Independence National Historical Park.

## John Armstrong, Jr.

255

Armstrong (1758–1843), son of Gen. John Armstrong of Carlisle, Pa., was a student at College of New Jersey in 1775, when he left in his junior year to take up arms himself. Within a year he was appointed an aide to Gen. Hugh Mercer, who was killed at the battle of Princeton, and subsequently as aide-de-camp with the rank of major to Gen. Horatio Gates, who remained a long-time patron and friend. Armstrong acquired notoriety in March 1783 as author of the “Newburgh Letters,” in which he urged officers to take matters into their own hands to obtain the arrears of their pay from Congress. When the Army disbanded a few months later he became secretary to the Pennsylvania Executive Council, 1783–87. He commanded a militia detachment instructed to restore order between Connecticut and Pennsylvania settlers in the Wyoming Valley in 1786, and was thereafter elected to Congress in 1787 and 1788. While in New York, Armstrong began courting Alida Livingston, sister of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston. They married in 1789, subsequently moving to her estate in Dutchess County, N.Y., where he farmed for eleven years. Though originally a Federalist, Armstrong returned to politics as a Republican, like the

Livingston clan, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1800. He subsequently served as minister to France at Napoleon's court, 1804–10, as commander of New York City defenses in 1812, with the rank of brigadier general, and as President Madison's controversial secretary of war, 1813–14. As a member of Congress, Armstrong focused on the development of western land policy, worked to obtain payment of the unsettled claims of former Continental officers such as Baron Steuben, and struggled unsuccessfully for a decision to return Congress to Philadelphia.

Painting by Rembrandt Peale. Independence National Historical Park.

### Theodore Sedgwick

265

Sedgwick (1746–1813) was born in Connecticut and studied for the ministry at Yale but turned to the study of law with a relative in Great Barrington, Mass., gaining admission to the bar in Hampshire County in 1766. He played an active role in the resistance movement to coercive British policies during the early 1770s, and served as military secretary to Gen. John Thomas early in 1776, though he abandoned soldiering following the general's death in Canada. Sedgwick served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1780, 1782–83, and 1787–88, the state senate, 1784–85, and as a delegate to Congress, 1785–86 and 1788. He was also elected as a Federalist to the United States House of Representatives, 1789–96 and 1799–1801, serving as speaker of the Sixth Congress, and to the United States Senate, 1796–99. He ended his public career as judge of the supreme court of Massachusetts, 1802–13. In Congress, Sedgwick worked to strengthen the authority of government, urged forceful measures against Shays' Rebellion in 1786–87, and vigorously advocated ratification of the Federal Constitution.

Mezzotint by Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-64711).

### Jonathan Dayton

357

Dayton (1760–1824), the son of Col. Elias Dayton of Elizabethtown, N.J., was commissioned in his father's Third New Jersey Battalion soon after his graduation from the College of New Jersey in 1776. He became aide-de-camp to Gen. John Sullivan in 1779, was captured and exchanged the following year, and saw service as a captain at Yorktown in 1781 before his discharge in 1783. Dayton subsequently studied law and was admitted to the bar, served in the New Jersey Assembly in 1786–87, and at age 27 was the youngest member of the Constitutional Convention, playing an active role in its proceedings



from the beginning of his attendance in June 1787. He also served as a delegate to Congress in 1787–88, the New Jersey Council in 1789, and the New Jersey Assembly in 1790. He was a member of the United States House of Representatives in 1791–99 (speaker of the Fifth Congress), and the United States Senate, 1799–1805. In 1807, Dayton was arrested on charges of conspiring against the United States with Aaron Burr, but was never brought to trial, and though his political career was essentially ruined he returned to the New Jersey Assembly for two terms in 1814–15 before his death at Elizabethtown in 1824. In Congress, Dayton was particularly interested in the nation's military needs, Indian affairs, and western land issues ranging from veterans' bounty lands to the large land contract of his friend John Cleves Symmes. Through his association with Symmes, Dayton eventually acquired title to over 200,000 acres between the Big and Little Miami Rivers, which led to his interest in the building of a canal around the Falls of the Ohio and the naming of the town of Dayton, Ohio, for him.

Painting by Henry Harrison. Architect of the Capitol of the United States.

Peleg Arnold

435

Arnold (1751–1820) was educated at Rhode Island College in Providence, studied law, and entered into practice at Smithfield, R.I., where he also operated a tavern for a number of years. He served in the Rhode Island Assembly, 1777–78, 1782–83, and as a colonel of Providence County militia, and he was elected to Congress four times, 1786–89, attending in 1787–88. Arnold was chief justice of the Rhode Island supreme court from 1795 to 1812, and returned to the state assembly in 1817–19. He was also a charter member of the Providence Abolition Society in 1790, and was elected president of both the Smithfield Bank in 1803 and the Smithfield Academy in 1810. Elected to Congress during a period of Rhode Island's estrangement from the union because of the state's paper money policies, Arnold worked to counter attacks against the state by Peter Edes' *Newport Herald*, and successfully urged the intervention of the state of New York against New York publisher Francis Childs for repeating Edes' libellous attacks. After Rhode Island rejected the Constitution in March 1788, Arnold reflected the state's frustration as he considered measures taken to implement the new federal government, and puzzled over what course Rhode Island should chart to try to share in the benefits of future western land sales and the settlement of Continental accounts.

Etching by Max Rosenthal. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-54663).

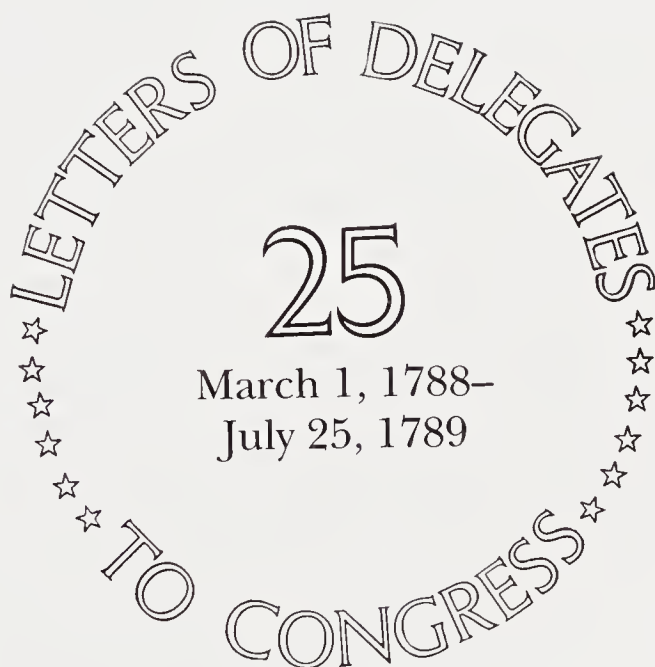


Samuel A. Otis

471

Otis (1740–1814), the brother of James Otis and Mercy Otis Warren, was born in Barnstable, Mass., graduated from Harvard College in 1759, and became a Boston merchant. He was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1776 and became a member of the state board of war the same year and Massachusetts agent for the Continental clothier general in 1777, making extensive purchases for the Continental Army with his partners Benjamin Andrews and David Henley throughout the war. His business failed after the war, but he returned to public life in 1784, serving in the Massachusetts House from 1784 to 1787, and as a delegate to Congress in 1787–88. Otis secured appointment as secretary of the United States Senate in April 1789, a post he continued to hold until his death in Washington in 1814. In Congress, Otis was particularly concerned with America's ability to service its foreign debt, and he vigorously supported adoption of the new Federal Constitution. Following the completion of ratification, he was appointed to the committee charged with implementing the new government, and he urged Vermont statehood to offset the threat to New England interests posed by the anticipated statehood of Kentucky.

Painting by Gilbert Stuart. From Clarence W. Bowen, *The History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as First President of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1892).





## Nathan Dane? to Unknown

[March 1, 1788]<sup>1</sup>

“We were, last evening, informed that the Convention of Newhampshire has adjourned to June, without coming to any decision respecting the Constitution. This was so unexpected, that we could scarcely realize it. I fear it will have a bad effect. The publick mind has been fluctuating, with regard to the system proposed—at least in considerable districts of the community: The first impressions were favourable to the adoption of the plan: The next, occasioned by various pieces written against it, and the intemperate conduct of its zealous friends in Pennsylvania, &c. were much less favourable. The adoption of it in Massachusetts again turned the current of opinion much in its favour: The principal men in opposition in the State of Newyork, Maryland, &c. appeared to be agreed to acquiese in the adoption of it, in the form in which it has been adopted in Massachusetts; but I am quite unable to say, what effect this unexpected conduct in Newhampshire may have. Tho’ my opinion, on fully examining all that has been said and written, respecting this plan, is not altered as to the amendable parts of it; yet I have been long satisfied we must, and ought to, put it into operation, and afterwards engraft the amendments into it, which time and experience shall direct. It is dangerous to remain long in our present situation, and the more so, in my opinion, on account of the storm evidently gathering in Europe. The present calm there is, I am fully persuaded, momentary, and that a war will take place among the European nations with which we are principally connected, at no very distant period. And I think we may clearly observe in their plans already, evident intentions to entangle us in their disputes. It will be impossible for us to remain neuter, and pursue our true interest, unless we shall have a national Government for effectually regulating our affairs, and controuling the conduct of our own citizens.”

MS not found; reprinted from the *Salem Mercury* (Massachusetts).

<sup>1</sup> This extract was printed in the March 25 issue of the *Salem Mercury* under the heading: “An obliging correspondent has favoured us with the following extract of a letter from a Member of Congress to his friend in this county [Essex]—dated March 1, 1788.” Of the Massachusetts delegates attending Congress at this time—Nathan Dane, Samuel A. Otis, and George Thatcher—only Dane, who lived in Beverly, was from Essex County. And of Dane’s known correspondents during the Congress of 1788, only Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Holten, and Rufus King were Essex County residents.



## Charles Thomson to Richard Winn

Sir,

Office of Secy of Congress, March 1. 1788

I have the honor to inform you that the United States in Congress assembled have appointed you Superintendant of Indian affairs in the Southern department, in the room of Mr White who has resigned. The situation of affairs in that quarter requiring an immediate appointment to that Office and Congress being uncertain whether a long continuance therein would be agreeable or convenient for you they have confined the appointment to the space of six months<sup>1</sup> having principally in view the settlement of a peace with the southern Indians.

Inclosed I send you the resolution under which you are appointed together with your commission & instructions on the present Occasion,<sup>2</sup> and for your further information I also transmit herewith enclosed the Ordinance for the regulation of Indian affairs,<sup>3</sup> the resolution empowering the states of North Carolina, South Carolina & Georgia to appoint each one commissioner to act in conjunction with you for the purpose of negotiating a treaty to establish peace between the United States & the tribes of Indians in the southern district and a copy of the letter I wrote to those states on the occasion.<sup>4</sup>

The oath & bond required by the Ordinance you will be pleased to forward to me by the first opportunity.<sup>5</sup>

Heartily wishing you success in your negotiations, I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sr, Yr Most Obt & M h S, C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> For this February 25 resolution, see *JCC*, 34:57.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of Winn's commission is in PCC, item 182, fol. 49. For his instructions, see *JCC*, 33:708–11.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 31:490–93.

<sup>4</sup> See Thomson to Certain States, October 27, 1787.

<sup>5</sup> Winn's March 31 response to Thomson and enclosed oath of allegiance are, respectively, in PCC, item 78, 24:603–6, and item 195, fols. 350–51.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin

New York 2d March 1788.

Your Excellency will find enclosed a report of The Board of Treasy. on a Motion made by the Delegates of Pennsylv. "for placing the Sum of 78,642 Dols. of the bills of Credit of –81 to the debit of the Gen. Account of said State with the United States."<sup>1</sup>

The Board reports against the motion, & the presumption is that some Act of Congress will soon follow.<sup>2</sup> It will be our Object to prevent

this for a week or ten days during which time We Would beg to be honored with the Advice and instructions of Council on the subject.<sup>3</sup> This will be the more necessary as from some circumstances or other all the documents of the last year's delegation on this point have been lost as not a single paper of the many Which I know were furnish'd in support of the claim of the State, has come down to either Gen. Irwin or myself.

I am sir, With the highest respect, Your Excellency's Most Obedt. servt.,  
J Armstrong jr for the Delegation

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Addressed: "His Excellency the President of the S. E. Council." Endorsed: "Read in Council March 6th 1788 and referred to the Comptroller General together with the inclosure for his consideration and report. James Trimble, for Charles Biddle, Secy."

<sup>1</sup> For the board of treasury's report on this long-standing issue, which was originally read in Congress November 3, 1786, see *JCC*, 31:924–27; and Charles Pettit to Thomas Mifflin, November 8, 1786.

<sup>2</sup> According to the secretary's list of "Reports Old, Obsolete or Negative" that was compiled November 6, 1787, no action was taken on the board's report. See *JCC*, 34:623.

<sup>3</sup> For the council's response to this letter and instructions to the delegates transmitting a report of the state's comptroller general (which has not been found), see *Pa. Council Minutes*, 15:405, 421.

## George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher

*City of New-York, March 2d. 1788.* "I have this moment returned from Sir John Temples where I dined. Sir John gives me an invitation to dine with him about once a fortnight. I enjoy myself, at his Table, as well as any one I dine at. The Company is not so large as they are at the Tables of the other foreign Ministers.<sup>1</sup> His dinners are more of the Domestic kind, where socibility takes the Lead of mere Formality.

"But, my dear, it would give me infinite more pleasure to dine at our littl[e] Table with the usual company, than at any Table I ever set at in my Life. And I begin to promise myself this delicious repast is not many weeks off. Since I mentioned to you the time, it is likely I shall be at home, my desire to leave this place and be with you makes me less happy here than I was before I said any thing about the time of being at home—however my dear, I would not have you look for me before the middle, or last of April. It does not seem very likely to me that I shall be at York Court as I wrote you in some former Letter."

RC (St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Ill.).

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Temple was the British consul general to the United States.

## Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons

Dear Sir

March 3. 1788.

My little woman has forgotten to write to me about a change of lodgings, and I was so negligent to omit an answer to your former very obliging and friendly letter.

I shall be very happy that you advise lady C.<sup>1</sup> what is the better plan to be adopted; I do not like my family to be in a house with boarders; nor do I know any thing of the other situation; but to your Judgment we shall submit implicitly and with satisfaction—if the family come to N. York it may not be convenient untill the last of April, perhaps not at all.

We expect a packet every day which may possibly bring us some Intelligence from abroad—in the mean time we are told that the King has consented to the Protestant Edict in France, which not only *tolerates* all *non-Catholics*, but gives them admission into Government &c. This important change has been effected principally by the Archbishop of Toulouse and the parliaments: France is hastening by this and other great affairs already in agitation to adopt the real principles of freedom & human Nature, and will in all probability be exhibited as one of the most illustrious nations the world has ever seen. N. Hampshire, I am very sorry to tell you that the convention have separated without taking a question upon the important business of the constitution; it seems that the federal Members were apprehensive of a negative, and therefore came into the measure of an Adjournment untill June.<sup>2</sup> I consider this price of conduct as very unfortunate indeed, for nine states will not have agreed to the system before Virginia shall be assembled; this will make her in fact the preponderating state of the union; and being so placed I fear the consequences; perhaps Rhode Island may take up the discussion and accord with the plan, the best men of the country are very busy to that purpose, but as yet they appear a minority—we are parting with our valuable friend Madison to Virginia from Congress, but still I am doubtful that all his virtues and abilities will avail nothing.

Be so kind as to make my best regards to Mrs. Fitzsimons—I hope she continues in good health this very severe season—the weather fret's my constitution to atoms almost—it is too cold for a southern fabrick.

I am dear sir, With the highest esteem & consideration, Your most obedient

C Griffin

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Griffin's wife, Lady Christina Stuart, eldest daughter of the 6th earl of Traquair. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> For the impact on other states of the adjournment of the New Hampshire convention from February 22 to June 18, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 16:179–85.

## James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

N. York Mar. 3. [17]88.

The Convention of N. Hampshire have disappointed much the general expectation. Instead of adopting the Constitution they have adjourned without any final decision until June; this expedient being found necessary to prevent a rejection. It seems that a majority of 3 or 4 members would have voted in the negative, but in this majority were a number who had been proselyted by the discussions, but were bound by positive instructions. These concurred with the federalists in the adjournment, and carried by a majority of 57 agst. 47. It is not much doubted that in the event N. Hampshire will be among the adopting States. But the influence of this check will be very considerable in this State (N. York) and in several others. I have enquired whether June was preferred for the 2d meeting, from any reference to Virga. or N. York, and am informed that it was merely an accommodation to the intermediate annual elections & Courts.

I am just setting out for Virga. and shall not write again from this place.<sup>1</sup> I wish you every happiness & am Dr Sir, Yr Affe friend,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 10:554.

<sup>1</sup> By November 1787 Madison had become convinced that he must return to Virginia to stand for election to the Virginia ratifying convention from Orange Co., for which see Madison to Ambrose Madison, November 8, 1787.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

N. York Mar. 3. [17]88.

The Convention of N. Hampshire have disappointed the general expectation. They have not rejected the Constitution, but they have adjourned without adopting it. It was found that on a final question there would be a majority of 3 or 4 in the negative but in this number were included some who with instructions from their Towns against the Constitution, had been proselyted by the discussions. These concurring with the foederalists in the adjournment, carried it by 57 agst. 47 if I am rightly informed as to the numbers. The second meeting is not to be till the last week in June. I have enquired from the Gentleman from that quarter what particularly recommended so late a day, supposing it might refer to the times fixed by N.Y. & Virga. They tell me it was governed by the intermediate annual elections and Courts. If the opposition in that State be such as they are described it is not probable that they pursue any sort of plan, more than that of Massts.



This event whatever causes may have produced it, or whatever consequences it may have in N.H. is no small check to the progress of the business. The opposition here which is unquestionably hostile to every thing beyond the *fæderal* principle, will take new spirits. The event in Massts. had almost extinguished their hopes. That in Pena. will probably be equally encouraged.

Col. Heth arrived a day or two ago with the proceedings of the Commissrs. They will be laid before Congs. to day.<sup>1</sup> I have been detained from setting out for Virga. by this circumstance having fixed on yesterday for the purpose. I shall probably get away tomorrow, and possibly this afternoon. Yrs. Affey.,  
Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 10:554–55.

<sup>1</sup> This day Madison submitted to Congress the January 7 report adopted by the Virginia House of Delegates based on the enclosed proceedings of the three commissioners charged with settling Virginia's Continental claim for expenses incurred in capturing and administering the northwest territory during the war. Virginia had included a stipulation in its original land cession of 1781 for reimbursement for George Rogers Clark's expeditions, and Congress agreed, when it accepted the state's renewed cession in 1784, to submit the issue to three commissioners—one appointed by Congress, another by Virginia, and a third by the other two commissioners. When William Heth replaced Edward Carrington as Virginia's representative in December 1785, he and Edward Fox, Congress' appointee, chose Col. David Henley as the third commissioner. It was not until commissioner for army accounts John Pierce replaced Fox in April 1787, however, that negotiations began in earnest. Despite the loss or destruction of many of Clark's vouchers, Heth argued for a settlement in equity of £200,000, though he would accept £150,000, while Henley supported an award of £120,000. But the parsimonious Pierce created a stalemate by reducing the sum to £50,000 and refusing further entreaties. In frustration Heth turned to the Virginia legislature, which appointed a committee chaired by George Mason whose January 1788 report called for the suspension of negotiations until the state could submit a protest to Congress. In the meantime, Virginia would withhold payment of its fiscal quota until fully reimbursed. Heth was then ordered to carry Virginia's objections with supporting documentation to New York. Submitted this day by Madison, the voluminous papers were referred to a committee of five—Abraham Clark, Nathan Dane, William Irvine, Dyre Kearny, and Jeremiah Wadsworth. See *JCC*, 31:737, 741, 886n, 32:165–66, 171–72, 34:77n.1; *PCC Miscellaneous Papers*, M332, reel 7, fols. 195–602, reel 10, fols. 211–14; Hening, *Statutes*, 10:564–66; *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 4:84, 346–47, 414–16; *Journals of the Virginia Council*, 4:67, 209; these *Letters*, 22:304, 502–3, 23:237; Mason, *Papers* (Rutland), 3:1027–37; Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 8:343n.1, 9:329n.5, 10:353n.1; and *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771–1784*, ed. by James Alton James and Theodore C. Pease, 2 vols. (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1912–26), 2:277–82.

For the resolution of Virginia's claims, see Virginia Delegates to Edmund Randolph, March 23, and Virginia Delegates to Heth, April 20.

## James Madison to George Washington

Dear Sir

N. York. March 3d. 1788

The Convention of N. Hampshire has afforded a very disagreeable subject of communication. It has not rejected the Constitution; but it

has failed to adopt it. Contrary to all the calculations that had been made it appeared on the meeting of the members that a majority of 3 or four was adverse to the object before them, and that on a final question on the merits, the decision would be in the negative. In this critical state of things, the federalists thought it best to attempt an adjournment, and having proselyted some of the members who were positively instructed agst. the Constitution, the attempt succeeded by a majority of 57 agst. 47, if my information as to the numbers be correct. It seems to be fully expected that some of the instructed members will prevail on their towns to unfetter them and that in the event N. Hampshire will [be] among the adopting States. The mischief elsewhere will in the mean time be of a serious nature. The second meeting is to be in June. This circumstance will probably be construed in Virga. as making cotemporary arrangements with her. It is explained to me however as having reference merely to the conveniency of the members whose attendance at their annual elections & Courts would not consist with an earlier period. The opposition I understand is composed precisely of the same description of characters with that of Massts. and stands contrasted to all the wealth, abilities, and respectability of the State.

I am preparing to set out for Orange, and promise myself the pleasure of taking Mount Vernon in the way.<sup>1</sup> Meantime, I remain Yours most respectfully & Affetly.,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 10:555–56.

<sup>1</sup> Madison stopped at Mount Vernon March 18 and 19 and reached Orange on the 23rd in time to be elected to the Virginia ratifying convention the following day. *Ibid.*, p. 542n.4; and Washington, *Diaries* (Jackson & Twohig), 5:287. In his accounts submitted to the state treasurer, Madison claimed £277.4.0 for travel and attendance in Congress from October 20, 1787, to March 23, 1788. Continental Congress Papers, Vi.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir      Circular      Office of Secretary of Congress, March 3d. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed to be laid before the Legislature a state of the representation in Congress from the 21st January to the end of the last Month.<sup>1</sup>

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most Humble servant,

Cha Thomson

RC (MHi: William Livingston Papers). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governour of New Jersey." LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). According to Thomson's Memorandum Book, this letter was not sent to South Carolina or Georgia, for which see the following entry.

<sup>1</sup> For these two enclosures and the six other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1788, see Appendix.

## Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[March 4–26, 1788]

- March 4th. transmitted circular Letter—March 3d. 1788<sup>1</sup>—except to South Carolina and Georgia.
- March 6th. Delivered to Genl Irvine—Notes of Baron Steuben containing remarks on report of Comee. to be returned & Letter Feby. 5th, 1785 from the Baron<sup>2</sup> . . . do.
- March 26th John Cleves Symmes Esqr. recd his Commission—one of the Judges of the western territory— & letter of the same date transmitted.<sup>3</sup>

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, February 7–29, 1788.

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>2</sup> For Steuben's "remarks" and letter, see PCC, item 19, 5:549–52, 557–63. See also JCC, 34:13, 357, 448–52, 507–12.

<sup>3</sup> See Thomson to Symmes, March 26.

## Samuel A. Otis to Henry Knox

Dear General

N York 5th March '88

In a partial settlement of my clothing acots Mr Henly receipted with him [*on*] behalf of Otis & Henly for some shirts, Since which having perfected my settlement with Mr Walker<sup>1</sup> & accounted for the same I wish to get up the rect. which Mr Walker says was transfered to you & from you to General Jackson. You will oblige me by revoking it from Gen Jackson by which means Mr Walker being possessed of it may cancel what is now a nullity.

I am, Dear Sir, With esteem & regard, Your most H Ser.

Sam. A. Otis

RC (MHi: Knox Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Walker was commissioner of accounts for the hospital, clothing, and marine departments.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Dear Sir

New York March 6th 1788

I am honor'ed with your obliging favor of the 23d Ultimo which confirms the sad account,<sup>1</sup> received by the Saturday mail of our Con-

vention business. When we first received the very unexpected news every one was surprised and every friend chagrined—much is to be apprehended from this unfortunate check to the tide of our p[o]litical prosperity—as a Citizen of New-Hampshire I am greatly mortified and as a friend to my Country [&] mankind I dread the evils that may ensue. This unfortunate affair will at least give a temporary spring to the opposition and I fear its effects in other States; though I cannot doubt the final ratification in ours, if proper measures are adopted, to counteract the nefarious designs of the enemys to our Country; for such I shall, in future, consider all those incendiaries who are predetermined to disregard argument & reason and to sow the seeds of jealousy and discord among the people. In my first emotion on this occasion I conceived it of some importance to give a favourable turn to the popular opinion and (having heard from Boston of the instruction business)<sup>2</sup> published the enclosed, as being in my opinion a Statement of facts—and which I am happy to find so correspondent to your letter. We have no foreign advices of a recent date—but from the unsettled state of affairs in Europe, it seems to be the almost universal opinion that they will have but a short respite from the scourge of War, and should the curse fall on us in our present disjointed State the evils are inconceivable that would probably [en]sue. Our great and good friend Madison has just set off for Virginia where I hope his influence will be at least sufficient to counteract the ill effects of the backslidings of my native state. The most important business now before Congress is an application from Kentucky to be set off from Virginia and to be received into the union as a sovereign State—in which Virginia agrees to concur on certain conditions: that she shall be released from a proportion of her federal obligations &c. &c. This is not a time for the determination of so important a Subject—but it is so strenuously urged and the people of that Country are become so jealous and irritable as to require the most delicate management—how it will terminate is yet uncertain. Mr. Wingate desires his best regards to you.

With sentiments of the most sincere respect and esteem, I am, Dear sir, Your Most Obedient & Most Humble servant, N. Gilman

RC (PHi: Dreer Federal Convention Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not found, but Langdon also sent this “sad account” of the New Hampshire ratifying convention’s adjournment—“without compleating the important business of adopting the Constitution”—to Rufus King the same day, for which see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 16:183.

<sup>2</sup> For the “instruction business” that was published in the February 27 issue of the *Massachusetts Centinel*, see *ibid.*, pp. 184–85. For analysis of the ratification movement in New Hampshire, and the strategic adjournment engineered by Langdon on February 22 to prevent an adverse decision, see *ibid.*, pp. 179–83.



## William Irvine to John Nicholson

Dear Sir

New york March 7th 1788

I received your favor by Mr. Bowers, his business was put in train<sup>1</sup>—one point was necessary to be clearly ascertained, Viz that the Corps was ever by any construction considered as Artillery—a reference to the War Office (for report) is the usual mode in such cases & was not deviated from in this. I went yesterday to that office to enquire what progress was made, and there was informed that Mr. Bowers had left town, that he requested General Knox would not make report until he should be able to procure some farther proofs or documents. After all I do not think he will or can succeed. I do not know a circumstance in their favor except that the Surgeon was adopted, but that was evidently occasioned by a blunder of Genl. Lincolns the then Secretary at War—to which he was very subject. The fact is that there was only three men belonging to that Corps intitled to any notice, Irish, Wylie & Jordan<sup>2</sup>—they were continued late in the War, all the rest were meer day laborers & went to such business as they thought proper at an early period. The Board of War at one time—I can not now recollect the period, delegated the disposition of that Corps to me, & I dismissed them all except Wylie & Jordan. Irish was then in another department—Commissary of Military Stores to the southward—almost all the privates were discharged—or furloughed, with Certificates of the number of months pay due them at the time.

You have doubtless seen an extract from a Report of the board of treasury, a Copy of which was transmitted a few days since to Council<sup>3</sup>—relative to the old dispute about the 70,000 Dollars. The Report has not yet been called up or acted on in Congress. I will if possible keep it out of sight, until, the sense of Council, or the Assembly if they should think proper to interfere is signified—tho I am persuaded it will not be an easy matter to get Congress to disapprove the report. A case nearly similar of New york was reported on in the same mode in that of Penna. Virginia have stopped payment until all their claims are allowed, in an account which was sittling by Joint Commissioners—but you will not I hope understand that I wish any other State to follow the example—in short if Penna. & New york should—at this moment, there is no divining doubt but bad consequences must ensue. These hints you must not consider, as public or official, should be glad however to be furnished with arguments, against the report, if good ones as I suppose there can be urged.

I am Dr Sir, Your Obedt. Servt.

Wm. Irvine

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Bowers has not been identified, and no information concerning this "business" has been found in the papers or journals of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> That is, captains Nathaniel Irish, John Jordan, and Thomas Wylie of Benjamin Flower's Artillery Artificer Regiment, 1777–1783. Heitman, *Historical Register*, pp. 238, 246, 446.

<sup>3</sup> See Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin, March 2.

## Samuel Otis to James Warren

Dear Sir

9 March 1788

In the course of investigation I find accidentally the accts of the Navy Board E department are checkt on acct of a Cargo ballance in Cash which it is said is unaccounted for. I should think it expedient for you to write to Benj Walker Esqr marine Commissioner<sup>1</sup>, to know why your accts of the N Board E Department are not settled which will probably bring on the necessary explanation.

In regard to your other matter Arthur Lee has only arrived in Town the last Evening which is a [reaso]n why I have deferred any operations, shall soon however renew my application.

I shall acknowledge Sister Warrens 28 very soon.

I see by the paper Govr Cushing is no more, I suppose you will be at least as like to succeed him as any man. Inclosed is the paper & am  
Yours affectionably,  
Sam A Otis

PS. I wish the Tresurer could be enabled to pay my warrant of 200£, 50£ of which is behind. The enclosures from Sister W will forward by safe hand.

RC (MHi: Warren–Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Walker was commissioner of accounts for the marine department. Warren, Otis' brother-in-law, had been commissioner of the navy board for the eastern department, 1777–81. See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 1:190, 4:177.

## Charles Thomson to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

Secretary's Office March 11th. 1788.

With my acknowledgments for your letter of 12th Ult. and the acts &c. enclosed<sup>1</sup> I have the honor of enclosing a copy of the journals of Congress for the month of Jany. last which are just come from the press.

I am, with due respect, your most obedient servt.,

Cha Thomson

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1582). In a clerical hand and signed by Thomson. Addressed: "His Excely. The President of the State of Pensylvania."

<sup>1</sup> Franklin's letter and enclosures are not in PCC.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to Harriet Wadsworth

My dear Harriet

New York March 11th 1788

I expect to see Daniel & Catherine here on Saturday—and shall endeavor to set out so as to be home in all this Month, any letter that will not arive here before the 20th had best remain at home. I am very well. I never have seen Fanny Wickham but once since I delivered her your letter—that was at Col Burrs where I seldom go—and as I have never been at but one assembly I see few people except those I visit. I am very well, to keep so it is necessary I take care of my selfe & this I can only do by avoiding Company. My love to your Mamma<sup>1</sup> & aunts. I am my dear child<sup>2</sup> your affectionate father, J Wadsworth

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Wadsworth had just written a brief note to his wife on March 10, introducing a "Mr Arden who comes to Hartford on business," and wrote again on March 16 announcing the arrival in New York of his partner Peter Colt after a difficult trip from Hartford "wading thro the mud." "I shall leave this [*i.e.*, city]," he continued, "so as to be home by the last of the Month unless the roads are impassable." Wadsworth Papers, CtHi.

<sup>2</sup> Wadsworth had also written to Harriet on March 2, enclosing seeds for which he furnished planting instructions, and urging her to "write all about J L," who he had heard was courting her. *Ibid.*

## Nathan Dane to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir,

New York March 15, 1788.

It was my intentions to have done myself the honor to have called on you before I left Massachusetts—but several circumstances prevented. I arrived here the 20th of last month. There has been a Congress most of the time for two months past and part of the time nine States assembled but we do but very little business. Indeed we have but very little to do. It does not appear to be the intentions of Congress to engage in any important business. An adjournment has been mentioned for a few months.<sup>1</sup> The reasons offered against it are such as were offered against an adjournment last year with which you are well acquainted. Many of the members are of opinion that the particular situation of our public affairs at this time requires that Congress should be in sessions and the forms of the Government kept up—this idea naturally leads us to contemplate public affairs on a large Scale, and to observe the present State of the New Constitution—when Mas-

sachusetts adopted it in the manner She did—both parties seemed rather to consider the question as settled—that it must be adopted also by the other States, and amended afterwards. But the unexpected Conduct of New Hampshire and late intilligence from Virginia and North Carolina, appear to make the adoption of the Constitution much more doubtful—and all parties here consider the great question far from being decided—the opponents in this State, in Virginia and North Carolina I find say they have a very considerable majority—the Supporters of the Constitution are doubtful. I confess it is my opinion, notwithstanding, that all these States will adopt it—recommending amendments—perhaps, some in addition to those recommended by Massa. I need not mention to you how important it is to keep the minds of men Cool and temperate at this time, particularly by keeping up the forms of Government and the appearances of Tranquility.

Matters seem to be in a state of quiet in Europe at present, but I do not think they will remain so long. We hear nothing from that quarter that respects us particularly—except that our friends the Dutch are very pressing for their interest money, and I expect Congress will make a short statement to the States on this subject. The States must apply some small sums at least to the use of the Union or the Federal Government must be dissolved. I am at a loss to know how the board of Treasury have done so well as they have to pay the civil list, the Dutch interest and troops in a considerable part. I believe the Union has been Supported almost wholly for a year or two past on the payments of New York, the gleanings of new Emission money, and a little tobacco from North Carolina.

We have as usual much said about an Indian war. I doubt whether there will be anything more than party disputes among the plundering individuals.

Kentucky and Virginia have form[al]ly applied to Congress to acknowledge the Independance of the former and to admit it into the Union. Nothing of importance has yet been done in Congress relative to the subject and, probably, there will not be at present.

With the highest sentiments of esteem and respect I am dear sir,  
Your obdt servant, N. Dane

RC (CCamarSJ: Edward J. Doheny Signers Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Although Congress did not adjourn, it was unable to convene a quorum from March 27 to May 2. See *JCC*, 34:115–19.

## John Brown to James Breckinridge

Dear Breckinridge

New York March 17th. [17]88

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 12th of Feby & am happy to find that you are still disposed to continue a Correspon-



dence from which I promise myself much pleasure & information during my stay in this place; where from the remoteness of my situation & the difficulty of Conveyance I am cut off from all communication with my Relations & even from any intelligence respecting them except through you. I expect that Brother James<sup>1</sup> has before this time bid adieu to Wm. & Mary & set out for Kentucky big with the prospect of making money & of receiving that reward which so many years spent in a painful course of study Justly merit. He has my warmest wishes for his favorable reception & Success in the world. I flatter myself that his Genius & acquired Knowledge will enable him to make his way good at least in that Country where as yet he will not meet with powerful opponents.

I have at length presented the Kentucky address to Congress & from the apparent disposition of Congress at present relative to that Business I fear I shall meet with no small difficulty in obtaining the Independence of that District.<sup>2</sup> The Objections are the want of power by the Articles of Confederation to admit a new State into the Union. That the admission of Kentucky is contrary to the Eastern Interest as it would throw another Vote into the Western or rather Southern Scale—that therefore it would affect the adoption of the New Plan of Govt. in Eastern States. The reasonableness of the request of the District is admitted by all—but the policy of the measure is disputed. I shall spare no pains or Arguments in my power to effect this measure which I have much at heart—as I am fully convinced that the future tranquility & Glory of that Country very much depend upon the event. Knowing you to be much interested in the issue of this Business I shall from time to time give you a particular account of its progress. It now stands referred to a committee of the Whole. I am sorry that I have it not in my power to give you a favorable Account relative to the Success of the New Constitution. The Convention of N. Hampshire adj'd. without adopting it 'till June next a majority of the members having been instructed to reject it; there is little doubt but that it will finally be adopted in that State, yet I fear the present failure will be productive of bad consequences as it will give fresh spirits & Confidence to the Malcontents who were beginning to despair & relax in their opposition. Although Penselva. has adopted it yet there is a very powerful party opposed who are growing very tumultuous—having been exasperated by the intemperate zeal of the friends to the Plan. I really dread the Consequences of its rejection—It has already damn'd the present Govt. in the estimation of the World, it cannot, it will not drag on much longer, & should the new be rejected God only knows what will be the event. From the present Situation & disposition of the States there is little foundation to hope that any new plan can be brought forward less exceptionable than that now proposed. I hope Virginia will not be so blind to her own Interest & that of the Union as

not to adopt it. The Necessity of the Case, with me precludes even the Idea of Hesitation.

I have not time at present to inclose you any letters for my Relations in Botetourt or Montgomery but shall unless a better Oppy offers trouble you in my next with a packet for that Country—if you have any late intilligence from that quarter let me know it. I wish much to hear from J Smith—also whether Mr. Howard & family move this Spring to Kentucky. Let me know the present State of your University—pray write to me more frequently every thing which drops from your pen is interesting to me. I enjoy good Health & live contentedly enjoying *high life* in ease, plenty & good Company. But still my friends [in Kentuc]ky engross the most of my thoughts.

Adieu live contented & Happy,

John Brown

P.S. Let me know when James Set out & his Intentions.

RC (ViU: Breckinridge Papers in the collections of the Albemarle County Historical Society).

<sup>1</sup> That is, John's brother James Brown (1766–1835) who studied law at William and Mary College and began his practice in 1789 in Frankfort, Ky., where John was already established. They were cousins of John and James Breckinridge. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*

<sup>2</sup> For the fate of Kentucky's bid for statehood, which the Virginia delegation had presented to Congress on February 29, see Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3.

## Benjamin Contee to Congress

Maryland March 17th 1788

To the united States in Congress assembled

Benjamin Contee humbly represents: that he this day recd. a return Letter from N. York under care from the Honble Mr Kearny, in the delegation from the State of Delaware to Congress, which return Letter it would appear, has met with unmerited usage, there being a post office flying Seal fixed on it—as if the person to whom it was addressed was suspected of treasonable practices, and to disclose them the Letter had been opened. This conduct carries with it an insinuation which wounds the feelings of your memorialist, deeply, both as a citizen and a man. His patriotism and love of his country it is not necessary, he flatters himself, to adduce proof of—neither is it of those of the Gent. who wrote the Letter, who, your memorialist is bold to say, as well for these qualities as for his abilities is an ornament to the place of his nativity and residence. But had it been otherwise—had any other person of what description soever thought proper to address Your memorialist by Letter, an infraction of the seal would have been equally criminal, and an insult against private confidence—your



Benjamin Contee

memorialist stands above suspicion! He is induced to take a constitutional mode of redress by requesting enquiry may be made by the Honorable the Congress of the united states into the insult he complains of. They have the controul of the post offices—and with them it lieth to punish any irregularities or offences therein committed, which that they will be pleased to do, especially in the case now in point, your memorialist prays &c &c<sup>1</sup>

MS (DNA: PCC, item 43). In the hand of Benjamin Contee. Endorsed: "Representation of B. Contee. Read 2 May. Referred to postmr genl to make enquiry & report."

<sup>1</sup> Contee's accusation of mail tampering was read in Congress May 2 and referred to postmaster general Ebenezer Hazard who reported May 6 that the letter Contee had received had been damaged inadvertently when sealing wax applied to the wrapper of a bundle of letters bound for New York adhered to his letter, which was then torn when the bundle was hastily opened. Congress took no action on the report. See *JCC*, 34:142–43, 627. For the highly-charged context in which Contee's accusations were made, see Cyrus Griffin to James Madison, March 24, note 3.

## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

Dear Madison

N.Y. March 17th [1788]<sup>1</sup>

Neither the french or the english packets have yet arrived, which is not a little extraordinary.

Not a syllable of domestic news but what the enclosed papers will exhibit to you.

The Marchioness<sup>2</sup> is a good deal better, and wants exceedingly to be present at the Indian Treaty; I think the Governor General<sup>3</sup> can do nothing less than take so sweet a companion in his Train; but he seems to be averse from the plan.

I think the french Minister confines himself at *home* too much—I am sorry he does not mix more with the Inhabitants.

My dear friend—I have been very sick for 4 or 5 days past, but I hope to attend Congress on Wednesday.

I have sent forward your letter to G. L. Turberville esq.

I thank you for calling upon my little people in Phil.

I am dear M. with the highest consideration &c, C. Griffin

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Madison added the year at a later time.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the marquise de Bréhan, sister-in-law to the French minister, the comte de Moustier.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Arthur St. Clair, governor of the northwest territory, who had been instructed by Congress on October 22, 1787, to negotiate a treaty with the northern Indians "the ensuing Spring," for which see Madison to Edmund Randolph, October 7, 1787, note 6.



## William Irvine to Thomas FitzSimons

Dear Sir,

New York 17th March 1788

The enclosed extracts from a solemn application made by the Delegates of Virginia<sup>1</sup>, by the Joint desire of the District of Kentucky, and Virginia, will shew you that however improper this hasty, and I may say peremptory mode of application may be, and ill timed too, yet it involves so many consequences, whichever way Congress may decide, it brings them into a dilemma. Some Gentlemen are of opinion that no new State can be admitted under the present Confederation, others fear, that, if they should be rejected now, they will not come in when we wish them; *instance Vermont*.

There is no doubt I think but they will be an independent state next Decr, whether Congress accede or not—this circumstance alone is all that has any weight in my mind. As it is an important business, and not much time perhaps for deliberation, or consultation—I confess I feel myself more at a loss how to vote, than on any question that has been agitated in my time in Congress. Should you deem it of importance as I do, I am persuaded I need not make any apology for requesting you to favor me with your opinion on the subject, when a leisure moment will permit.

I am Dear Sir with great esteem, Your most Obedt. & Humble Servant,  
Wm. Irvine

RC (KyLoF: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> Enclosed extracts not precisely identified, but for the “Kentucky address” that John Brown presented to Congress on February 29, which was debated in committee of the whole March 4 and June 2 and acted upon July 3, see Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3; and John Brown to James Breckinridge, this date, note 2.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan

Sir

New York March 22d 1788

I am honored with your Excellencys favor of the 28th ultimo and beg leave to express my thanks for the particulars of the action at Exeter.<sup>1</sup> That the defence of the system was great as the ground was advantageous I have no doubt; but have still to regret (with much apprehension) that the victory was not more compleat. Your Excellencys expectations of success in the next engagement affords some consolation yet I am sorry the field assign'd for the scene of action is so much in favor of the adverse party.

Those that have not been in the way of seeing and hearing can hardly imagine what pernicious effects our Convention business has

produced in a number of States. New Hampshire had been counted on by friends & foes as being perfectly federal—so that from the ratification of the new system in Massachusetts, the opposers began to make excuses and change sides in all Quarters but immediately on your adjournment they augmented their forces, took possession of their old ground and seem determined to maintain it at all hazards.

The Governor of this State acts no longer under covert but is open and indefatigable in the opposition. In Pennsylvania, I am informed, affairs have a most unfavourable aspect. The Antis are forming associations, holding county Conventions &c. much in the stile of the Massachusetts rebellion. By all late accounts from Virginia the opposition is there increasing and there is reason to apprehend that North Carolina is too highly tinctured with the same spirit. Patrick Henry is entirely anti-federal and Grayson is warmly opposed to the present plan. The adoption of it is certainly doubtful in New York, Virginia, North Carolina & Rhode Island. This being the case I hope no pains will be wanting to secure a Majority in the next meeting of our Convention. I do assure, Sir, our present situation appears truly alarming and I am more and more confirmed in an opinion I have long entertained that the tranquility of our Country is suspended solely on the great question of the day.

I think Mr. Wingate informed your Excellency<sup>2</sup> of the application of Kentucky to be set off as a separate State and taken in to the union; which Virginia will accede to on condition of her being exonerated from a proportion of her federal obligations &c. The affair has been once debated in Congress in Committee of the whole and postpon'd, since which it has not been taken up. It is an application that cannot, in the present State of affairs be complied with—but there is such a spirit of avulsion among the people of that Country they are so impatient and importunate as to make it a subject that requires at this critical juncture, the most prudent management. An other disagreeable affair between the United States and Virginia is now before Congress. The Conditions on which the Western lands were seeded by that State to the union were that Virginia should be allowed for the necessary and reasonable expences she had incurred in subduing the British posts, maintaining forts &c in that Country, the Accounts to be adjusted and liquidated by a majority of three Commissioners. The Commissioners have been setting all winter in Virginia—two of whom thinking it unjust to allow Virginia her enormous claims and being about to report, The Legislature (then setting) interposed, stopt their proceedings and made an appeal to Congress, in language corresponding to their Idea of their own omnipotence. I think Congress will order the Commissioners to proceed & make report—and whether Virginia will then assume the rights of Judge & jury—withhold all monies & endeavor to reclaim the seeded territory, as she

threatens, time only will discover. They seem disposed to avail themselves of the Spirit of the times to obtain unreasonable demands. In this, however, I believe they will be disappointed and should they hasten a general occurrence it is hardly supposable that they will escape the evils attending it.

I shall soon be under the necessity of drawing for the small sum of money your Excellency was kind enough to mention in Mr. Wingates letter—and hope provision will be made for paying so small a sum that I may not become liable to pay interest & Damages.

I take the liberty to enclose for your Excellency's perusal, the remarks of Aristides (Alia Judge Harrison our old friend who was Secretary to General Washington) on the new plan of government<sup>3</sup>—and as I cannot procure an other, shall be obliged if you will please to lend it to the Treasurer.

Having drawn my letter to some length I will not trespass further than to add the perfect Respect with which I have the honor to be, your Excellencys Obedient and Very Humble Servant,

N. Gilman

RC (Nh—Ar: State Papers, Revolutionary Correspondence).

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of these "particulars" of the New Hampshire ratifying convention, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 16:179–83, 463n.2.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> For the *Remarks on the Proposed Plan of a Federal Government* by "Aristides," who was Alexander Contee Hanson of Maryland, not Washington's former military secretary Robert Hanson Harrison, see *ibid.*, 15:517–51.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan

Dear Sir

New York March 23d 1788

Had it been pleasing to the preserver of Man, in the Superabundance of his tender mercies to, to have removed P——y with M——n to the regions of darkness<sup>1</sup>—I am induced to think the new System of Government would have been adopted—but the delay in our backsliding State has rendered it much more doubtful in my mind than it had been at any period since the Completion of the plan. The opposition is now reduced to System—the leaders are known to each other and are indefatigable in their exertions. If they succeed I am apprehensive the sword will soon be drawn and your Excellencys early prediction be verified. I am by no means without hope of tranquility—though I think appearances are very alarming which has brought to my mind the appointmt your Excellency was pleased to propose to me some months before I left home. I recollect the Act respecting the rank did not pass the lower house—but was inform'd the appointment took place notwithstanding. If so and your Excellency should think proper



to make the proposed promotion and forward me a Commission as soon as may be convenient I beg leave to observe—that, at this time it would be very acceptable. Though I had always a grateful sense of your Excellys. politeness in proposing the appointment, it was never a favorite object. I am now prompted to it by the Spirit of the times and have taken the liberty to communicate my Sentiments that Your Excellency may view the affair in its connexion with the public good and determine as may seem most conducive thereto.

With sentiment of the most sincere Respect, I have the Honor to be, Your Excellencys Most Obedient and Most Humble servant,

N. Gilman

RC (DLC: Peter Force Miscellany).

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding Edmund C. Burnett's speculation that Gilman was referring to Patrick Henry and George Mason, it seems clear that Gilman's concern here was the opposition to the Constitution in New Hampshire, and that he had in mind two of the most formidable opponents of the document in that state, Nathaniel Peabody and Jonathan Moulton. Cf. Burnett, *Letters*, 8:709n; and Jere R. Daniell, *Experiment in Republicanism. New Hampshire Politics and the American Revolution, 1741–1794* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 184–85, 197, 203, 212.

## Virginia Delegates to Edmund Randolph

Sir

New York March 23d. 1788

The Claim of Virginia arising from the N Western Territory is still before a Committee of Congress.

Colo. Heath is right in Opinion that more advantageous terms may be obtained by Negotiation than after a well digested report.

At present we think it a reasonable expectation that if the Commissioner on the part of Virginia was Authorised to enter again upon the Business it might be Adjusted fully as much to the Satisfaction of the Commonwealth as the Nature, Circumstances, & Situation of things will Warrant.<sup>1</sup>

We have the honor to be with profound respect & esteem Sir, Your Excellency's Most Obedient Hble Servants,

Cyrus Griffin

J. Brown

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Brown and signed by Brown and Griffin.

<sup>1</sup> For the "Claim of Virginia arising from the N Western Territory" and the commissioners' negotiating stalemate, see James Madison to Randolph, March 3, note 1. William Heth, the Virginia commissioner, had already ascertained from committee members appointed March 3 to study the state's claims that they were reluctant to issue a report. In fact, Heth reported to Gov. Randolph on March 9 that chairman Jeremiah Wadsworth thought "it would be a damnd disagreeable piece of work to bring before Congress." Continental Congress Papers, Vi. In his diary Heth recorded meetings and



conversations with members of Congress while in New York between February 29 and May 16, and on March 21 he noted that “the Virga. Delegation, thinking with me, that there is a chance of negotiating the business on better terms, than if it should be reported, have wrote this day to the Governor on the Subject of investing me with powers to enter again thereon. Wrote myself very fully to the Governor on the nature, & critical situation of the business.” William Heth Diary, DLC. The delegates enclosed Heth’s March 21 letter with this of the 23rd and on April 7th the Virginia Council responded by directing Heth to enter again “on the settlement and adjustment of said accounts . . . either in conjunction with the two present Commissioners or with such other Commissioners as may be appointed for that purpose.” See *Journals of the Virginia Council*, 4:226; and *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 4:406, 414–16. For the resolution of the state’s claims, see Virginia Delegates to Heth, April 20.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to Mehitable Wadsworth

My dear friend

New York March 23. 1788

I am not able to leave New York so soon as I intended—the ill health of Col Cook prevents. The Children are very well & in good Spirits—on Monday the last of March I shall leave this place.

My love to sisters & Harriet.<sup>1</sup> I am, Your Affectionate Husband,  
J Wadsworth

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Wadsworth also wrote to Harriet this day, reporting the change in his plans to return home and requesting that she send him some seeds for a friend. *Ibid.*

## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

My dear sir

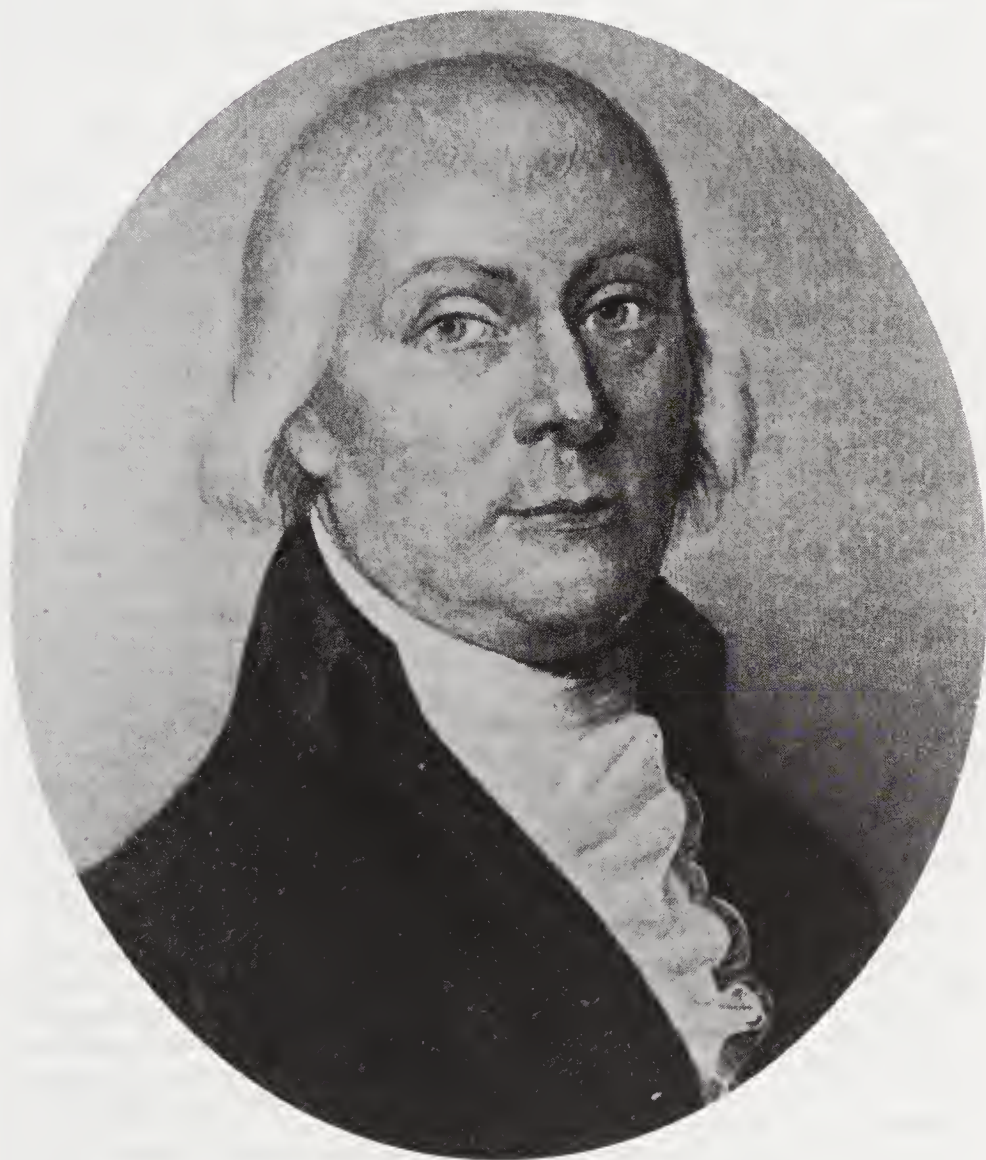
N. York 24 March 1788.

Before the date of this letter I hope you are gotten safe to Orange, and found all things in a situation the most agreeable.

We are still going forward in the same tract of Seven states, of course not a great deal can be done, and indeed not a great deal to do.

A prospect of the new Constitution seems to deaden the activity of the human mind as to all other matters; and yet I greatly fear that constitution may never take place; a melancholy Judgment most certainly—and would to heaven that nothing under the Sun shall be more erroneous!

The adjournment of N. Hampshire, the small majority of Massachusetts, a certainty of rejection in Rhode Island, the formidable opposition in the state of N. York, the convulsions and Committee meetings in Pennsylvania, and above all the antipathy of Virginia to the system, operating together, I am apprehensive will prevent the noble



Cyrus Griffin

fabrick from being enacted. The constitution is beautiful in Theory—I wish the experiment to be made—in my opinion it would be found a government of sufficient energy *only*.

Neither of the packets have yet arrived, and what has detained the french no one at this place can determine.

Not a word from our Ministers abroad.

Congress have taken final leave of the Chavalier by a very polite and friendly letter.<sup>1</sup>

The Marchioness is recovering rapidly, and the Count in good health; I mention them because they entertain a very exalted [*opinion*] of you and talk much upon that subject.

Daniel Shays and Eli Parsons have petitioned the Legislature of Massachusetts for pardon—and *will succeed*.<sup>2</sup>

The frequent attacks upon the post-office has produced the enclosed performance.<sup>3</sup>

The customary papers are sent to you within this cover. I am, my dear Sir, with friendship and Sincerity, your obedient Servant,

C Griffin

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Congress' March 18 letter to the chevalier de La Luzerne was in response to the minister's undated letter transmitting Louis XVI's September 30 letter of recall. Both were read in Congress on February 1 and referred to secretary for foreign affairs John Jay to report. Jay's March 13 report included a response to La Luzerne, adopted the 18th, and answers to two September 30 letters from the French king which were not adopted until June 2. See *JCC*, 34:24, 30n.3, 93, 194–96; *PCC*, item 80, 3:367, item 81, 3:47–48, 71–73, item 96, fols. 390, 394–97, item 190, fol. 187; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 1:246–49.

<sup>2</sup> Shays and Parsons had presented their petition to the legislature on March 10 and it was printed on the 15th in Benjamin Russell's *Massachusetts Centinel*. The General Court did not grant an unconditional pardon, however, until June 25. Marion L. Starkey, *A Little Rebellion* (New York: A. Knopf, 1955), pp. 248–50.

<sup>3</sup> The enclosure was apparently postmaster general Ebenezer Hazard's defense of his conduct (*New York Journal*, March 21) in response to publisher Eleazar Oswald's charge (*Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, March 12) that Hazard had precipitously stopped the distribution of antifederalist newspapers through the post office. These and other accusations levelled at Hazard at this time were the result of longstanding attempts to reform the postal service and the dissatisfaction of supporters and opponents of the Constitution with frequent irregularities in mail delivery.

After the war Congress began actively to support the transportation of mail by stage-coaches and ordered Hazard on September 7, 1785, to let contracts for the conveyance of the mail by stages from Portsmouth, N.H., to Savannah, Ga., and from New York to Albany, for which see these *Letters*, 22:578n.4. Hazard, however, had always opposed the use of coaches as too expensive and inefficient and in October 1787 succeeded in wringing from Congress a concession to encourage the use of coaches provided he could employ postriders "as he may judge most expedient and beneficial." See Madison to Eliza House Trist, January 27, 1788, note 4. At the same time, Congress had been struggling since 1782 with postal reform but the committee assigned to draft a new ordinance did not have its report entered on the journals until February 14, 1787, for which see these *Letters*, 23:202n.6. A provision in the ordinance that alarmed newspaper publishers was the elimination of free postage for the delivery of newspapers to sub-



scribers, though the ordinance still allowed printers to exchange single copies of newspapers postage free. Already aroused by the new ordinance, printers were further aggrieved when Hazard's new system using postriders north of Philadelphia began to break down as riders refused to carry newspapers, threw them away, or sold them en-route. By March 1788 publishers from every state complained that they had ceased to receive traditional exchanges, and antifederalist printers such as Thomas Greenleaf in New York and Eleazar Oswald in Philadelphia asserted that the new postal arrangements were specifically aimed at them. Opponents of the Constitution further contended that their letters were often lost, stolen or tampered with. (See, for example, Benjamin Contee to Congress, March 17.) For the accusation that "the Postmaster General through his chain of patronage—postmasters and postriders—had cut America's vital link of communication" by preventing antifederalist printers and politicians from disseminating their message to the people, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 16:540–96, especially p. 541. See also Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher, April 13, note 2.

On February 20 a committee appointed on the motion of New Jersey's Jonathan Dayton was directed to propose methods "for preventing irregularities in the transportation of the mails." The committee was expanded on March 27 and further assigned consideration of the ordinance for regulating the post office, but it failed to report. On July 7 a number of committees were appointed to inquire into "the several departments in conformity with the resolution of June 17, 1782," and the committee investigating the post office issued a general report on August 27 reviewing its personnel, conduct of business, receipts, and estimated costs of transportation. On September 30, however, the committee was permitted to take back its report, which was not resubmitted since Congress ceased to conduct business after October 10. See *JCC*, 34:52n, 116n, 300n.1, 462–65, 572n.1, 599n.1, 619.

Nonetheless, Hazard had by this time begun to fear that he would be replaced or forced to resign. He reported to Jeremy Belknap on September 13 that Paine Wingate, who would soon leave for New Hampshire, "has seen a good deal of manœvering, and has gone so far as to tell me that he has been *sounded* about the P.M.G.; but, as he was not *more* communicative, delicacy prevented my being particular in my enquiries, but *you* may." Interviewing Wingate when he passed through Boston, Belknap informed Hazard on September 23 that "there has been an attempt in Congress to get you displaced, and W. says that *he* prevented it. His colleague [*Nicholas Gilman*] was for it, and, had he agreed with him, there would have been seven States on that side. The States against you are Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia, and I am uncertain whether Rhode Island or North Carolina; but it originated in Connecticut, and the person pitched upon for your successor, is Jonathan Trumbull. Baldwin, of Georgia, is against you. Your fault is not enough favouring *the stages* in carrying the mails, and giving indulgence to post-riders." In his October 2 reply, Hazard confessed "I never heard, before *you* informed me, that my removal had been seriously agitated in Congress; or rather, that any vote had been taken about it. North Carolina must have been the 6th State. A friend has intimated to me that a member from that State wanted the office for himself. I am pretty confident that Rhode Island would have been in my favour." He expressed surprise "that Massachusetts voted as she did, and cannot account for it. For some of the rest I can conjecture the reason." Hazard accused Jonathan Dayton of seeking "revenge" for his brother-in-law, Col. Matthias Ogden, a New Jersey mail contractor against whom Hazard had brought suit. But he agreed with Wingate's assessment that "there will not be a *full* representation before the new Government takes place. . . so that it is possible I may yet weather out the storm." Writing again on October 14, Hazard issued what he hoped was a corrective: "I am *well* informed that no vote has been taken on the removal of the P.M.G., but that it is probable his opponents may have been calculating their chance of success, and *supposed* that 6 States would be with them." See *The Belknap Papers*, 3 vols. *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 5th ser., v. 2–3; 6th ser. v. 4. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1877–91), 2:63–69. Notwithstanding, Hazard was one of the few Confederation officers not reappointed under the new government, being replaced by Samuel Osgood.



## Charles Thomson to John Cleves Symmes

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, March 26. 1788.

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith enclosed an Extract from the Journal by which you will see that the United States in Congress Assembled have been pleased to appoint you one of the Judges in and over the territory of the United States north-west of the River Ohio.<sup>1</sup>

Your Commission is made out and ready to be delivered. Be pleased to accept my Congratulations on the occasion.

I am with much Respect, Sir, Your Most Obedient & Most hum  
servt, C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> For the February 19 appointment of Symmes as one of the three judges of the Northwest Territory, in the place of John Armstrong, Jr., who had declined, see *JCC*, 34:44, 50.

## Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher

Dear Sir

New York March 29th 1788

As I have got the name of a scribbler I must gratify my passion by a Line to Chumm,<sup>1</sup> And assure him the chambers look lonesome since his departure; Brother D<sup>2</sup> came in and comforted me an hour last Evening as I should have been quite melancholly.

Your Letter I delivered at Mrs Ellsworths, and the other at No 111 Queenstreet. But it seems to me you should have taken it with you in the Coach being far on to Boston. For any body but myself, it was much more proper for a ride than walk. But I forgive you this movement & sett it against the Broo[k]lyne one.

I applied to Mr Walker and find Robt Downs prize money over drawn & enclosed are his papers. It is much if I am able to inform you any news in my next; except that Howard writes there is no room to doubt the question in Maryland, I have not a word to communicate in this; My best wishes for yourself & family are no new thing from, Your friend & H Sevt,  
Sam A. Otis

RC (MB: Chamberlain Collection). Addressed: "The Honble. George Thacher Esqr, Biddeford, Massachusetts."

<sup>1</sup> Otis and Thatcher had been roommates in New York before the latter returned home March 25.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Nathan Dane.

## Paine Wingate to Timothy Pickering

Dear Sir,

New York Mar 29. 1788

Mr. Hodgdon who is now in this City informs me that he can frequently transmit letters to you from Philadelphia, and by him I improve this opportunity of writing to you. The distance of your situation from New Hampshire & the difficulty of an intercourse between us has prevented my giving and I suppose of receiving any direct intelligence from you for a long time. But this separation has not obliterated my remembrance of or lessened my affection for you. It is with particular satisfaction that I sometimes hear of your welfare by our friends at Salem. This pleasure I had in the beginning of Feb. when your brother told me that he had received a letter from you dated the 1st of Janry at which time you was Setting out for your new settlement. Mr. Hodgdon tells me that you have since been down & returned again very lately & that the last intelligence was that your family were all well & that your situation was very agreeable. I rejoyce in every circumstance that contributes to your domestic happiness & extensive usefulness in life, but could wish that you had believed those two objects obtainable somewhere within the circle of your family connections & former friends. Your brother<sup>1</sup> was remarkably well when I was there in Feb. I think he appears to enjoy as good health & spirits as I have known him have for several years. All the other branches of the family were well. Your son came with me from Salem to Boston in a sleigh for the sake of a ride & to see the Bridges &c and returned again the same day with a lad who brot me on. Master Jno. is sensible & after some acquaintance is sufficiently sociable, tho' with strangers rather reserved. He has those qualities which I think will render him, with the advantages of education that he will enjoy, both amiable & useful & in whom a parent will have great satisfaction. Your other children I have not seen, but I dare say they afford you the pleasing hopes of a fond father. I have receivd a letter from my family dated Mar. 17 when they were all well. Polly is married, & I hope & believe to a worthy & agreeable husband. She will live about one mile from me. Sally is a woman grown. George & Jno are two good boys, & Betsey my youngest is about 5 years old who I suppose will finish our complement of children. My wife<sup>2</sup> enjoys uninterrupted health & changes with succession of years as little as almost any body. I shall write to her by the post to day & let her know that I have heard of you by Mr. Hodgdon which will make a letter very welcome to her on your account if not on mine. I have been in New York since Feb. 10 & find my situation as agreeable as I could expect considering that I am very domestic & habituated to an active life. I have nothing very important to

communicate to you. The subject which engages the general attention at this time is the New Constitution. What will be the fate of it is yet uncertain, but those who are well wishers to their country & best know the situation we are in, are the most sensible of the necessity of its adoption, and great pains are taken to obtain the end. On the other hand there are powerful opposers to it, who avail themselves of some popular objections & they are too successful with the less knowing part of the country. In New Hampshire when the Convention met, there was a majority prejudiced against the plan. They were chiefly from the interior parte of the state & many of the delegates were instructed to vote against it. The most distinguished Characters were in favor of it & after debating it for sometime there were a few converts made, who did not think themselves at liberty to go against their instructions and therefore obtained an adjournment. There is I think a probability that it will finally be adopted in New Hampshire, altho considerable danger that it will not. New York is very doubtful but it is not despaired of. Virginia & North Carolina are much in the same situation. Maryland & South Carolina are supposed to be fœderal. Those two states will decide before the others & if they should agree to adopt there will be but one of the dubtful ones necessary to make up the nine. The important decision upon the subject cannot be known before the last of July, & at any rate I do not see that the new constitution can be got to go as early as Dec. next. Nothing but the hope of a new can I fear keep the old Constitution from dissolution long—Sed nunquam de Re publica desperandum. The news papers are so filled with lyes that no dependance can be put on any account you receive in them respecting the Constitution. I hope I shall soon have the pleasure of hearing from you by letter, which direct to me in Congress at New York. If you have any letters which you wish at any time to forward to Salem or to any friends Eastward if you will put them under cover to me, I will take the care of them & send them without hazard or expence to the place of destination. If Congress should not adjourn which yet is uncertain, it is likely that I shall remain in this place until Oct. next. I am dear Sir with sentiments of particular esteem & affection your friend & brother,

Paine Wingate

N.B. I desire my love to Mrs. Pickering.

RC (MHi: Pickering Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Pickering's brother John, although a man of some local prominence and a Salem representative in the Massachusetts General Court, is not to be confused with John Pickering (1738–1805) of Portsmouth, N.H., the first federal judge impeached and removed from office in 1804. Cf. Gerard H. Clarfield, *Timothy Pickering and the American Revolution* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980), p. 13; and *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Wingate had been married to Pickering's sister Eunice since 1765.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to John Chaloner

Dear Sir

New York March 30th 1788

I This morning received your letter by Mr Colt and I never was more surprised.<sup>1</sup> Is it possible you should have applied so large a Sum of Money to your own use and have no part of it ready for us, what am I to think. By the Packet to Sail the next Thursday instead of a large remittance I must send Mr Church a Sketch of the Accounts. My letter in the most positive terms not to sell our goods on Credit has been disregarded and a large sum is in out standing debts—and much of it with those Who have no visible property, and every shilling that is collected made use of. It distresses me more than I can express that a Man in whom I placed all my confidence should treat me thus. For God Sake let me know immediately what you have done with the Money and fix on times as early as possible to return it. Tell me the periods at which I may depend on its being remitted to Col Hamilton and do not disappoint me. I am alarmed that your letter does not tell me in particular what your funds are from whence this great Sum is to come. Mr Church has long since been alarmed as is Col Hamilton. I dare not Shew him the Accounts or letter—till I hear from you again. I have met with so many losses and disappointments that my embarrassments are great but this is a stroke I was totally unprepared for—and I shall be very uneasy till I have a clear and explicit account from you of the means that are in your power to do us justice.

I can hardly persuade my self I read right When I view the great Balance and that you could not pay one Shilling to Mr Colt—how can you justify this transaction to yourselfe [to] your friend, or how is it compatible with the character of a Merchant. I will not add but wait impatient[ly] your answer which I wish may be such as will restore you to the place you have ever held in the heart of your injured Friend,

Jere Wadsworth

RC (PHi: Chaloner &amp; White Collection). FC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Wadsworth also wrote Chaloner the following letter on March 17.

"In Consequence of late Letters from Mr Church, I send on Mr Colt to Make a Settlement of our Accounts with you and he will either Sell or Ship the remaining Goods of the Company. I was in hopes to have had it in my Power to come on my self; but find it impossible. I can hear Nothing from MCarty—neither letters or Account Sales—is their any thing to be had with You—my love to Mrs Chaloner & the Children." Chaloner & White Collection, PHi.



## Paine Wingate to Sarah Wingate

My dear Sally

New York Mar. 30. 1788.

I have just had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 19 instant, enclosed with several letters; As yours is short & spirited, & is the first production of the kind, which I have received from you, I shall immediately return you an answer, & desire you to assure Polly,<sup>1</sup> as well as Mr. Wiggin & the Doctor that I shall acknowledge their favors as soon as possible. I am very glad that you are sensible of your foible which is so obvious to every body else. And I am equally pleased at your sincerity & frankness in owning the truth. This is not the usual characteristic of young ladies. But since you have so candidly confessed your fondness for dress, I will gratify you in your enquiries, so far as my inattention to such trifflings will enable me. I am far from being an enemy to what may be called decency in dress, and I am willing to allow a young Miss to be more attentive to it than an old man. But there is such a thing as excess, against which it is wisdom for both old & young to guard. I hope as you shall by age have more experience & observation that your good sence will lead you to a commendable mediocrity between the extreems of under & over dress. There is another thing which deserves notice on this head & that is the place & company you have to appear in. If I should find some young gentleman in New York, who I should contract with as a husband for you & accordingly send for you here, I should then think it quite consistent to spend a thousand dollars in your equipment. Such is the difference between Stratham & this City that one hundred dollars there, would be more extravagant than the other sum here. There is a delegate from Connecticut who has his daughter with him in this City about 15 years old, whom he introduces in to the best Company & of consequence dresses in the richest manner. I dined with her once. She was dress'd in a white satten. She is not very handsome, & I believe had not been much used to the most genteel company. But her father intends she shall be. In addition to my account of fashions which I wrote to you, I sent a supplement to your mother for Sally Gool if she is at Stratham. This it is likely you will see I don't know what to observe further, only that it is the fashion for young ladies when they are well dressed to be cheerful & very sociable. They never appear bashful tho' they can blush when there is occasion for it. As for the subject of conversation it is no matter how trifling, only let what you say be well expressed. The ladies I think universally crape their hair & are powdered some times. They wear abundance of trumpery over their bosoms, which reaches up to their chins. I have not been to the Assembly yet, where is the perfection of dress. If I should spend a dollar for that use I shall be able to give you a better account. In the mean time let me advise

you to cultivate the ornaments of the mind which will afford you the most substantial pleasure.

I bid you a very affectionate adieu,

P Wingate

RC (MH-H: Wingate Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Wingate's correspondence also contains the following "Supplement to Letter dated Ap. 2d. 88," which he wrote to his daughter Polly, Mary Wingate Wiggin.

"I shall enclose a couple of little Books. One of them I desire you will present to your daughter which of them she pleases; & the other you will give to my Betsy. I hope that you will make a prudent & discreet mother & that you will be happy in loving & being beloved by her. Tell Polly that the book comes from her Grandpapa as his first mark of paternal notice. I have enclosed some scraps out of a newspaper for George. The Camels I have seen as a curiosity, also the dancing on a rope &c which you will find advertised in the News paper. This sight exceeded the descrip[ti]on given. Adieu." Wingate Papers, MH-H; and Charles E. L. Wingate, *Paine Wingate's Letters to His Children* (Medford, Mass., 1934), p. 9.

## Abraham Baldwin to Joseph Clay

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

New York 31st March 1788

Your favour by Capt Burnham with the cask of Indico were duly received.

I was much obliged by your very particular information respecting Indian affairs, the greater part of the time we are without any information from Georgia. I have written the Governor constantly, ever since I left the state, and have never received a line, or known whether any of my letters arrived.<sup>2</sup>

Our situation with our near neighbours on both sides, has been for some time critical, and a ground of very just uneasiness. The intentions of the majority of congress respecting our Indian affairs, I am convinced, has been very good, merely to adopt a system of measures, in their own nature suited to preserve the peace of the United States. There are some here who are constantly passionate, and provoking on the subject. Our back territory has been considered as a very enviable possession, particularly by the lack-land states. I have assured them, it is want of experience on that subject, that makes them think so. I have seen by the papers that uneasy apprehensions have been entertained of the conduct of the Spaniards. I had several times in free conversation with Mr Gardoqui, who is a very free and friendly man, hinted to him, that I feared, we should loose that respect that we had entertained for their good policy, by some of their late proceedings; he always has denied every such suggestion. A few days since, on the arrival of the spanish packet, he called on me, and said he was very glad to have it in his power to inform me, and he did inform me officially,



Abraham Baldwin

that the King had given pointed orders to the Governors of their Provinces, to endeavour to preserve peace between the United States and the Indian nations, and to do nothing to disturb it.<sup>3</sup>

I believe we are to find the greatest difficulty among ourselves, to be able to manage our own affairs. I have as little confidence in the manner in which we take our measures, but feel myself greatly encouraged by the prospect that our state politicks will be soon on a different footing. A man who hopes for any happiness in society cannot want for inducements to use all his information and influen[ce] on that occasion. I know your prospects of any good under our old government have long been very small; but may I not hope, that the political horizon is brightening, so that you will think it worth a while to go aboard and help?

We have had a congress this winter but a small part of the time; the old simile of money being the sinews, must convince you that we must be in a very paralytic state at present. Maryland convention is to meet the 21st of April.<sup>4</sup> South Carolina & Maryland are counted upon as sure, where to find the ninth, is matter of anxious enquiry. The prospects from the other five are unpromising.

There is nothing from abroad worth communicating. I send to Mr Johnson,<sup>5</sup> all the late Newspapers, to which I beg leave to refer you for the political chat from this part of the Union.

Please to present my compliments to your family, and also to our worthy friends the Mr Habershams and believe me with great respect and esteem, your obedient humble servant,                   Abr Baldwin

RC (PHi: Dreer Federal Convention).

<sup>1</sup> A prosperous Savannah merchant and former deputy paymaster general of the Continental Army in the southern department, Joseph Clay (1741–1804) had been elected to Congress in 1778 but did not attend. Cf. *Bio. Dir. Cong.* and *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> None of Baldwin's letters to former governor George Mathews or newly-elected governor George Handley have been found.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Gardoqui's February 8 letter to Congress, which was read on the 12th and referred to secretary for foreign affairs John Jay to report. *JCC*, 34:43nn.3 and 4; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 3:263–64. See also James White to Samuel Johnston, April 21, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Information concerning prospects for the Constitution in Maryland reached Congress in the form of an undated letter to Jeremiah Wadsworth from delegate John Eager Howard who had left New York to attend the state's ratifying convention and who apparently wrote the letter about March 24. "I am happy to inform you that upon my arrival in Maryland I found the prospect of the Constitution being adopted was fully equal to my expectations. The elections will take place in a fortnight [*April 7*] when we shall be able to decide what will be the conduct of this State. At present, appearances are very flattering of eighteen Counties, not more than four will return members unfriendly. In many Counties not the least opposition will be made—in three or four there will be contested elections which I count unfavorable, but others think that even in these Counties there will be Majorities on the right side. You need not be under uneasiness on account of us for a Majority is certain, and it is not improbable but we shall be



almost unanimous. I wish I could give as favorable accts. of Virginia. We have not yet received such accts. of their elections as to be able to determine what part they will act. We are in doubt, but have great reason to believe that there will not be such an opposition as Mr. A. Lee represents.

"I have written to you sev[eral] times about the Post office. Gr[eat] complaints are made and an opinion prevails that there is a combination to prevent a free communication of intelligence which injures our cause. I am informed that some papers respecting the office have been forwarded to me at N. York. If there are any please to open them and make what use you think necessary of them." Wadsworth Papers, CtHi.

<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly James Johnston, publisher of *The Gazette of the State of Georgia*.

## Pierpont Edwards to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Dear Sir,

New Haven March 31st 1788.

I wrote you on Wednesday last, in which I informed you that I cou'd not go to New-York till the beginning of May:<sup>1</sup> Since that time I have determined to put my going to Congress upon an issue that will certainly exonerate me from blame. I have therefore written to His Excellency—A Copy of my Letter to him is inclosed<sup>2</sup>—And if the Public will furnish me with money I will be with you in four days after it comes to hand.

I am your friend—

Pierpt Edwards

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> "I agreed to go to Congress in May," Edwards wrote to Wadsworth on March 26, "or, for a few Weeks only, at an earlier period, if my presence, for particular purposes, should be necessary. These particular purposes cannot now be answered by my going. No money can be had of the State at present—and, to answer your question 'will you come on or not'—I say I will not untill the beginning of May." Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> The following copy of this letter to Gov. Samuel Huntington is also in the Wadsworth Papers.

"I have received a Letter from Col Wadsworth, & also one from Mr. Mitchell informing me that Col Cook by reason of ill health has been necessitated to leave Congress & return to Connecticut, & that Col Wadsworth must also leave Congress in the course of the present or next month at farthest & counting upon me in pursuance of the arrangement made by the delegates last fall—in conformity to the recommendation of your Excellency to prepare myself immediately to repair to New York. I am wholly unfurnished with money & learn that it is my duty to apply to your Excellency for orders on the Treasurer to supply me with the needed sum. As I conceive it to be my duty not to suffer our representation at Congress to fail thro my negligence I take the earliest opportunity of making the present communication to your Excellency & to request that I may be furnished with the necessary orders respecting money as nothing but a want of that shall prevent my going immediately. I shall esteem it a favor to have an answer from your Excellency as soon as circumstances will permit."

## Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[April 2–17, 1788]

- April 2d      Delivered to Mr Clarke papers enclosed in Petition of Mary Vance—petition withdrawn March 27th, 1788 (see rect.).<sup>1</sup>
- April 4th      James M. Varnum Esqr.—recd. his Commission—one of the Judges of the Western territory.<sup>2</sup>
- April 11th     Mr Rooney recd a copy of Jacob Cuylers Memorial agreeably to request of Mr Brown—Member from Virginia<sup>3</sup>—see his note filed under B—private letters.
- 17th          Mr. Otis, Member from Massachusetts—recd. the plan of the boundary line between Massachusetts & New York—to be copied for said State—in the hands of Alexr. Thomson, William Street No. 21. (See rect. in the name of Alexr. Thomson)—returned July 15th, 1788 by Mr Thomson.<sup>4</sup>

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, March 4–26, 1788.

<sup>1</sup> For the petition of Mary Vance on behalf of the estate of her late son Joseph Curry of New Jersey, and the board of treasury's recommendation that the case be referred to New Jersey for "Official information," see *JCC*, 32:117n, 34:114–15. An undated letter to Congress from Vance, read March 15, 1787, is in PCC, item 42, 8:121–24. Abraham Clark's receipt for the papers returned to her is in PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 9, fol. 199.

<sup>2</sup> For Varnum's appointment, see Thomson to the Secretary and Judges of the Northwest Territory, November 7, 1787.

<sup>3</sup> An April 9 note to Roger Alden from John Brown requesting the delivery of a copy of Cuyler's petition to John Rooney is in PCC, item 55, fol. 117. For Cuyler's petition, see PCC, item 41, 2:354–57; and *JCC*, 31:676n, 736–37, 34:526, 618.

<sup>4</sup> Neither this plan nor receipt is in the PCC.

## Paine Wingate to John Wendell

Sir

New York April 2d. 1788

I have had the honor to receive from you four Letters with the enclosures. I have without delay either delivered or forwarded the letters according to your request. I have received no answer or return from any one excepting a verbal reply from Sir John Temple,<sup>1</sup> who said that he had entrusted all his affairs in New Hampshire to the care of a Mr. Winthrop. I tho't it probable from one of your letters that I might receive something for you & that has induced me to delay my answer

the longer. I thank you for the information which you gave me respecting the welfare of my family, and for the complement you are pleas'd to pay to Mr. Gilman & me as delegates in Congress. If my Abilities were equal to my wishes & endeavors to be useful I should esteem myself happy. I am much obliged by the particular account you have given me the proceedings of the late convention altho' much disappointed with the issue. The New Hampshire adjournment has made an impression on the minds of the people this way unfavorable to the Constitution beyond what could have been expected. But I hope your expectations will not be disappointed with respect to its adoption at the adjournment. We have at present nothing material that is new. Congress very thin in its representation which is a hindrance to the business on hand. The Conventions that are yet to set will some of them be so late that we cannot have intelligence of their determinations before August; this will be so late that it is probable the necessary arrangements cannot be made so that the new Congress & form of government can take effect as early as December. The general opinion is that the New Constitution will be adopted, & that this under present circumstances is not only very desirable, but necessary to save us from the most perplexing difficulties, if not ruin. I hope that we shall understand our true interest & pursue it; be speedily extricated from all our embarissments, & have peace & happiness. In which wish I dare say that you heartily joyn with me.

I have the honor to be with sentiments of respect your most obedient & humble Servant,

Paine Wingate

[P.S.] Mr. Gilman desires his Compliments.

RC (MH-H: Wingate Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the claim Wendell was pursuing that involved Sir John Temple, see Arthur St. Clair to Wendell, March 27 and July 24, 1787.

## Virginia Delegates to Edmund Randolph

Sir

New York April 3d. 1788

We have been honour'd with your Excellency's Letters of the 7th and 13th Ultio. The Business therein refered to shall be immediately submitted for the consideration of Congress & shall command our particular Attention.

No application from any of the other States to prolong the Period within which they are to adjust their Claims against the United States has as yet been made to Congress; but still we trust that the application on behalf of Virginia for that purpose will not be rejected.<sup>1</sup>

We have the honor to be Sir, With great Respect, Your Excellencys  
Most Hble Servants,  
Cyrus Griffin  
J. Brown

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Brown and signed by Brown and Griffin.

<sup>1</sup> Governor Randolph's March 7 letter is not in PCC, but that of the 13th requesting an extension of the June 21st deadline for settling Virginia's Continental accounts, as established by the ordinance of May 7, 1787, was read in Congress on May 5 and referred to the board of treasury to report. Congress had hoped for a speedy settlement of state accounts through the establishment of a general board of three commissioners with final authority to reconcile claims and five district commissioners to collect documents and evidence. William Winder, district commissioner for Virginia and North Carolina, alerted Randolph to the state's need to comply with the ordinance on December 20, 1787, but quickly found Virginia's records to be so fragmentary and poorly organized that he considered nearly all claims undocumented. When the board of treasury reported on May 7 it rejected Randolph's request but directed the district commissioners "to receive from the several States all their Accounts against the Union, under such Forms, as they may judge it adviseable to exhibit. . . should the time limited for their reception not enable the States to class them under the several heads, as stated in the Ordinance." See *JCC*, 32:262–66, 34:140n, 145–46; PCC, item 71, 2:589–92; and Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse*, pp. 215–16. For the delegates' discussion of the board's report and the eventual reversal of this decision, see Virginia Delegates to Randolph, May 8; and Edward Carrington to Randolph, June 9, 19, and 25.

## Nathan Dane to Manasseh Cutler

My Dear Sir:

New York, April 6, 1788.

I received yours of the 18th ult. I shall readily pay every attention to the subject you mention in my power.

Nothing particular has taken place since I wrote you last. We have had no late information of any considerable importance from the Indians. It is rather uncertain as yet how the elections for the State Convention have gone in Virginia, and no conjectures can well be formed how they will be in this State.

I see by the papers that the British Ministry have demanded the abolition of the works at Cherbourg. This newspaper information is all I have heard or seen respecting the affair, but if such a demand has been made, I think it must be passed by in silence by the French Court, or that Court must refuse to comply with it. The probable consequence, in my mind, is war. I inclose you a letter from Major Sargent.

With sentiments of esteem and friendship, I am, dear sir, your  
obed't servant,  
N. Dane.



MS not found; reprinted from William P. and Julia P. Cutler, eds., 2 vols. *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (1888; reprint ed., Athens, O.: Ohio University Press, 1987), 1:382.

## Leonard Gansevoort to Stephen Van Rensselaer

My Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

New York April 6th. 1788.

I am exceedingly sorry to observe that your prospects of the succeeding Election<sup>2</sup> are not more flattering than they appear from your Letter of the 30th Ult. Your Opinion that my presence in the County is indispensably necessary places me in one of the most disagreeable situations that is possible. On the one hand, I could wish to comply with your wish, because I long to see my Family & from a conviction that I could be more useful to promote the good of the Country in taking an Active part in the Election and also from your Opinion which carries with it almost the force of a Law, on the other hand, Congress earnestly wish to retain a sufficient Number of States to transact the ordinary Business, and when you consider the peculiar situation of my Colleagues in the delegation you will perceive that I can be better spared than either of the others except Yates who is not wanted here at all. Mr. Benson cannot attend as well on Account of his private Business as the general Election, and Mr. LHommedieu and myself had some Conversation on the Subject when he returned from Poughkeepsie he assured me that he was very apprehensive of the Issue of the Election in Suffolk unless he could be at Home to concert Measures to procure a federal representation from there to the Convention and thought and indeed insisted hard that I should remain untill after the Election when he would releive me—add to all this the constant fear of the Gent. in this place that Congress may on some day when the State is not represented revive the Motion for removing farther South. What must I do in this dilemma? will I not incur the just Censure of the State by breaking up the representation in the national Councils? do I not neglect the true Interest of the State by remaining here, when I could render the federal Cause perhaps essential service in our County? your Answers to these Questions will determine my Conduct irreversibly.

The first Volume of Publius is published & the Numbers for Albany will go by Peter Schuyler on Wednesday in the Care of Robt. McClallen Esqr. to whom I have caused them to be directed, will it not be well for the Committee to appoint a proper Person to issue them and receive pay for them in behalf of the Printer.

The Debates of the Pensylvania Convention as well as the Commissions for your Regiment will go up by the next Stage, Mr. Scot has promised that they should be finished on Wednesday next.

I have called three times at Mr. Gaines to deliver your Message respecting the Trees and could not see him, have yesterday left an extract of your Letter at his House, with direction where I could be found, to morrow I expect young Prince in Town and will furnish him with your request, if possible the Trees will go by Schuyler.

Your Brother Phil is not yet come to Town. I wish to see him very much.

Contrary to all expectation Westchester & Queens it is now thought will elect federal Characters to represent them in Convention, Kings is decidedly well disposed to a Man, and from Suffolk we hear that Floyd & LHommedieu are very active.

The federal Cause gains ground fast to the Southward and from Rhode Island we learn that the federalists dissatisfied with the Method adopted by their Legislature, instead of polling themselves in favor of the Constitution have remonstrated against the Method, hence all the Votes taken in the different Towns are for its rejection, and tho' it is conceded that a Majority of the Electors in that State are opposed to the plan, yet a very respectable Number composed of the Wealth & abilities in that State are warm Advocates for it.

I thank you for the Trouble you have taken to prevail upon Mrs. Gansevoort to come down and am sorry You was not more successful.

The Commissions for Thomas Barritt, Dirck Hilton, John Veeder & Jonathan Hilton as Cutters of Staves, Henry J. Bogert as Measurer of Boards, Timber &c. and Jellis Winne as repacker of Beef & Pork, I will send up per M. McClallen, good Use may be made of them as they were severally appointed by our recommendations—it will be well to let Maus R Van Vranken know that in consequence of his application to me he was recommended and is now actually appointed a Justice of the Peace as I have seen by the Records of the Council. Jonathan Hilton I believe know nothing about it but I considered him as a friend to your Family and an honest & industrious Man & therefore added his Name—have you taken care to apprise Dd. V Rensselaer, Jacob Fort Junr., Philip Conyne & Thos. Tobias that they are appointed Coroners through the same Channel, this should not be neglected, their Commissions will also go up with the rest—it may give a Spur to Action. I think it would be well to suggest to Genl. Schuyler the propriety of writing official Letters to the newly appointed Justices, their Commission will go up soon Mr. Scot has promised me that he will attend to it.

Mr. Gross will go up soon with an Address from the German Society he is warmly federal and I promise myself much good from his Excursion. I have endeavoured to promote a similar Measure by the St. Andrews Society in this place which consists of near 300 Members of all which Number there is but one Antiman, to wit, Genl. Malcom, our friend James Caldwell has seconded this application to Wm. Maxwell

the Vice president and the Society will meet to Morrow for the purpose, they cannot believe that the Scotch in Albany differ so widely from them in sentiment, many of the leading Members of that Body have promised to give their Attendance and promote this necessary Measure, they will at least write to the Scotch in the Upper Counties as well as in Albany.

Coll North has assured me that he will go up this Week. I have impressed his Mind with the absolute Necessity of affording all the assistance in his Power.

Palmer in Ballston has been written to by Dirck Lefferts per post, but fear his Letter will remain in the post office unless some step is taken to forward it, can't you procure some unsuspected Person to take it up & forward it to him. Hamilton says others have written Palmer on the same Subject.

Yours very sincerely &c,

Leonard Gansevoort

RC (N: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Addressed: "Stephen Van Rensselaer Esqr., Water Vleit near Albany."

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Van Rensselaer (1764–1839) was the eighth patroon of the vast Rensselaerwyck estate in Albany and Rensselaer Counties, New York. He graduated from Harvard College in 1782, married Gen. Philip Schuyler's daughter Margaret in 1783, and was elected as a Federalist to the New York Assembly, 1789–90, to the state Senate, 1791–95, and as lieutenant-governor, 1795–1801. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Federalist "prospects" in the approaching Albany County election for delegates to New York's ratifying convention.

## Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher

Dear Sir

[April 6? 1788]<sup>1</sup>

In making up my weekly packet should I omit to direct a Letter to you it might be attributed to a cause very far from reality, a want of esteem & attention, Not with any credit of saying anything new, or communicating entertainment, but merely to cover a letter & a New York paper & evince my wish by every oppoy to cultivate a correspondence on any side very agreeable is the design of this my No 2. I have a wish to hear from you, to know what *communications* you made to the House, How you get along—What the temper of my Countrymen is—Who is to be in & who out—We are here in the old Style, Six States only. Reed & Wadsworth gone home about the time or since your departure; yet it will not do to abdicate the Government. I have reason to fear no adoption will take place this year, and I am informed the people of Massachusetts are very uneasy, That R I have & N Hampshire certainly will reject. At this moment all hands are parliamenteering. By the time you wish the result may be known. Detail every circumstance, For Trifles are important in connexion with our Country.



Your friend & Hum Sert,

Sam A Otis<sup>2</sup>

[P.S.] Present me to friend Hill, Nason, Coney, Wiggery & all my friends federal & Anti.

MS not found; reprinted from *Historical Magazine*, 2d ser. 6 (December 1869): 353.

<sup>1</sup> Thatcher had returned home March 25 and Otis wrote to him Saturday March 29. This is his second "weekly" letter to Thatcher, to whom he also wrote on Sunday April 13, and it was undoubtedly written on April 5 or 6. It has been placed here at the latter date because it may have gone with the same post that carried Nathan Dane's April 6 letter to Manasseh Cutler.

<sup>2</sup> Otis also wrote the following brief letter to George Morgan the following day. "Soon after I had the pleasure of a conversation with you upon the subject of husbandry I met with the enclosed upon raising Carrots, Which I think will amuse you.

"As the author is a very particular friend, & [I] am upon a footing of intimacy, with several of our very best farmers, should you furnish me with any communications in return, it would oblige." Logan-Dickinson Collection, PPL. Morgan forwarded this letter to John Dickinson at Wilmington, Del., to whom he explained that Otis' enclosure was "On the Culture of Carrots, by Tristram Dalton."

## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

My dear Sir

N.Y. April 7th [1788]

Colonel Wadsworth has thought proper to leave us—and his state being unrepresented we are again reduced to six only—and probably may continue in that situation a week or two longer. The N. York delegates do not attend—it seems to me the period is fully arrived to close the Confederation.

As no french packet has yet appeared or been heard of the minister is inclined to think that a prohibition was made to their sailing during the winter months—or perhaps some change in that department may have occasioned it.

Rhode Island have in fact rejected the constitution—so that only eight states can have adopted the system before the Session of Virginia. We all much rejoiced to hear of your election, especially as your being present, we are told, was absolutely necessary to counter-act some unwarrantable proceedings.

I do not know whether you are acquainted with a Mr Paradise from London who came to Virginia in October last with the strongest recommendations as a man of understanding and a good American—he is now in this City and will embark for Paris in the first french packet—if you have any confidential letters to Mr. Jefferson I am sure he will take the best charge of them—he is very intimate with that Minister and will go immediately to his house.



At some convenient hour I hope you will give me your opinion upon the prospect of the new-Constitution—the Elections now finished &c.

News papers enclosed. I am, my dear Sir, with the highest respect & friendship, your obedient Servant,  
C Griffin

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

## John Brown to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York April 9th. 1788

I herewith inclose two Letters which were this Morning brought for you to our Lodgings—also the News Papers of this day which contain all intelligence in circulation here worthy your Notice. The French Packett arrived a day or two ago (being the first since you left us). I hear she has brought some public Dispatches but am not yet inform'd of their Contents.<sup>1</sup> Nine States have not appeared on the floor of Congress since you left N. York which has prevented any further Consideration of the Kentucky Address.<sup>2</sup> No Report has been made as yet upon the remonstrance of Virginia relative to Illinois Accounts<sup>3</sup>—indeed scarce any thing has been done—for ten days past we have not made a Congress being reduced to six States.

We have had the pleasure to be inform'd of Your Election for the ensuing Convention—from the returns which I have seen my hopes are somewhat revived—should the Back Country be in favor success I think is certain.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In the hand of John Brown, signature clipped.

<sup>1</sup> For the foreign dispatches received at this time but not read in Congress until a quorum was reached on May 2, see *JCC*, 34:128–31.

<sup>2</sup> See Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See James Madison to Edmund Randolph, March 3, note.

## John Brown to James Breckinridge

Dear Breckinridge

New York April 11th. 1788

I this day recd. your's of the 1st Instant & find from your Statement that I am two Letters in arear in my Correspondence with you—my memory does not enable me to correct the error but am fully of opinion that I am intitled to larger Credits than you have given me—however I shall not contend about it for I assure you that the pleasure I take in writing to you is only exceeded by that of perusing your's in return, the contents of which are ever to me both amusing & interest-

ing. I am really sorry that Brother James did not receive my letter which you make mention of—it contained a Memm. of many thing[s for] him to transact for me when on his way out to K[entucky]. I wrote you some time past to forward it to him in cas[e it did] not arrive before he left Wms Burg—but fear some miscarriage has taken place—should he not receive it before he leaves Rukbridge I doubt I shall have to return that Way.

The Intelligence from Frankland is rather extraordinary. I am well pleased to hear that old Tipton kept the field—he has still proved Victorious. I once had the pleasure to see him beat his *Excy.* (cum pug-nibus) untill Blood & outcrys testified that *he* had enough of it—his Sons also Vanquished Seviere's—but I did not expect that any would be found such fools as to risk their lives on behalf of either. However I am much deceived if any suffer in the contest except *such* as deserve a more ignominious death.<sup>1</sup>

There is not any News in circulation here worthy your Notice—the French & English Packets arrived a day [or two] ago. By them we are inform'd that Peace prevails in Europe except between Russia & the Turks. Nothing further has been done in Congress relative to the Kentucky Address since I wrote you last—I am still sanguine in my expectations but fear that a determination will not be had as soon as I supposed—not having a full Representation of the States this may probably induce me to postpone the time intended for my return as I think it may be prudent to wait untill that Business so important to our Western Country shall be finally settled. The Governor & Judges of the Territory NW. of the Ohio have set out from this for that Country with a number of Settlers—they expect in the [Spring] of the next Year to settle 1000 families from [the eas]tern States on the Ohio—this will be a great [acqu]isition both to the Natural & Political Strength of our New Country.

Contracts have already been entered into by different Companys with the Board of Treasury for Six or Seven Millions of Acres of Land NW. of the Ohio at a Dollar public Securities per Acre, no small deduction from our public Debt.

I enjoy good Health & much happiness & can assure that I am with esteem, Yr mo. Affe. & Hble Servt.,

J Brown

RC (ViU: Breckinridge Papers in the collections of the Albemarle County Historical Society).

<sup>1</sup> For the longstanding hostility between Col. John Tipton, commander of the North Carolina militia in Washington County, N.C., and John Sevier, governor of the proposed state of Franklin, and the February skirmish in Jonesborough between forces under their control, see *DAB* (q.v., Sevier and Tipton); and Samuel C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin*, rev. ed. (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1933), pp. 108–10, 198–209.

## Leonard Gansevoort to Stephen Van Rensselaer

Dear Stephen,

New York April 11. 1788.

I send you per Capt. Trotten the Trees you wrote for as per Account inclosed.

You will likewise receive two packages of the federalist one for Montgomery directed to your Care the other containing fifty Numbers predicated upon the Albany subscription which is not to be found. Coll Hamilton says he does not recollect having received it from Genl. Schuyler one of the Numbers of Publius please to send John Younglove Esqr. whom I have written and informed him that you would forward him one of them which I had subscribed for him—my Letter to him and some Commissions for his Regiment have taken the Liberty to address to your Care.

The Commissions for your Regiment you will also receive, the Secretary's Account for them lies inclosed for which have given him my Note.

Six other Commissions under the great Seal and which I mentioned in my last Letter you will find among the Cargo, which please to have delivered to my Friend Leonard or some other Person, to Issue and receive the fees indorsed let the Commissions be retained till the Fee is paid, as I have made myself responsible for the Fees or a return of the Commission.

The Debates of the Pensylvania Convention I have had bound in Calf skin for you as also one Number of Publius when the 2d Volumes are published one of each will be bound in like Manner & forwarded.

I send you the Papers of today and as I have many Letters to write—  
Adieu, Yours sincerely &c. Leonard Gansevoort

RC (NHi: Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Gansevoort).

## Charles Thomson to Arthur St. Clair

Dear Sir,

New York April 11. 1788

Upon my arrival here I found a letter from Mr Etwein enclosing one for you which I forward herewith.<sup>1</sup> He informs me that the letter to you is from the Agents for the Missions of the United brethren, in behalf of the remains of the Christian Indians who were driven from Muskingum.<sup>2</sup> Such is my Confidence in your humanity that I am sure they will not plead in vain. I beg leave to submit to your consideration how far it may [*be*] proper to quiet the minds of the Delaware in Respect to the mournful Slaughter of their friends & relations on the Muskingum & to remove from their thoughts every idea of its being a

measure of Government & whether it might not be well, in case they bring forward a complaint on this Account, to inform them how much the act was disapproved of by Congress and what pain it gave them that the Nation, who were at war with us should have been the cause or given pretext for the detested deed, by opening a war path through the towns of those innocent people & previously removing them to Sandusky.

I hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing you in Philadelphia, but when I called I found you were gone to visit your family. I heartily wish you success in your negotiations, & happiness in the administration of your government, being with sincere respect, Dear Sir, Your most obedt & Most humble Servt

FC (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson. Addressed: "To Govr St Clair."

<sup>1</sup> Bishop John Ettwein's March 26 letter to Thomson is in the Thomson Papers, DLC. The enclosed letter from Ettwein to St. Clair contained a plea for the Christian Indians of the Ohio territory, who were generally regarded with suspicion by other western Indians who were about to hold a treaty with St. Clair.

<sup>2</sup> For the efforts made by Congress to compensate these Delaware Indians for the depredations committed by American frontier militia against them, see Thomson to John Ettwein, August 26, 1786, and August 15, 1787. See also these *Letters*, 18:448–49, 21:468, 496–97.

For a subsequent memorial from Ettwein of August 29 concerning lands reserved "for the Remnant of the suffering Christian Indians and their Descendants," and Congress' September 3 order to the geographer of the United States to proceed with the survey of these lands, see Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 2:147–48, 153–55.

## Paine Wingate to Samuel Lane

Dear Sir,<sup>1</sup>

New York April 12th. 1788.

I received your favor of March 17th and was much gratified with your particular information respecting the Convention, and your relation of sundry other historical events. Your account was the most minute & authentic, which I had received at so early a date, concerning the debates & decisions of the Convention. Tho' I was disappointed & sorry for the event, yet was glad to have the true state of the facts. I suppose as the Delegates then viewed the matter, it was fortunate that the issue was no worse. But the ill impression on the minds of people by the adjournment is more extensive & mischievous than you would imagine. It is complained of as far as Virginia, & believed that if New Hampshire had adopted, there would not have been one dissenting state. Whereas there is now some danger that the whole plan will miscarry. I say some danger, for Virginia & New York are I suppose nearly divided, and that from selfish views, & their influence is considerable over other states. But upon the whole the probab[il]ity



is in favor of its being adopted. You know my opinion of the necessity & importance of this, for the safety & welfare of the country under our present circumstances. I shall trouble you no more on this subject. Congress have had application made to them from Kentucky, to be made an independent state, This is a large Tract of Country on the westward part of Virginia. It is situated between the Allegany Mountains & the river Ohio, on the East of that river. These mountains lie in a chain from North to South & are impassable except in two places. It is six hundred miles from the center of this Country, to the seat of government in Virginia, And cannot be travelled in less than 21 days, & that with great peril in fording or rafting over the rivers, & climbing over the rocks & mountains, where there is no road, & never can be inhabited for the distance of 5 days journey. Notwithstanding those difficulties, so tempting is the soil that there are said to be not less than 60 thousand souls settled there already. There is a member in Congress from that Country,<sup>2</sup> a Clergymans son, who gave me this account. He says that the winters are so mild, that the cattle in the spring will be as fat as at any time, without the trouble of feeding them. That it is a very hea[l]thy climate. That there are a number of salt springs where the people can boil the water & make salt as we do out of sea water. It is only crossing over the river & there is the western country where the Ohio company & others are about to make their settlements. It is said that where the Ohio emptieth itself into the Mississippi so flat is the country & such floods come down in the spring season, that there is a space of forty miles distance laid under water. Which forms the appearance of a sea, out of which a forest of trees rises. The vast country north west of the Ohio was ceded by Virginia to the united states upon condition that they should be reimbursed for their expences in defending of it during the late war. This Congress agreed to & commissioners were appointed by mutual consent to ascertain the sum. The commissioners have not yet reported, & cannot easily agree either two of them. One supposes that 60 Thousd. pounds LM would be enô, another 150 Thousd pounds & the other would give them 220 Thousd pounds for their expences. This would be a dear purchase of that Country to the united states. I intended to have given you some account of the City of New York in this letter, but have dwelt so long on the New Constitution, & the western country, that I find I shall not have room. Boston is not more than two thirds as large as this City in buildings & numbers, and I suppose are much the same in proportion of commerce & wea[l]th. The continual increase is very great, & I think its situation is very favorable to its being the center of business & wealth in the union. As for news I will enclose a paper to give you that. We have nothing remarkable in Congress. I shall be glad to hear from you when it is convenient. I cannot take much pains in writing, having considerable of it to do. If you can read

it & find any amusement there from my end is answered, especially if you will consider it as a token of that esteem and friendship with which I am yours &c,

Paine Wingate

P.S. If I should not write by this post to my family please let them know that I am well & desire my affectionate regard to all friends.

RC (MH-H: Wingate Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Lane, a New Hampshire farmer, tanner, and shoemaker, and a deacon of the Stratham Congregational Church, had long been a neighbor of Wingate. Charles E. L. Wingate, *Life and Letters of Paine Wingate*, 2 vols. (Medford, Mass.: Mercury Printing Co., 1930), 1:112, 165, 192, 2:355.

<sup>2</sup> That is, John Brown.

## Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher

Dear Sir

New York 13th April 1788

Altho I can only enclose you a barren paper I cannot suffer the post to go without directing to you. The No of Gentlemen present has hardly been sufficient since your absence to affect the smallest business; of course am unable to give friend Gerrey such an answer upon the extension of posts as he wishes, but in answer to *his*, have written him upon the Subject.<sup>1</sup> I think Hazzard is in a bad box. The foederalists frown upon him for being anti. The opposers of foederalism charge him hard with stoping the papers, & "muzzling the process" to facilitate the purposes of despotism.<sup>2</sup> I hope they will not oust him, but a little shaking will put him right. The officers of Congress will receive no injury by *shaking*.

The *parties* are hard at it here, and in Virginia. Tis said Clinton will be candidate for the City, & will carry it for Ulster County.

Mrs P enquires frequently after you, and Mr D is so studious he seldom times his muscles to a smile, We miss you at meal times, which if ever is a season for hilarity.

My Compliments to all friends Mr Hill, Nason &c, being fellow Laborers, particularly, from, Your friend & H. Sert, Sam A Otis

Sunday Evening. Not expecting amongst so many acts of friendship from Dear Chumm, a letter from Boston, altho I expected one dated from Biddeford soon after you got home, I cannot seal, without thanking you for yours of 6th. I am particul[ar]ly obliged for your attention to my dear family and as I always telled you, you are better than your principles, so I have no reason to suppose you telled Mrs O any stories abot me, to my prejudice—For am sure if you had, I should have heard of them. Whether the Ladies are fond of a fatt man have not particularly enquired, but as you coupled "fatt & handsome," they may

pass very well; for one is true to my sorrow, & the other, if it is *one*, tis a white *one*, And a casuistical friend says, *those* which injure nobody are not charged. *Your* Ghost haunted me in your absence But having advanced the five dollars & got Ludlows rect, I conclude he is *laid*.

I am surprized at the Governors petulence, precision, or whatever you please to denominate it. We had written him several Letters, and one I think, at the same time or very near it. We are by Constitution the officers not of the Governor, but of the Legislature, & viewing the thing strictly not accountable to him; However I have no objection to directing to him, but as I know Letters have been frequently directed as ours was to the Legislature, It lay in my mind as a thing of course, in recess, to write the Supreme Ex[ecu]tive, in sessions to the Legislature. I had no design to offend. You remember we proposed to the Legislature to get a copy of the plan, & they resolved accordingly, but the Govr would not sign it; alledging as a reason "that we had directed our Letter to the Legislature, not to him?" Great men have more resentments & mortifications than little ones, or feel them more in prosperity. I am sure I should not have resented so trivial a deviation from etiquette if indeed it was a deviation. But refering him to John Rogers advice to his children, which may apply to political, as well as natural death, I leave him with contemplations upon mortality, for

young children to[o] may die

And so *may he & I*

When I told brother D "you loved him" he smiled, but when I hinted some new objections, against the New System, he was quite risible; Descended from the hights of philosophy & speculation, and was for half an hour, meer mortal. I confess I think what old Corran said of you was true "a man of pretty parts," But any other Irishman would say, by my Showl, & by St Patrick, which is more, if you can find an *additional* objection, you are a Genius indeed!

The account of your having been to meeting twice, who best of all ——— Altho in any other man should suppose there was a little leaven of hypocrisy in it—What? Stay in NY all winter, where good Mr B, & good Dr P, those great apostles of the Gentiles enlighten the world, without going to meeting, Kirk, or Church, Yet the moment you get to NE go twice a day. But I suppose you are of the opinion of a great politician deceased, that it was sure fighting at the head of the black Regiment.

Upon the whole you had better not have write me for your name sake, You know my infirmity, the cacoethes scribendi, And had you exercised usual prudence you would not have been in such a scrape; For I shall run you down, tire you out, and make you regret ever exposing yourself to such a long winded Scribbler. I must finish the Sheet.



Congress have never been in session since your departure, and there are only six States who will attend: NY have indeed a representation in Town but one of the members is so engaged in private business he cannot attend.

You did not mention a word about approaching election. There are several News papers arived in your absence which I shall preserve until we meet that you may complete your folios.

Our family are to pack up in a week or two when the annual uproar begins. We have got a very excellent house in Q Street and in a Street much more clean & healthy. I suppose you intend returning to your old quarters again for altho it is at a distance *Mother* calculates for you. The old influence is exerting to get to Philada but presume it will hardly obtain. Mr Prices has got Madam there and I suspect she is averse from any farther advances East. But it must be done. I have no violent attachment for this place but at any rate tis more healthy than Pensilvania. Adieu my dear Sir & believe me very sincerely yours,

Sam A Otis

RC (PHi: Dreer Members of Congress Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Otis' letter to Elbridge Gerry has not been found. For postmaster general Ebenezer Hazard's March 4 report supporting a petition for the extension of the posts "Eastward of Portland. . .[to] Pownalborough," see *JCC*, 34:81–82. For the May 20 attempt of Otis and Nathan Dane to obtain congressional adoption of Hazard's recommendation, which was rejected by a vote of 7 to 1, see *ibid.*, pp. 161–62, and Otis to Thatcher, May 25.

<sup>2</sup> For discussion of the antifederalist charge that Hazard, "through his chain of patronage—postmasters and postriders," was responsible for a breakdown of the mails that prevented opponents of the new Constitution from disseminating their message to the people, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 16:540–42. See also Cyrus Griffin to James Madison, March 24, note 3.

## Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons

My dear Sir

N. York. April 14th. [1788]

At present I discover no probability that Congress will adjourn to Philadel—the southren states not being fully represented—and as my family, when seperate from me are very expensive, money difficult to be gotten, and their situation in a boarding house not the most agreeable, I think they had better conclude and come to this place, to set out about the last day of April in order to reach N. York, on the first Friday or Saturday in May. The horses will remain in Bristol, fed upon grain &c untill about the 28th but I wished to know if any Gentleman was coming this way and would take charge of the family some distance upon the road. I fear Mr. Obrien cannot wait so long—and



whether decent postilions could be hired for the Journey. As to the woman I shall write lady C.<sup>1</sup> The chariot would be too much crouded & she not wanting upon the Journey.

But, my dear sir, how does the money hold forth—and if not, can you negotiate a Bill upon me.

Be so kind to answer this letter and I will trouble you upon the subject with only one more letter.

By the last vessels from Europe we are told that the Netherlands are still in great confusion—that Russia is carrying on the war against the Turks with uncommon vigor, and perhaps will be powerfully assisted by the Emperor—that in all probability the horrid flame may be extended much farther—and that in Truth the peace between France and England will not continue any considerable length of time—and say our ministers *the conduct of the united states should be a system of neutrality*.

Be so good to send the enclosed letter; and with my affect respects to your kind lady believe me with the utmost sincerity & regard Your most obedient servant,  
C Griffin

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1649.5).

<sup>1</sup> Although “the woman” referred to has not been identified, “Lady C” was Griffin’s wife, Lady Christina Stuart, daughter of the 6th earl of Traquair.

## Cyrus Griffin to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir

New York. April 14th. 1788.

The Congratulations of so kind a friend I receive with the utmost pleasure.

Accept my thankfull acknowledgements for your Excellencies very Obliging Letter and very polite Attention.<sup>1</sup>

By the last Vessels from Europe we are told that the Netherlands are Still in Great Confusion—that Russia is Carrying on the war against the Turks with uncommon Vigour, and perhaps will be powerfully assisted by the Emperor—that in all probability the horrid flame may be extended much further—and that in truth the Peace between France & England will not continue any considerable time.<sup>2</sup>

This being the Appearance of things abroad, I hope the United States at home will adopt a Constitution beautifull in theory and which will be found a Government of Safety, and of Energy.

I have the honour to be Dear Sir, with profound Esteem & regard, Your Excellencys most Obedient servant,  
Cyrus Griffin

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors’ Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> Johnston’s letter is not in the PCC or *N. C. State Records*.

<sup>2</sup> See the following entry, note 4.

## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

My dear sir

N.Y. April 14th. [1788]

The french packet has at length arrived—but after a passage so long nothing new and material could be expected.

Mr Jefferson writes a very short letter, but not a word of Intelligence<sup>1</sup>—perhaps the enclosed to you may contain somewhat more satisfactory.<sup>2</sup> He has also sent a letter to your attention for Ben. Lewis near Richmond, and George Clymer of Philadelphia—five french pamphlets for Mr Bannister of Virginia, and a small package for yourself containing something valuable perhaps; what shall be done with them be kind enough to direct.

The Captain of a vessel from some port of france has just told me of three or four large boxes on board of him, for you, George Wythe, and other gentlemen, directed to your care.<sup>3</sup> I shall have them brought to my house, and shall pay the freight, port duties &c. Give directions about those also.

Mr Adams has written a letter by the british packet of December 16th.<sup>4</sup> He is preparing to leave England and seems to regret that Colo Smith could not be honored with some appointment from Congress—he tells us that the Netherlands are still in great confusion—that the Russians are carrying on the war against the Turks with great vigor, and perhaps will soon be assisted by the Emperor—and that in all probability the war may extend a good deal farther, that the peace between France and Britain may not continue a long time, & that our essential business will be *neutrality*. He approves highly the proposed Constitution.

Publius has not appeared since my last enclosure.

I thank you for the favor of March 25th.<sup>5</sup> We all rejoice greatly at your election; indeed, my dear sir, we consider you as the main pillar of the business on the right side; but from the elections hitherto sent to us there is certainly a majority against the system, but the western members will preponderate the scale. In point of virtues and real abilities the federal members are much superior. Henry is weighty and powerful but too interested—Mason too passionate—the Governor by nature timid and undecided—and Grayson too blustering.

Brown begs his best respects to you—nothing yet done with Kentucky, or the Illi. matters.<sup>6</sup>

Accept the enclosed paper—and consider me with real friendship  
&c, Cyrus Griffin

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Jefferson's three-page letter to John Jay of February 5, although Griffin's description of it is odd, for which see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:563–65.

<sup>2</sup> For this February 6 letter to Madison, see *ibid.*, pp. 568–70; and Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:22–23.

<sup>3</sup> For these "large boxes," see *ibid.*, 10:357n.2.

<sup>4</sup> John Adams' letter is in PCC, item 84, 6:591–94; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:824–26.

<sup>5</sup> Not found.

<sup>6</sup> For which see John Brown to Madison, April 9, notes 2 and 3.

## Charles Pettit to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

Philadelphia 14th. April 1788

After my Return from New York in May last, I presented an Account to the Comptroller General in order to obtain a Warrant from Council for a few Weeks Pay as a Member in Congress. Considering it as a Business of course I neglected farther Application for some Time, but was at length told that Doubts had arisen in Council whether I was intitled to the Pay stated in the Account or not. These Doubts seem to have arisen on one or other of the two following suppositions.

1st. That the Assembly, by the Election of Genl. Armstrong, intended to supercede my Appointment, or

2dly. That the Time limited by the Constitution for my Continuance, was expired before I gave the Attendance for which I have claimed Pay.

As to the first, I am far from questioning the *Right* of the Assembly to supercede any one of their Delegates whenever they think proper: But having never received any Intimations of their Disapprobation of my Conduct as a Delegate, I cannot suppose they intended to brand me with so unusual a Mark of Displeasure.

As to the second—The fœderal Constitution limits the Service of Members to three Years. It was for some Time doubted whether the three Years should be computed from the Time of their respective Appointments, or the Time of taking their Seats in Congress; but the Words being that "no Person shall be *capable of being a Delegate* for more than three Years in any Term of six Years," the former Construction has prevailed. The Words of Limitation in the Constitution of Pennsylvania are "No Man shall *sit in Congress* longer than two Years successively." Hence it has been generally understood that the two Years, so far as this Limitation applies, commence at the Time a Delegate takes his Seat in Congress, and this Construction has prevailed in Practice.<sup>1</sup>

Those who best know me will do me the Justice to believe that altho' I was duly sensible of the Honor conferred upon me by the Appointment, I was far from soliciting it, and that I should have been equally far from obtruding my Services in this last Period of Attendance if I could have supposed they would have been either deemed unacceptable or founded on doubtful Authority. I therefore take the Liberty of stating to Your Excellency and the honble. the



Supreme Executive Council my View of the Subject at the Time of the Transaction.

In April 1785 The Legislature did me the Honor to elect me a Delegate. Being a Member of the House at the Time, I had some Doubts, in point of Delicacy of accepting the Appointment, and had actually refused at a former Session to permit my Name to remain in the List of Nominations; but it was again urged so warmly that I did not absolutely refuse, neither did I announce an Acceptance till some Time after the Session ended. In May I received the Credentials of my Appointment, and on the 27th of that Month I presented them and took a Seat in Congress. In the November Session following I was again appointed for the ensuing Year. In November 1786 I received a third Appointment. As the Constitutional Limitation would admit but a few Months Continuance under this Appointment, it was to me both unexpected & undesired; but being at New York at the Time, and considering it as an honorable Testimony of Approbation which demanded my Gratitude, I accepted and continued to act under it till the Arrival of a sufficient Number of my honorable Colleagues enabled me to retire for some Time without leaving the States unrepresented. This had so seldom happened before, that I felt the strong Occasion to avail myself of the Relief, and remained absent from Congress till the beginning of April 1787, during which Time so many States were unrepresented that little Progress was made in Business. Considering that the Time limited by the Constitution for my Continuance in the Delegation would expire on the 26th of May, I began to decline the Thought of returning to that Duty; but there were then but two Delegates from this State at New York, one of whom was by his Station precluded from the ordinary Duties of a Member,<sup>2</sup> and the other having signified to me his Desire to be relieved by a particular Day at which he must withdraw himself for a Time: recollecting moreover that some Matters of Business were likely to be resumed in Congress which my honorable Colleagues had had less Opportunity of investigating than myself, I thought it my Duty to give my Attendance tho' it should be but for a few Weeks. On the Day of my Arrival in Congress, General Irvine, who had been impatiently waiting for a Relief, departed. I had heard that General Armstrong was elected & supposed that the Intention was to guard against a Vacancy when my Time should be expired, but had no Reason to suppose it was designed to affect my Continuance during that Time, nor did I receive any Notification of such Election otherwise than from common Report, neither did I know till sometime after I went to Congress that the Gentleman elected had determined to accept the Appointment. On his Arrival at New York sometime afterwards, I obtained a Sight of his Credentials and consulted with him & the President of Congress on the Occasion, intending to retire immediately if I should discern the least Intimation that such had been the Design of the Legislature;



but nothing of the Kind appearing, I continued my Attendance in Congress till about the 18th or 20th of May when I withdrew, supposing my Time of Service to be within a few Days of expiring by the Limitation.

I have taken the Liberty to ask the Attention of Your Excellency and the honble. Council to these Particulars not so much with a View to the Sum I have claimed, however desirable it may be to me, as in order to remove the Appearance of Censure which a Refusal of it would seem to imply, and which I am not conscious of having deserved.<sup>3</sup>

I have the honor to be, with gre[a]t Respect, Sir, Your most obedient and most humble Servant,  
Cha. Pettit

RC (PHarH: RG 27). Addressed: "His Excellency The President of the Sup. Ex. Council."

<sup>1</sup> For which see *JCC*, 19:215, 26:102–3, 156–60, 27:377–79, 385–86, 29:682–84.

<sup>2</sup> That is, William Irvine and Arthur St. Clair. The latter was also the president of Congress at that time.

<sup>3</sup> For the Pennsylvania Council's response to Pettit's appeal, which was to order the payment of "one hundred and six pounds one shilling, being for his services as a member of Congress from the fifth of April to the nineteenth of May, 1787," see *Pa. Council Minutes*, 15:435.

## Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker

New York Apl. 17th. 1788.

I am now, my dear St George, at liberty to write to you on a Subject which for some time past has given me much Disturbance & Perplexity of Mind. For Heaven's sake, what do you make of the Letters of our dear NL.<sup>1</sup> In September last I received a long one from him containing such Matter as fill'd me with Astonishment & Anxiety. Agitated betwixt Wonder & Uneasiness I scann'd it as well as my Understanding wou'd enable me & found a perfect Connexion of Ideas throughout the whole, which gave me some Relief. But as he had been uncertain whether his Letter wou'd find me alive or not, he avoided entering into Explanations & left me totally in the Dark with respect to the Sources of his extraordinary Information. He concluded with desiring Me to think of what he had written but to communicate it to no one. Thus was I deprived of the Liberty of making any Inquiry either of your self or any of the rest of our Friends, for I knew not whether he had mention'd it to any. I attended to every Expression contain'd in my Letters from Bermuda, to endeavour to find out whether or not they were under the same Uneasiness, but nothing occur'd that afforded me any Light on the Subject. In this State of anxious Uncertainty, I wrote to him in the most pressing Terms to releive me from my Suspence by writing to me immediately the fullest Explanation he



Thomas Tudor Tucker

felt himself at liberty to give of these wonderful Discoveries, with the Source from whence they were derived. But I cou'd not venture to express a Doubt of the reality of every thing he asserted. In all my sober Moments I acknowledge the Superintendence of a Divine Power, & suppose that he acts by general Laws contrived to effect the Happiness of all sentient Beings. How far these general Laws may in the Moral as in the physical World produce Phœnomena that to our Understandings seem irregular & not resulting from the general principle, & therefore often term'd miraculous, I am not qualified to determine. A general propensity to Religion in Mankind, I have consider'd as Evidence of the Deity's Existence. The Tenets of all the different Sects appear to me to abound with Absurdities, as far as I have Knowledge of them. Not because I cannot explain every thing, but because many things seem to be contradictory to that Reason which has been given by God for our Guide. He cou'd not give us Reason & then take pains (if I may so express myself) to confound it's Operation.

June 13th. I know not how I have been prevented from continuing the Subject. I was going to add many other Observations, but shall rather proceed to Facts. I reced a very long Letter from N. in Answer, with a full Account of what had happen'd to him, & accompanied with several of Swedenborg's Books which I have not been able yet to read with Attention. I find he has sent them also to you & to our Friends in Bermuda. Our dear Sister B. sent them also to me by Mr. D. Tucker, without many remarks upon them, but N. says she reads them with Intelligence & Conviction. He is impatient to hear from you, & is also so earnest with me that I am perfectly at a loss how to write to him. Pray, help me out, if you can. Perhaps you have read those Books, & can form a better Judgment of them than I can. I shou'd be glad to have your Sentiments as fully as possible upon this very extraordinary Change. I must confess I was for some time even afraid to enquire about him, but am now happy to find that he goes on with his Business, & with rather better Prospects than formerly. Heaven bless you, my dear St. George. Yrs. most truly & sincerely,

Thos. Tud. Tucker

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, their brother Nathaniel, a Charleston physician, who was exploring the theological writings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), a proponent of a “new Christianity” of gradual redemption through the personal regulation of spiritual states.

## Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker

My dearest Brother                      New York. Hall of Congress Apl. 17th. 1788.  
I have this Minute receiv'd your favor of the 7th Inst. by Colo. Car-



rington, & feel real Distress at your Account of your present Situation. I was indeed hopeful that to the great Affliction of being deprived of the most valuable of Friends<sup>1</sup> you had not the additional Misfortune to feel yourself straighten'd in your pecuniary Circumstances. How much I partake of all your Griefs, & how happy I shou'd be to see them removed is truly beyond my powers of Utterance. I thought you at least possest of a Sufficiency to keep you free from anxious Anticipations of possible Sufferings to your self or dear Children. But it seems as if our Family were doom'd to a continual Struggle for the means of Existence. I before knew of your Appointment,<sup>2</sup> & was told by Mr. Madison that the Salary was 500£ per Annum, which, with a supposed independent Income, I flatter'd myself wou'd at least keep you free from Uneasiness. I still hope, my dear St. George, that your Difficulties will not be so great as you apprehend, & that from time to time something unforeseen will turn up to your Advantage. My own Circumstances are extreamly doubtful, insomuch that I scarcely dare to indulge serious Reflexion upon them, or to look forward to what may probably happen. But I believe the best way is not to be over minute in calculating future Chances, but to content ourselves with such Exercise of Foresight only as is necessary to enable us to manage our Affairs with prudence. When I go farther than this my Heart is apt to sink under the Heaviness of Despair. Let us endeavour to be comforted by the Consideration of our good Intentions, & leave the rest to Heaven. Whilst we live we shall at least have the Happiness to love each other, & when we die we shall certainly not make a Change for the worse. Those who are dependent on us can scarcely be supposed to be liable to more severe Sufferings than ourselves have experienced. I am indeed not philosopher enough to think of this without a Pang. But we must try to avoid giving ourselves up to an incessant Torture not merely fruitless but destructive of the Interests of those we love. May the Almighty give Comfort to your Heart, & make the Way smooth before you to the End of your Days! I rejoice that my dear Fanny has got better. Give my tender Love to her & the rest of your beloved Children. To my very good Friends Richard & Theodk. my Thanks for their Letters which I will reply to soon, & to all the three Youths my hearty & kind Regards. I must never forget my Friends Maria & Miss Carlos, who have a very great Share of my Affection. Commend me with particular Regard to Colos. Innes & Randolph & their Families. God bless you, my ever beloved Brother. I am most truly & affectly. Yours,

Thos. Tud. Tucker<sup>3</sup>

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the death of St. George Tucker's wife, see these *Letters*, 24:601n.2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, as "an additional Judge of the general court" following the reorganization of the Virginia court system in January, for which see *Journals of the Virginia Council*, 4:260; and Charles T. Cullen, *St. George Tucker and Law in Virginia, 1772-1804* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), pp. 72-81.



<sup>3</sup> In an April 14 letter concerning the education of his brother's children, Thomas also informed St. George of his interviews with William Samuel Johnson, president of Columbia College, and Daniel Huger, Thomas's South Carolina colleague who had a nephew at Princeton, about the relative expenses and merits of the two colleges. D. Tennant Bryan deposit, ViU. St. George had married Frances Bland Randolph, widow of John Randolph, in 1778, and the children in question were the three sons from her first marriage—Richard, Theodorick, and John Randolph—rather than the two that she had borne St. George in 1780 and 1784. See *DAB*; and Cullen, *St. George Tucker and Law in Virginia*, pp. 21, 75. For St. George's decision to send the Randolph boys to Columbia, see Tucker to Tucker, June 23.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan

Sir

New York April 19th 1788

Since I had the honor to write your Excellency, of the 21st March,<sup>1</sup> the Commotion in Pennsylvania seems to have subsided. The accounts from Virginia since their election of delegates for the State Convention are rather favorable, as both parties write that there is a small majority east of the mountains in favor of the new System and that the question will depend in a great measure on the delegates from Kentuckey. The Antifederalists are endeavoring to excite jealousy in that quarter by giving it out that the first business of the new Congress will be to Ceede the Navigation of the Mississippi to Spain. If they should not succeed in this mischief it is probable the question will obtain in their Convention.

I beg leave to relate, for your Excellencys amusement, a little affair which for several days interrupted the tranquility of this City: in which, however, there is nothing miraculous, though occasioned by raising the dead from their graves. It seems the young Surgeons had made a practice for several months past of digging up the dead for the purpose of anatomical dissection. The people in time became uneasy and applied to the Mayor for redress, but being unable to obtain relief or put a stop to the practice in that way, on Sunday last they surrounded the Hospital in a body and took several young men in the act of dissection; but gave them up to be confin'd without much abuse. The next day the mob assemble, ransack'd the houses of all most all the physicians in town & destroyed their valuable Anatomical preparations to a great amount. The Governor endeavored to prevent them, but to no effect. He at length order out the Militia—but the number that turned out was so contemptable as to be disarmed and kick'd off the field. This so enraged the mob that they determined to force the Jail and cut off the young doctors hands. They accordingly made the attack—broke down the yard—all the lower windows of the prison and made an entry on the lower floor. A second attempt was made to turn out the Militia and about forty were collected with Arms, who,

with a number of gentlemen, march'd up to the Jail amidst a shower of paving stones and brick bats. Mr. Jay was very badly wounded in the forehead but will probably recover—The Governor, Baron Steuben and many others more slightly—the Poor old Baron has got two black Eyes without the least consolation, as he execrates his own conduct for being in the action. They however recovered the Jail in time to save the lives of the prisoners but were finally obliged to fire upon the mob—three of whom were killed and several wounded which put an end to the affray.<sup>2</sup>

Let me beg your Excellencys acceptance of the Address herewith enclosed,<sup>3</sup> which I think contains some observation of general concern worthy of notice.

I have the Honor to be, with the most perfect Respect, your Excellencys most obedient & very Humble servant,                      Ns. Gilman

P.S. I am just now honored with your Excellencys obliging favor of the 4th instant with its enclosures, and beg leave to observe that as Colo. Long (who had the management of the Money in the hands of Mr. Wingate) declined taking an order on the Treasury I sent him my note of hand, payable twenty days after date, for £50, and requested the Loan officer to take it up; in hopes that he would receive money from the Treasury for the purpose.

RC (Nh-Ar: State Papers, Revolutionary Correspondence). Addressed: "His Excellency President Sullivan."

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> For a modern discussion of these riots of April 13–15, reconstructed primarily from contemporary newspaper accounts, see Jules Calvin Ladenheim, "'The Doctor's Mob' of 1788," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 5 (Winter 1950): 23–43.

The following contemporary account, from an April 16 letter by William Heth to Edmund Randolph, is reprinted from the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 4:425–26.

"We have been in a state of great tumult for a day or two past—the causes of which, as well as I can digest them from various accounts, are as follows: The young Students of Physic have for some time past been loudly complained of for their very frequent and wanton trespasses in the burial ground of this City. The Corpse of a young gentleman from the West Indies was lately taken up, the grave left open, and the funeral clothing scattered about. A very handsome and much-esteemed young lady of good connections was also recently carry'd off. These, with various other acts of a similar kind, inflamed the minds of people exceedingly, and the young members of the faculty, as well as the Mansions of the dead, have been closely watched. On Sunday last, as some people were strolling by the Hospital, they discovered *a something* hanging up at one of the windows which excited their curiosity, and making use of a stick to Satisfy that curiosity, part of man's arm or leg tumbled out upon them. The cry of barbarity, &c., was soon spread; the young sons of Galen fled in every direction; one took refuge up a chimney. The mob rais'd and the Hospital appartments were ransacked. In the Anatomy-room were found three fresh bodies, one boiling in a kettle and two others cuting up, with *certain parts* of the two sexes hanging up in a most brutal position. These circumstances, together with the wanton and apparent inhuman complexion of the room, exasperated the mob beyond all bounds, to the total destruction of every anatomy in the Hospital, one of which was of so much value and utility that it is justly esteemed a great public

loss, having been prepared in a way which costs much time and attention and requires great skill to accomplish.

"On Monday morning the mob assembled again, and increased thro' the day to an alarming size. Vengeance was denounced against the faculty in general, but more particularly against certain individuals. Not a man of the profession thought himself safe. An innocent person got beat and abused for being *only dressed in black*. Two of the young tribe were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands, but the Mayor obtained them upon a promise of sending them to gaol—a measure to which in their rage they submitted, not reflecting that *sending them to goal* would secure them from their violence and resentment, and therefore, as soon as they found themselves thus defeated in their furious intentions respecting their captives, they repaired to the goal and commenced their attack (with all that intemperance and folly which ever marks the conduct of people assembled in that way), vainly endeavouring to break in, when they could do nothing more than break windows, &c., which they will be taxed to repair. The militia were ordered out, small parties were sent to disperse them, but they instantly disarmed those attachments, broke their guns to peices, and made them scamper to save their lives. The evening advanced apace, and the affair became very serious. The Governor, after trudging about all day, first *with* the mob in the morning, endeavouring to pacify and accommodate, and in the afternoon to assemble a body respectable enough to preserve the goal and to restore peace and good order, advanced about dusk with a number of the Citizens, but without any kind of order or without any other than a *few side arms* and canes, while the Adjutant-Gen'l of the militia, about 300 yards in his rear, led up in very good order about 150 men, tho' not more than half with firearms, among whom were many gentlemen of the city and strangers, volunteers. This body were not long before the goal before the bricks and stones from the mob provoked several to fire, and perhaps their might, on the whole, have been 60 guns discharged, but this is mere guess. This body made their way into the goal where a party remained all night, but a sally of 60 or 70 were defeated. Three of the mob were killed on the spot, and one has since died of his wounds, and several were wounded. One of them was bayonetted on attempting to force into a window of the prison which he saw filled with armed men, a proof of the astonishing lengths to which popular rage will sometimes carry men. Numbers on the Governor's side, besides himself, are severely bruised. Baron Steuben rec'd a wound just above the corner of his left eye and nose, from which he lost a great deal of blood. Mr. Jay got his skull almost cracked, and are both now laid up. Gen'l Armstrong has got a bruised leg, but is able to go out. Yesterday the militia turned out again, and made a respectable appearance, and paraded about exceedingly, both *Horse and Foot*, but it must be observed that the enemy were not be heard of. In truth numbers who were *in the mob on Monday evening* turned out yesterday to support government."

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

## Charles Thomson to James McHenry

Dear Sir

New York April 19. 1788

I am sorry I have not been able sooner to answer your letter of the 19 of last month. I happened to be in Philadelphia when it reached New York. It was transmitted to me and when I received it I was in hopes I should have finished my business & returned in a few days. Therefore I immediately sent back the letter which was enclosed therein to be forwarded by the packet and deferred writing to you until I returned. My stay was longer than I expected, and after my return here I recd. your second letter of the 12 of this Month and at the



same time an Account of your election. I hope, notwithstanding the choice made by the counties of A[nne Arundel], Baltimore and Harford, that the elections of [Maryland?] are such as will ensure the adoption of the new Constitution; for unless that takes place I confess to you my fears for the safety, tranquility and happiness of my country are greater than at any period of the late war. The present federal government is at the point of expiring. It cannot I think survive the present year and if it could experience must have convinced every man of reflection that it is altogether inadequate to the end designed. What remedy then have we prepared for the train of disastrous events which must necessarily ensue from a dissolution of the Union or what security for our independence, peace & happiness as a nation?

You ask me what is the amount of the foreign & domestic debt? With regard to the foreign debt I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed schedule of the french & dutch loans shewing the periods of their redemption, the annual interest payable thereon & the instalments stipulated for discharging the principal.<sup>1</sup> To this you must add about 150,000 dollars due to Spain & 186,427 dollars due to foreign Officers, also a Million of florins which from the failure of the states Congress were under the necessity of borrowing last year to defray the interest of the dutch loans & other demands in Europe. As to the domestic debt I have to inform you that by the last estimate which the board of treasury laid before Congress, the amount thereof as far as then liquidated is 28,340,018 dollars. How much of this has been actually extinguished by the sale of western territory, I cannot certainly say. The tract which the Ohio company have in view to purchase is supposed to be between 5 & 6 Millions of Acres, but I believe they have only paid 500,000 dollars. The residue of the purchase Money is to be paid by yearly instalments and the Company by their agreement are at liberty to confine their purchase within the compass of their abilities & to take no more land than they are able to pay for. The tract which Symmes has agreed for is said to be 2 Million acres & Flint, Parker & Co. have [app]lied for the purchase of 3 Millions Acres; but I believe neither [ . . . ] have yet paid any money. The quantity of land surveyed & laid out into townships agreeably to the Land Ordinance is upwards of 700,000 Acres but of this there is only about 100,000 sold. As to the land unsurveyed the quantity is immense and in my opinion fully adequate to the extinguishment of the whole debt of the Union, provided we can have a firm, stable federal government; but without this I am apprehensive the Union will derive little benefit from it. As to the amount of the duties on a 5 per cent impost & the expence of the civil list under the new government it is altogether conjectural, but of this I am confident that the new government if established will from prudential motives encrease the former and lessen the latter as much as possible and however proper it may have been judged to vest it with



the power of direct taxation, it will not proceed to the exercise of that power except in the last necessity.

Enclosed I send you the first volume of the *fœderalist*. The second volume is in the press & will, it is expected be out in the course of a week or two. As soon as it is published I will forward it to you.

With sincere esteem & regard I am, Dr. Sr, Your obedt humble  
Servt, Cha Thomson

RC (PPAmP: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this schedule is in PCC, item 141, 1:421–22.

## Abraham Baldwin to Thomas Jefferson

Sir

New York 20th April 1788

Your favour of the 7th of Feby, with the enclosure from Mr Fanning, was duly received.<sup>1</sup>

In the letter to Mr Fanning, which I do myself the honour to enclose,<sup>2</sup> I have given him all the information he will need for the security of his surveys. It must undoubtedly have occurred to you, Sir, that the present unexplained state of our southern and western boundary must have rendered it improper for the state of Georgia to do any thing respecting the private right of soil to the lands on the Mississippi. Many applications have been made, but the general assembly has never done any thing, but what appear[ed] necessary to prevent the present settlers in that country, from becoming our enemies from the apprehension that we might deprive them of their possessions.

My expectation is, that the state of Georgia will soon<sup>3</sup> make a cession of their western territory to congress. They have long only waited an issue of our present great national question, whither they might expect protection in return.

It did not appear necessary to state either of these reasons to Mr Fanning, as the measures to be pursued by them, for securing his ancient surveys of land in that territory, will probably be much the same, whether his titles are to be obtained from the state of Georgia, or from the united States. With the greatest respect & esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servt.,

Abr Baldwin

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For Jefferson's February 7 letter to the Georgia delegates, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:572–73.

<sup>2</sup> Not found, though Jefferson enclosed it in his July 29 letter to James Fanning, for which see *ibid.*, 13:430.

<sup>3</sup> At this point in the manuscript Jefferson inserted an asterisk to which he keyed a note at the bottom of the page: "They have done this. See New York journal. Mar. 17."

Georgia's cession act was finally submitted to Congress on May 29, after Baldwin was joined by his colleague William Few. See Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon, May 3, note; and Charles Thomson to George Handley, July 17, note 2.

## Nathan Dane to George Thatcher

Dear Sir,<sup>1</sup>

New York Apr, 20, 1788

Here we remain in an idle situation we had no Congress since you left this place—six States and as may half States attend—the business of the union must be neglected, because one or two gentlemen, who are in the City, must attend to their private business.

We have now collected the accounts of the elections for the Virginia Convention—it is impossible to say, with certainty, whether the Constitution in that State will be adopted or not—however, I think appearances are rather in favor of its being adopted.

With sentiments of sincere esteem & friendship, I am Dear Sir your  
Obedt Servant, N. Dane

MS not found; reprinted from *Historical Magazine*, 2d ser. 6 (December 1869): 347.

<sup>1</sup> The volume of *Historical Magazine* from which this letter is reprinted contains four Massachusetts delegate letters to Thatcher, but none from Thatcher while he was attending Congress. However, it does include the following letter from Thatcher to Pierse Long, dated "Biddeford 23 April 1788," which contains his observations on a number of issues that came before Congress during his prior attendance.

"You enquire about the fate and settlement of the Western Country. To be particular upon this Question would involve answers to so many others which would fall incidentally in the way as would be tedious for a Letter, and therefore for the present, I shall only observe generally—That the Companies of Cutler and Sergeant, Flint and Parker, Symms and his associates, have contracted for three several Tracts containing not more than eight or nine million of acres—to be paid for in Continental Securities at certain periods by Installments upon which payments deads [*sic*] are to be executed to the purchases, but if not paid for no Title is to be given, and I believe I am justified in saying that all the payments by the three Companies do not exceed half a million of Dollars—and I am not certain that it does 270,000 Dollars. For my part I must acknowledge, my faith of paying the Domestic Debt, by regular sails of the western Land, never was very great. There is Land eno' and that which is excellent. A few days before I left New York, I was in company with the Geographer General of the United States and he said, from a calculation he had made, he would warrant there was more than two hundred million of acres of good Land on the North-west of the Ohio. But to me the Idea of runing this out, and by the neat proceeds of its sails discharging any considerable part of the Debt is almost as chimerical as to count upon the number of Cod-fish, and Whales in the ocean for that purpose. Not a great many purchasers have offered themselves, and few that have could give evidence of their ability, and of those that could, still a small number have, and probably ever will, freely comply with their contracts. Continental Securities have been for several years very low, perhaps lower than they ever will be hereafter should the proposed Constitution, or any other with energy enough to discharge the Interest be adopted. Hence if purchasers have found it difficult to discharge their Contracts while public Securities have been sold from 6/ to 3/ on the pound, what probability is there of their being enabled after the adoption of a Constitution that shall secure their Redemption, and make them equal to Silver and Gold.

"As to the negotiation of public Treaties, it appears to me the *existing articles of Confederation* have exhibited to all Europe too evident marks of incompetency for any national purposes to induce foreign Powers to trust to Treaties made under them. The Queen of Portugal has shewn a disposition for negotiations of Friendship and Commerce. But here difficulties arise on the part of America, And perhaps if I were to say that Congress cannot command Cash or credit sufficient to support a negotiator at the Court of Lisbon, to promote and improve any overtures of this kind, I should not be far from the truth. Money is universally acknowledged to be the Sinews of war, and I think it cannot be doubted, to be equally necessary to the support of Civil Government, and the formation of foreign Treaties.

"*The Importance of the Navigation of the Masseseppee is a matter* I am not sufficiently informed to say much about. . . . But from the general state of that Country there can be but little doubt, that if the navigation of the Messeseppee should be beneficial to the American Settlements, they will enjoy it. The Idea of Spain's interrupting it is almost inadmissible—within 20 Years and upon the Settlement of a good Government the Danger will be on the side of Spains Losing her possessions on the Western Waters, rather than the Americans loosing the Navigation." Ibid., pp. 347–48.

## Virginia Delegates to William Heth

Sir

New York 20th Apl. 1788

Conceiving that a greater degree of Justice is attainable in the adjustment of the Accounts of Virginia against the United States in the present State of the business, than is to be expected in any later period, or by an agreement of other Commissioners than those now employed, We are of opinion that it will be best for you to enter again upon it, in this City, and effect a close at the highest sum you can procure by Compromise or any other mode of negotiation which to you shall seem most practicable.<sup>1</sup>

We are Sir, with great respect, your Most Obt. Servts.,

Ed. Carrington

J. Brown

Cyrus Griffin

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Written by Carrington and signed by Carrington, Brown, and Griffin.

<sup>1</sup> For the state of negotiations between commissioners Heth, William Pierce, and David Henley to this time, see James Madison to Edmund Randolph, March 3, note 1; and Virginia Delegates to Randolph, March 23. Fully aware that negotiations had resumed as a result of this directive, the committee appointed March 3 to consider the Virginia legislature's protest reported May 5 that neither Virginia nor Congress should interfere with the commissioners' negotiations and that both parties were "reciprocally bound" to honor the "final adjustment." Accordingly, Heth and Henley drew up articles of agreement (in the absence of Pierce who was ill) awarding Virginia \$500,000 in specie as full compensation. They conveyed the articles to President Cyrus Griffin and to Gov. Randolph on May 15. Their letter and articles were read in Congress on May 23 and referred to Secretary Thomson to report. His recommendation of May 24 that the award "be transmitted to the board of treasury and filed in their Office" was rejected by



Congress on the 26th, due in part to the opposition of northern delegates who complained that the compensation was extravagant. The claim was not settled until 1793 when Virginia was awarded \$740,000 under Alexander Hamilton's program to fund the national debt despite more exorbitant demands made by the state in the interim. See *JCC*, 34:134–35, 178n.4, 180–81; *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 5:156–57, 393, 7:48, 55; *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771–1784*, ed. by James Alton James and Theodore C. Pease, 2 vols. (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1912–26), 2:465–77; and E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 216–17, 324. For northern delegates' complaints, see, for example, Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan, March 22; and Paine Wingate's letters to Samuel Lane of April 12 and June 2.

## James White to Samuel Johnston

Sir, New-York. April 21st, 1788

In consequence of the letter I received from your Excellency,<sup>1</sup> enclosing representations from the western country, I urged the subject to the Minister of Spain.

Tho', on the part of his country, he absolutely disavows that what has happened could have been thro the instigations of their subjects; he promises to write to their governors recommending their influence *particularly* with respect to *our* frontier.

I do myself the honor to enclose a letter from him, which I take to be upon this subject.<sup>2</sup>

It gives me pleasure to hear from Doctr. Williamson that he & Mr. Swan, mean to attend, here, on the part of our state.<sup>3</sup> But people in general seem in a measure to despair of effecting any thing with a sick & worn out political constitution. Scarcely has there been a competent number of States, the whole winter. Even the delegation for New-york has neglected attendance, while, in the mean time, business, both of a private, & public nature, is waiting disappointed.

That two gentlemen, & not one singly, are coming from the state of North-Carolina relieves me from an embarrassment I should otherwise feel at being under the necessity of leaving this for a time. Tho' my wish, & design is to return as soon as I can arrange the necessary means of support.

The difficulty of procuring gold, as well as the very advanced rate of it, had induced me to trust to my salary, as superintendant of southern indians. But in the present state of their treasury no services to the united states can be rewarded. This apology, therefore, I have to make for quitting, tho' reluctantly, & but for a time, an appointment to which my country had done me the honor to name me. Shortly I shall be enabled to return to it.

I presume you are acquainted of the cession of territory made by Georgia. But it is conditional—when 9 states accede to the new gov-



ernment. The boundary line is to be drawn, from the head of Chatahouchi river, north. This claim may one day or other involve the united states in difficulties with the Spaniards, who hold it to be no part of the united states. However, it is very easy to see the government of the catholic King is relaxing in its policy in this respect. They begin to be convinced these states, especially the western country, are rather to be restrained by benevolence than violence.

On almost the only occasion where nine states have assembled in this Congress, a petition from the people of Kentuckey, with approbation of Virginia, for admitting the former into the union has been debated. The eastern states seem much at a loss to decide. They are jealous of any additional influence in the southward. But if their partial views are indulged they disgust the tramontane people; whom, if not affection, fear, or interest will not long hold dependent on the Atlantic states.

It is whispered that, whenever there are states sufficient to take up such business, Monr. le comte de Moustier means to present a memorial to them on the subject of the french debt. But I cannot think he will make such a representation, as in the present condition of these states can only serve to disgust. Tho', indeed, this minister is remarked not to be so courtly in his attentions to congress as his predecessor the chevalier de la Luzerne.

The french consul, Monr. de la Forest, frequently reminds me of a debt which he is instructed to demand & which he says is due to the marine of France from our state. He says he hopes we shall no longer delay to pay attention to it. Upon my assuring him our legislature had taken up the business in such a manner as was thought a sufficient provision; he answered me, the proceeds were quite inadequate.<sup>4</sup>

I am sorry to inform you that in a late furious commotion of this populace, five of them were mortally wounded. The minister of foreign affs., & others, much bruised. The clamor was raised in consequence of indiscreet dissections of some surgeons.

I have the honor to remain, your Excellency's obedt. servant,  
James White

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Johnston's March 5 letter to White is in *N. C. State Records*, 21:454–55.

<sup>2</sup> For the enclosed April 18 letter from Diego de Gardoqui to Johnston, see *ibid.*, pp. 464–65. Johnston's May 8 response is at *ibid.*, pp. 468–69.

<sup>3</sup> Hugh Williamson took his seat in Congress on May 16; John Swann on May 29. *JCC*, 34:155, 186.

<sup>4</sup> For Johnston's May 8 reply to White, see *N. C. State Records*, 21:469–70. For North Carolina's French debt, see also *ibid.*, pp. 470–71, 473; and these *Letters*, 21:500–501n.2, 22:437n.3.

## Edward Carrington to James Madison

My dear Sir,

New York Apl. 23. 1788

I have the pleasure to forward herewith two packets which came by the last French Packet.

The business of the constitution as referred to the Town meetings of Rhode Island, is over without producing any effect. Three of the Towns were decidedly for calling on the Legislature to appoint a convention according to the mode prescribed, and this it seems from freindly views to the measure. The remaining Towns have done nothing decisive of their sentiments—a few of them have apparently voted against it, but it is said & I beleive with Truth, that the reason votes do not appear in favor, is that the Freinds objected so directly against the mode of proceeding, that they would not act at all. In some others there are votes both for & against & at the same time propositions for insisting on the Legislatures calling a Convention. Upon the whole it is a pretty decided matter that Rhode Island will not be amongst the adopting States by June.

We have no Congress but it is expected we shall have one in a few days—this a trifling business which I long to see an end of. I am Yrs. afftly.,

Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

## Paine Wingate to John Sullivan

Sir

New York April 23d. 1788

I am honoured with your favor of the third Instant, and am happy to find that your sentiments respecting the Independency of Kentucky, as a State distinct from Virginia, coincide with those I had advanced in a committee of Congress. There is one Idea which your Excellency suggests, sufficient I think to evince that the present confederation does not provide for the erecting new states out of those already in the Union, namely, “because nine states are competent to determine any question before Congress,” and upon this supposition, a minority of the states in the union might be so circumstanced as to decide upon the most important matters. This business of Kentucky has not been before Congress but once yet, and I believe there will be some very decent excuse found, for deferring the determination at present, without exciting the resentment of Kentucky. That country is encreasing surprizingly. An Officer, who has lately

come from fort Pitt, says that on the road within the distance of 150 miles, he met seven thousand people moving thither, and that Indian Corn was so plenty there, that it might be bought for nine pence per bushel. Captain Hutchins, the Geographer of the united states, gives the most flattering accounts of the western country. He says that there are more than one hundred millions of acres of excellent land there, and he is so confident that it may soon become the source of wealth, that he will stipulate with sufficient sureties to pay off 15 millions of Dollars of the domestic debt within five years by the sale of those lands, if Congress will now supply him with 8 thousand specie dollars for the expence of surveying &c. But so low is the state of the treasury that money cannot be spared. And while we have the pleasure of reflecting on this western prospect, our European prospects are the most discouraging. Letters from Governor Jefferson of Feb. last in France,<sup>1</sup> inform Congress that it will be absolutely necessary to pay the Interest of our loans in Holland very shortly, if we would preserve any degree of credit there; that the supplies, expected from the new loan negotiated there, have stopped. And he has proposed a very disadvantageous mode of relief to the consideration of Congress, without recommending it, only stating our situation. He says that there is a certain Dutch Gentleman, mentioning his name which I cannot recollect, who now holds 1,340,000 Dollars of our domestic securities, and he will engage to fill up our loans, which have been stipulated for in Holland to a considerable amount, and which if procured, would answer our present urgent demands; but it is upon this hard condition that Congress will allow him out of that money 189,000 Guilders in pay of the Interest due to him on those securities, he allowing 10 per Cent out of the interest for receiving his pay in Europe. A very extraordinary offer this! An answer is desired by Mr. Jefferson within three months from the date of his letter in Feb. It is probable this sum asked for, is of more value than the whole purchase of those securities. The sum this single European possesses is near one twentieth part of our domestic debt & it is said that there are large orders now from Europe for buying up our securities at their depreciated value. If this Dutchman could obtain the interest he proposes it is probable that it would increase their avidity to buy, a consideration not very favorable to the interest, if the peace of the united states. We have for some time not had a congress owing to some of the members going home, but it is expected that others will be here in a few days. There is considerable business which will claim the attention of Congress as soon as the states assemble. The Mob in New York have been quiet since the Militia dispersed them at the Goal.<sup>2</sup> It is said that Governor Clinton disavows his ordering the Militia to fire, & says he had rather they should have been disarmed by the mob, than they should have killed his fellow citizens. Baron Steuben, who got sadly pelted by marching with those who were armed, says, damn such fellow citizens. The Gov-



error & Mayor are blamed by the populace, tho' they even degraded themselves in trying to please them. The Doctors are before the grand Jurors now for tryal and it remains an uncertainty what will be the issue. I have nothing very consequential to communicate to your Excellency, beg leave to assure your Excellency that with the highest sentiments of Esteem & respect, I have the honor to be your most obedient & humble Servant,

Paine Wingate

RC (Nh-Ar: State Papers, Revolutionary Correspondence).

<sup>1</sup> For this February 7 letter to the board of treasury, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:573–74.

<sup>2</sup> See Nicholas Gilman to Sullivan, April 19, note 2.

## Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York Apl. 24. 1788

I was but a few days ago honoured with your favor of the 21 December.<sup>1</sup> Having been absent on a trip to Virginia ever since the 1<sup>st</sup> of Jany I was alike cut off from it, and an opportunity of writing you. Massachusetts, Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Connecticut and Georgia, have adopted the Constitution. New Hampshire has been in convention upon it, but finding that a Majority had assembled under instructions or promises to vote in the Negative, of whom a sufficient number were converted to turn the scale, an adjournment has taken place until June for the purpose of getting such clear of their fetters, and it is not doubted by the Friends of the measure, that this will be effected so that a ready adoption will be the consequence of their reassembling. New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina & South Carolina are to deliberate between this and July—in Maryland & South Carolina no doubt is entertained as to the adoption—in New York & Virginia very active opposition is made and the event is uncertain. In the latter it will depend much upon the ideas entertained in convention as to the issue in N. Hampshire, whose reassembling is to be after the meeting in Virga. I am certain that a great Majority of our Convention, will be for adopting upon being ascertained that nine states will adopt, as much worse apprehensions are held from the event of a disunion, that [than] from any thing that is in the constitution. We have a party that is truly antifederal headed by Mr. Henry, but it will be limited to a few, unless the federalists who are for amendments, should, from a mistaken view of the probability of the measures being carried into effect by Nine States, be drawn into steps favouring the antifederal scheme. Mr. H—— does not openly declare for a dismemberment of the union, but his Arguments in support of his opposition to the constitution, go directly to that issue. He says that three confed-



eracies would be practicable & better suited to the good of America, than one. God forbid that I should ever see the trial made. Virginia would fall into a division from which she might add to her burthens, but could never derive aid of any kind.

North Carolina is to sit after Virginia, and it is probable, will follow her—of Rhode Island we say nothing when speaking of American politics.

Of the States which have adopted, Jersey & Delaware were unanimous. Georgia we hear was also unanimous—in Pensylvania the Majority was about two thirds & the Minority continue much discontented—in Connecticut the Majority was about two thirds, the Minority acquiescing—in Massachusetts the Majority was small the Minority acquiescing. The debates of this convention have been published, a Copy whereof you will receive herewith.<sup>2</sup>

It would have afforded me much pleasure to have seen your sentiments fully upon this subject but Mr. Madison having gone to Virga. before my return to this City, I have not seen your letter to him as yet.<sup>3</sup> You ask “would it not have been better to assign to Congress, exclusively, the Article of imports for federal purposes, & to have left direct Taxation exclusively to the States.” It is probable that the former, aided by the Land Office, might have cleared off the present debts of the Union, and supported the current expences of Government during peace, but in a case of War, other resources must be brought into practice, and with a view to such an event, some coercive principle must have been established whereby the federal Government should act with effect, and had this not been interwoven in its civil administration, a military one must occasionally have been put in practice upon delinquent states. The former will never be exercised but when necessary, & then in a way not odious or inconvenient to the people. The latter must forever be both odious and inconvenient, let the occasion be what it may.

I feel sensibly for your situation with our numerous and too justly discontented foreign Creditors. Nor do I see a prospect of relief before the New Government shall get into operation, which must still require some time. The proposition for filling up the Loan in Holland provided the Broker be suffered to retain 180,000 Guilders the interest of certain certificates in his possession of our domestic debt, will not be acceded to by Congress, and yet I do not see upon what ground we are to expect that loans will be made upon the common principle. I should myself be for acceding, because, it appears that it would preserve our Credit until it is probable the new Government would commence, this I think so great an object, that I would not stand on a precise adherence to Systems. We have at present not a

competent Congress to act in the Case, but from the Sentiment of the members attending, and those of the Board of Treasury, I am convinced the terms would not be accepted. I hope the views of our Creditors are turned upon the revolution which is about to take place with us, and that they may be induced to continue their patience until time shall produce the issue. I apprehend that amongst the first measures of the new Government, will be that of negotiating Loans for the purpose of satisfying the foreigners to whom the U.S. are indebted, as it will require some time to bring into practice the resources from which money is to be derivd.

I am happy that my information in the case of Commodore Jones apprised you of the hazards you might have run, & I am at the same time pleased that you fell on the expedient of acting safely without disappointing him.<sup>4</sup> The business of the prize money which was paid under your direction is fully understood by Congress, and I believe every one else whose attention has been called to it.

I am much obliged by your information upon European politics. It is true we ought not to entangle ourselves in the affairs of others, when we can avoid it, but keeping clear of them depends, in some measure, upon knowing their circumstances & views. I will venture one idea upon European politics. It would seem that the Turks should meet with support against Russia from other powers in addition to France. Russia has already a vast Territory which is peopling fast; she is also growing in naval force. Suppose she should get Turkey with those seas which belong to it, would she not be dangerous to the rest of Europe? I have the Honor to be, Dr Sir with the most perfect respect & Esteem, Your Most obt. Servt.,  
Ed. Carrington

P.S. I have not a list of the Returns for the Virginia Convention or I would send it to you. It contains many obscure characters whom you would know nothing of. It is unfortunate that in this great business the passions instead of the Reason of the people were called into operation. This circumstance renders the issue there the more uncertain because a great proportion must act from the influence of a few Men whose popular talents may be exerted.

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:445–47.

<sup>2</sup> For the *Debates, Resolutions and other Proceedings, of the Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Convened at Boston, on the 9th of January, 1788 . . . for the Purpose of Assenting to and Ratifying the Constitution Recommended by the Grand Federal Convention* (Boston: Adams and Nourse, 1788), see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,242.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Jefferson's December 20 letter to Madison containing his first comprehensive commentary on the Constitution, for which see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:438–43; and *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 8:249–53.

<sup>4</sup> See Carrington to Jefferson, November 10, 1787.

## Samuel A. Otis to James Warren

Dear Sir

New York April 24th 1788

Your favr 23d March have before me, And attributing your silence to the pressure of public business without suspecting a want of attention from you, anticipated your apology. Last Evening recd. also yours 13th Instant & to both shall make the necessary reply. Elections were under the first article. Upon which did I not recollect some striking instances of their precarious nature I should feel a greater dissapointment. By what I can learn there does not appear to be a choice of L Govr by the people, of course the same ground is to be traversed in General Court. Mr H carries all before him,<sup>1</sup> and altho I supposed he could be elected, I had great expectation, from what *you observed*, that his competitor would have stood higher. The sale to Messrs. Gorham & Phelps is estimated by some of my friends as an advantageous one.<sup>2</sup> I confess, if they are so obligated as to make the payments sure and punctual, it appears to be a good sale, Under all circumstances. There is a glut of Land at Market of which the U S A hold *two hundred million acres*. I am obliged for your attention to my particular finances. As to adjourning farther South it will not probably take place under the present Confederation. What a new Year may effect, or the New System *you have so much at heart* may produce, depends upon various contingencies.

In regard to the accumulated and increasing debt of the Union, some people give broad hints that it will be paid with a sponge; which I think under our present weak & resourceless circumstances, will be a natural Consequence. Under a new energetic Government, I hear some politicians say, our inability is an insuperable bar to payment. The same men say resources might be pointed to of importance sufficient to pay an interest of 3 per Cent; And I am of opinion could the debt be funded at 3 per Cent, the holders of securities left at their option to reloan at three, or take their chance of unfunded securities at six, the bulk of the debt would be reloaned. To this it may be said the cry of injustice will be sett up; As it would indubitably at a sponge. Upon which I reply. In the first place *that*, upon the whole, which will effect most extensive justice, to the greatest number of individuals, must be done. In the second place whats done by consent takes away error. And lastly, If it shall appear impracticable to effect more than three per Cent, will not necessity, which is paramount to all law, justify the measure? You will reply let this necessity be made apparent prior to such proceeding; In which I am perfectly agreed. Before I go from the subject, I am induced to think that under our present impoverished circumstances, could any measure be devised to fund our debt, & make sound appropriations for the interest at even less than three



per Cent, it would reanimate a dead mass of useless paper & instantly make it an efficient Capital for the farmer, the Merchant, the manufacturer, & every man in the Community.

Whether “regeneration” is necessary to induce N England, my honored Country, to adopt the New System or not, you who are in one of its largest states can form the best judgment; But am confident without that miraculous change, They will find the necessity of *that*, or one very like it. For as to the old wheel it wont budge an inch, & seems shattered to pieces. That some of the old spokes, & perhaps felloes, may do again I have no doubt but that the nave must be taken out, & the whole worked over again appears to me indispensable. I do not form my judgment altogether upon what information I get from Boston, but compare it with that from my friends at Milton, & other parts of the state. Ruling all which together the result seems to be that N Hamshire are divided, & so is N J. The majority of *one*, I am convinced are against foederal measures & possibly of *both*. As to N Y one party are sure of adoption, another as positive it will be rejected. So no judgment can be formed. Some think Govr Clinton will be elected for the City, which I doubt. He will come in however by a handsome majority for Ulster County. Maryland by a very large majority will accede; So will So Carolina. N Carolina will probably operate as Virginia, which State I think will be nearly divided; But I rather think from the best information attainable, the majority will carry it for adopting, with amendments, upon the plan of Massachusetts. I have heard in the Circles here, you, or Sister W have written the Columbian patriot.<sup>3</sup> I suspect you, but wish to have it Ascertained; for the purposes only of curiosity believe me.

To your demand to know what we are doing in Congress I answer—Nothing. To your enquiry what have we done? I answer—almost nothing. Yet I dont know that those who have attended, which Massachusetts have incessantly, are to be blamed. The States have been in such a flutter about the New, that they have hardly paid attention to the old Government. One week we have nine States, Then again we have only four or five; For to my surprise the Members are under no kind of control & take themselves away whenever they think proper. The State of N York particularly altho there are sometimes two or three members in Town have for weeks together, had only a single member present. What is to be done? Massachusetts, & I presume others have written to their Legislatures upon the Subject. Is more in their power? Most of the members are either of the Convention, or just before election dance down to the Hustings, And whether they are successful candidates or not, their attendance upon Congress is withdrawn. We have a prospect however of a full House in May,<sup>4</sup> when we shall soon finish the more important business, & if the States agree, follow our instructions in organizing the new Government, & so



*cede*. The doing it before is courting encroachment. And leaving the people to the mercy of any rude invader. And I am not ready for despotism. Your refusal to christen "Parson's handling," and "re Eccho to the speech" shows a favorable combination is effected against the doings of convention. By the way, the Govr. was offended at Thacher & self for addressing the Legislature, other than thro' him, which we did upon the supposition it was usually done while they were in sessions; However he refused, & gave *this* as a reason for not signing the resolve, empowering the delegates to procure a plan of the Line. I am perswaded heretofore communications have been thus made.

I informed Mr Walker your ballance was ready,<sup>5</sup> & upon its appearing that the money received is identified, he says no objection can be made to receiving it. Farther, I have requested him to give me on paper the objections, informalities &c which require answer & remedy, & I will communicate them; which he assures me shall be done without delay. I will very chearfully attend the settlement & if in my power effect it. The other matter is still at the Treasury Board, Mr Osgood informs me, that he hourly expects the returns from the commissioners, & if it shall appear that the U S A have not paid the difference between 40 & 75 they will allow *it*. As for the recovery of your depreciation I see no great prospect of it. Congress have refered this business to the Treasury board before I came on; The Treasury Board have given an opinion in many instances *against* admitting new demands for depreciation, And in yours amongst the rest, and to me have repeated it as an impracticability. So that I confess I know not how to get forward in the business. I will again converse the board & effect everything in my power.

You will oblige Cobams & Hamatt to forward me their Charter party of Schooner Dispatch, having requested me to close the account for them. Upon application to the offices where the Navy Board papers were lodged; I am informed no Charter parties were forwarded, Which I wonder at.

Love to Sister & the family from, Yours very affectionately,

Sam A Otis

P.S. Mr. Walker says the ballance is £68 263.18.3 agreeably to corrected cash book, by the Vouchers. They are so very minute & scrupulous, I see no chance of a speedy settlement unless Mr. Henderson would come on. But I suppose in that case they would allow nothing for expences.

I will forward Mr Walkers objections however under his own hand.

Upon perusal of the papers I am fully perswaded the ribaldry flung at you by your enemies will tend more to make you friends than anything else, And if their spleen had not blinded them they would see the natural consequence.

John Sullivan was one of the Sargents who led the mutiny & assaulted Congress in Philadelphia; Afterwards fled for misdemeanors into the Western world. Tis supposed he was concerned in murdering some Spaniards & is a very dangerous desperate character. Hamar has an order to take him as a dangerous enemy to the U S A.<sup>6</sup>

RC (MHi: Mercy Warren Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, John Hancock, who had just been reelected governor of Massachusetts over the antifederalist candidate Elbridge Gerry, who received only 19% of the vote. Warren had been the antifederalist candidate for lieutenant governor in a three-way race with Samuel Adams and Benjamin Lincoln, polling 29% of the vote compared to 17% and 48% respectively for his opponents. See Hall, *Politics Without Parties*, pp. 299–301.

<sup>2</sup> For Massachusetts' sale to Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps of its interest in nearly six million acres of land in southwestern New York obtained in the December 16, 1786, Hartford agreement between the two states, see *ibid.*, pp. 298–99; and *JCC*, 33:619–29. See also Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*. . . (Rochester, N.Y.: William Alling, 1851), pp. 135–52; and *DAB* (*q.v.*, Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps).

<sup>3</sup> Warren's wife, Mercy Otis Warren, had written "Observations on the New Constitution" under the pseudonym "A Columbian Patriot." The 19-page pamphlet had been published in Boston in late February. See *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 16:272–91.

<sup>4</sup> Congress achieved a quorum for the first time in five weeks on May 2. See *JCC*, 34:114–19.

<sup>5</sup> See Otis to Warren, March 9.

<sup>6</sup> Josiah Harmar's order to seize Lt. John Sullivan was actually a November 14, 1787, letter from the secretary at war, Henry Knox, in which Knox enclosed a copy of a September 24 letter from Sullivan to one William Brown disclosing plans for an attempt on Natchez or New Orleans which might embroil the United States in a controversy with Spain. Harmar reported the steps he had taken for Sullivan's arrest in a January 10 letter to Knox, which had been reported to Congress February 1, but there is no record of a debate on the subject in the journals. A July 7 report to Congress from Knox enclosing a further report from Harmar was referred on July 15 to the secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay, to communicate to the Spanish chargé Diego de Gardoqui Congress' concern over the threat posed by Sullivan, but Jay did not do so until September 5. See *JCC*, 34:21–22, 299–300, 328n; and *PCC*, item 125, fols. 161–68, item 150, 3:1–8, 13–19, 109–13.

## Edward Carrington to William Short

My dear Sir,

New York Apl. 25. 1788

I a few days ago had the pleasure to receive your two favors of the 22d Decr. & 4th of Feby.<sup>1</sup> My absence from this City placed me out of the reach of them, and also an opportunity of writing you.

I have many acknowledgements to make you for your repeated communications, which to me are at the same time pleasing and instructing. From European affairs we ought to keep ourselves as clear as possible, as our happiness & prosperity are abundantly to be found within ourselves, but at the same time our thus keeping clear, de-

pend, in some measure, upon our knowing what is going forward there, and the changes which have happened, or are likely to take place, in their various connections & circumstances.

I have by this opportunity written fully to Mr. Jefferson upon the politics of this Country to which I beg leave to refer you.<sup>2</sup> I have also inclosed him a Copy of the debates of the Convention of Massachusetts which you will find interesting. To you I enclose a few of the New York papers which contain some of the politics of this state—be good enough to give Mr. Jefferson a sight of them.

The convention of Virginia is to set in the fore part of June—it will have in it some of our greatest Men, such as Pendleton, Wythe, Madison, Blair, Innes & Marshal, who are decidedly for the Constitution. Mason & Governor Randolph, who are for it, with amendments but *say* they will not hazard the Union in attempting them. Henry under whose banner some of tolerable influence will enlist against the constitution, & I fear upon a direct antifederal principle—it is unfortunate that in the elections the passions instead of the reasons of the people, were brought into operation too generally, which occasions the great body of the convention to be of weak & obscure men—these will be subjects for Management, and the popular talents of Mr. H—is to be dreaded amongst them. By the next Packet I will write you more fully.

Mr. Brown of our delegation is the Gentleman you supposed—I had already found him to answer your description.<sup>3</sup> I shewed him your letter—He says he will write you. This will be handed you by Mr. Paradise whose Lady<sup>4</sup> accompanies him to France—they are already well known to Mr. Jefferson, and I beg leave to introduce them to you.

I am My dr sir, Your Afft. Friend & Hl St.,      Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: Short Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Copies of both of these letters are in the Short Papers, DLC.

<sup>2</sup> See Carrington to Jefferson, April 24.

<sup>3</sup> In his February 4 letter, Short had inquired about his “old acquaintance & friend” John Brown, Kentucky’s representative in the Virginia delegation, volunteering that “there are few men of more real understanding & sounder judgment than he is.”

<sup>4</sup> That is, John and Lucy Ludwell Paradise.

## South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Jefferson

Sir

New York April 25th. 1788.

We receiv’d by the Juno from Havre your Excellency’s Favor of the 13th Jany. last,<sup>1</sup> accompanied by a Letter and a Cask of Rice to be forwarded to Mr. Drayton in Charleston. The Letter was forwarded on the day it came to us, but the rice cou’d not be sent by the same Conveyance. It is, however, now on board a Vessel ready to sail for that



place, and we are hopeful it will arrive before the sowing Season is too far advanced to give it a Trial. As Citizens of South Carolina we beg Leave to express our thankful Acknowledgements for your Attention to the Interests of that State.

We have the Honor to be with the most perfect respect Your Excellency's Obedt. humb. Servts.,

DI. Huger

John Parker

Thos. Tud. Tucker

RC (MHi); reprinted from Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 13:107.

<sup>1</sup> For which, see *ibid.*, 12:509.

## Abraham Baldwin to Seaborn Jones

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

New York 26th April 1788

I have just received a letter from our Quaker clients in Philadelphia respecting their suit against Middleton and others.<sup>2</sup> From your letter to Sykes it seemed the nonsuit must have been for want of administration. I have ventured to assure them that any business in which I was concerned has been better managed in my absence than it would have been by me, and that if they have any further instructions or information they must transmit them to you. I have considered theirs as a sad scrape from the beginning, and wish they were well out of it. I wish you to direct them and to give them every assistance in your power, any expence and trouble you may be at I shall with pleasure compensate. Maryland convention is sitting, every body says they are very federal. This state is very doubtful, their convention meets the 17th of June. Rhode Island has rejected; New Hampshire almost as bad, they have adjourned till June. There is nothing new from abroad but what you see in the papers.

Sykes is in Philadelphia, if you find administration necessary, though I am confident it is not, yet be governed by your own confidence, and tell him what you think proper.

You are so much the man of pen and ink I have much wondered that you have so withheld the usual exercises of your goodness, as not to give me a single line the year past.

With sincere esteem and regard I am, Dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

Abr Baldwin

RC (MiDbEI: Americana Collection). Addressed: "S Jones Esqr."

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Seaborn Jones, lawyer and former clerk of the Georgia Council, who as speaker of the assembly led the anti-Yazoo faction in opposing the sale of western lands to private companies in 1789 after Congress rejected Georgia's land cession of January 1788. See *The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia*, ed. Allen D. Candler, 3 vols. (At-



lanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1908), 2:334; and George R. Lamplugh, *Politics on the Periphery: Factions and Parties in Georgia, 1783–1806* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), pp. 68, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

## Nathan Dane to Theodore Sedgwick

My Dear Sir

New York April 27 1788.

I confess I can't help accusing myself with faults and negligence, whenever I omit, for any considerable time, writing to my friends, especially those I very sincerely love and esteem, and for the first place you hold among these in the affections of your constant friend, your allowing me to hold the like place in yours will ever afford me the greatest pleasure and happiness. For my negligence my friends must sometimes allow to plead my indolent habits—and sometimes I have a better excuse, I mean the want of information, & ideas, words, and matter worthy their notice—and you, who may be always sure of my sincerest regards and sentiments of friendship, will, I am persuaded, allow me another excuse, and agree that forms and ceremonies shall be dispensed with.

Here we are in an idle and painful situation, no Congress for doing business more than one day in twelve or fifteen,<sup>1</sup> public affairs neglected, and we kept here only as Spectators of a declining Government, and of those little wretched games of interest and self always played in times of disorder and in the passage from one kind of Government to another. How long we shall remain in this situation is uncertain—however I think not long. The Constitution must pretty soon take place in peace, or else the Scene become more turbulent, and consequently more active. Should it be peaceably adopted our affairs will be, I believe, on a better footing, at least for sometime and as to the final Consequences time and experience must determine. I have ever been as much discouraged about the administration of our Governments, as about the forms of our Constitutions—and I think we may depend on this—that we may make and alter Constitu[tions] eternally on paper, it will answer little or no purpose, if we be not more Steady and attentive in the administration of public affairs. Sir Wm. Temple observes, and I Think Justly, that the Dutch had neither parts, genius or wit, and that they had but very indifferent Constitutions, and yet, that they were the best Statesmen in the world, and enjoyed an exceeding good Government; that by their industry, application, and uniform perseverance, and by their frugality, &c. they made compensation for all the defects of their Constitutions, and for their difficiencies in point of genius, and quickness of discernment.<sup>2</sup> In fact

the Dutch merely by the force of system and application in the administration of their affairs, have long been respectable in a miserable Country, in a mixture of sand, mud, and water, where any other people on Earth would have perished. They see the ship is well ballast'd, and the first requisite in their magistrates is a capacity for applying systematically to business. Are we not in this Country often deceived with a brilliant imagination, where there is no depth of Judgment, or any talents for business? Have not the States often, in delegating men to Congress chosen their most Showy and, yet in fact, their most trifling characters, men who never come forward with a view steadily to pursue and support systems, and to shew their abilities in that line; but only with a view to overturn all measures adopted by others, and to introduce new ones of their own, and thereby perpetuate change and instability?

We have done no business of any importance in Congress this year nor is there much to be done. We have eight States and three half States—Just money received into the Treasury to keep the Government in motion—no foreign Communications of any importance—the present calm in Europe is thought generally to be but temporary—the affairs of the Dutch [are] unsettled—punishments and confiscations carried with a pretty high hand. Mr. Adams returns to Boston soon, probably by the middle of May—and Colo. Smith to New York. Brother Thatcher returned to Massa. about the last of March—and proposes to be again in Congress about the first of August. I wish you to attend if you can find it convenient early in the Summer. My affairs then will require that I should, for a short time, be in Massa., and I will be very much obliged to you to let me know, as soon as you conveniently can, your determinations respecting your attendance in Congress. It is probable by the first of August that nine States will have agreed to the Constitution—and it is my wish to attend to my private affairs in Massa. and be returned to Congress by that time. Maryland Convention is now in Session, and I believe will adopt the Constitution, without any doubt. South Carolina Convention will, probably, adopt it by the first of June. Virginia and New Hampshire will probably decide by the first of July & there is pretty clearly more than an equal chance that one or the other of these states will adopt. I am rather disposed to believe that all the States except R.I. will adopt; but, at present, little can be said with certainty as to New Hampshire, N.Y., Virga. or N Carolina.

Be kind enough, Sir, to give my respects to Brother Strong and to our friend Bacon when you see them, and let my best regards always be remembered for your family.

With Sentiments of esteem and friendship, I am, Dear Sir, your af-  
fecte. Hum Servant, N. Dane

PS. Let me know when you shall have a leisure hour how elections and politics stand in your part of the State—as to several of the Counties from which we have had information, as Essex, Suffolk &c. I think the elections have a favourable appearance.

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Congress failed to convene a quorum from March 27 to May 2. See *JCC*, 34:114–19.

<sup>2</sup> For which see chapter two, “Of Their Government,” in Sir William Temple’s “Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands.” William Temple, *The Works of Sir William Temple*, 4 vols. (1814; reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 1:94–125.

## Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons

My dear sir

N.Y. April 27. [1788]

I now send a Boy under your freindly direction as one postilion to drive my family to this place—another I must beg to be hired in Philadelphia. The President’s Coach was demolished before I came to the house or I would send it—and the Chariot is still less than my own, and indeed cannot be spared at present.

If my kind friend Mr. Obrien should think it convenient to come on about the time, and can venture on horse-back or sulkey I beg that Mr Heilzimer will furnish the best he can get—the return Boy may carry them back—and all expences I will pay most gladly.

I shall be rejoiced to know by post when the family set out, and other circumstances.

The bearer of this letter will carry the horses from Bristol.

I have not the smallest objection to the Girl’s coming.

For some days I have endeavoured to get a good Bill at sight upon Phila.—but cannot—but some bank notes are promised in a day or two—they shall instantly be remitted.

I beg leave to thank you, my dear sir, and your very kind lady for so much goodness to a very helpless family—we seem to have been united to give trouble to others—and when it will finish heaven only knows.

I hope you intend to pay us a visit this summer—such a Journey would do service to the health of Mrs. Fitzsimons, and how greatly would it contribute to our happiness.

I shall have a room prepared, and shall insist that Mr. Obrien continue with us during his stay at N. York.

The Emperor has declared war against the Turks, and probably the rest of Europe will soon be engaged, or the greater part of it.

His Majesty of Britain is sending additional troops to the West-Indies, and to Canada—for what purpose?

Accept the yesterdays paper.

With my affect. respects to Mrs. Fitzsimons; I am dear sir, Yours sincerely,  
C Griffin

[P.S.] I suppose my troublesome folks can hard[l]y set out so soon as I once mentioned.

RC (St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Ill.).

## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

My dear sir N. York April 28. [1788]

I am favored by your friendly letter of April the 10th.<sup>1</sup>

How it happened that No. 69 of Publius should have been omitted I can hardly imagine; the neglect shall be done away if any acquaintance or the printer are in possession of that paper.<sup>2</sup>

The marchioness is perfectly upon her feet—for she walks five miles every day—and with great pleasure I will execute your Commands to her, and the Count—who are going to Philadelphia on Thursday next.

I am very sorry to hear that your calculations render the adoption of the constitution so uncertain—I did once think that my conclusion upon the matter was erroneous—but alas! my dear sir, without a change of opinion when the members assemble I fear the system will be lost; however if it shall depend upon Kentucky Brown is determined to exert all his Influence in favor of it.

This morning your letter is sent to Charleston by a proper conveyance.<sup>3</sup>

My two last packets to you contained letters from Europe—by this post I do myself the pleasure to enclose others, and the paper of today.

The Emperor having declared war against the Turks—and being determined to act with vigor—in all probability the flames will extend farther. His Ottoman Majesty does not discover the least Inclination for peace upon the Conditions offered by Russia, and France being in strict union with the Porte cannot remain idle.

Colonel Carrington has gotten amoung us again—but does not seem to be in good spirits—whether from love matters, or from the loss of his election in Virginia,<sup>4</sup> or from what other Cause I do not know.

We expect to make nine states in the course of this week—tho at present the weather is very bad.

What am I to do with the boxes and packages under your direction.

Your very affet. and obedient humble servant, C Griffin

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.



<sup>2</sup> *The Federalist* No. 69, written by Alexander Hamilton, had appeared in the *New York Independent Journal* on March 15 and was reprinted in the *New York Packet* of March 18. See *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 16:396–402.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified, but for speculation on its recipient, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:20n.1, 31n.2.

<sup>4</sup> For Edward Carrington's seven-vote loss to Thomas Turpin, Jr., in the March 20 Powhatan Co. election to the Virginia ratifying convention, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 8:492n.3, 9:606–7. According to his expense account, Carrington claimed a quarter's pay beginning April 1, 1788, which apparently included travel time from Virginia. *Continental Congress Papers*, Vi.

## Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons

My dear sir

N.Y. April 30, [1788]

I have at length gotten two hundred dollars in Philadelphia bank notes which I do myself the pleasure to enclose. I fear they will not answer the balance advanced by you, but what shall remain I will procure the next week—with many thanks for all your kindness and freindship to us.

I shall endeavor to meet my family upon the road, but at what place is very uncertain, that depending upon the adjournment of Congress on Friday or Saturday. I fear they will leave Phila, but badly equipped, but really I could not help it—a line by the post on Friday would be very acceptable.

A paper of today enclosed.

With my affect & best respects, I am Dear Sir, Your most obedt. servant,

C Griffin

RC (PHi: Gratz Members of Congress Collection).

## Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker

My ever dear Brother

New York May 2d. 1788

As it may be of some Consequence in your Arrangements with respect to your Sons, I must inform you that Dr. Johnson is gone to the Eastward & will not return for several Weeks, probably not until the End of this Month.<sup>1</sup> I have nothing to add upon this Subject until I hear from you again. Shou'd farther Information than what I have communicated, be necessary, you will be so good as to let me know, & I will be as particular as possible in obtaining it.

Whilst writing the above I receiv'd Letters from our dear Friends in Bermuda by J. Tucker Junr. Son of Mr. J. Tucker of Somerset. Our good Mother & Sister Bot[h] had bad Colds, but the rest of the Families were well. They had heard of your late Misfortune for which they

express great Affliction & Sympathy, & desire to be tenderly remember'd to yourself, the Children & the three young Gentlemen.

It is said that Maryland has already adopted the new Constitution by a very great Majority, but the official Accounts have not yet reach'd us. We have a Letter from the Governor of Rhode Island informing of the Proceedings of that State upon the Business & it's Rejection, which you have seen in the public Prints. They alledge that the Singularity of their Mode proceeded from no Disrespect either to the general Convention or to Congress but from a Regard to pure republican Principles. I understand that in your State there is a clear Majority of the Delegates Friends to the new System. I suspect the same will be true of both the Carolinas, so that we shall have an Opportunity of seeing what wonderful Effects will be wrought. Except Rhode Island there is no State but this that seems at all doubtful of accepting the Constitution, & I even am inclined to think it will pass here, but not by any considerable Majority. The Federalists (as they style themselves) have been extreamly busy in endeavouring to swell their Number of Votes as much as possible in this City, not for the sake of carrying their Election (for of that they were perfectly secure by a vast Majority) but to make it appear, if possible, that a Majority of the Inhabitants of the State are federal. I believe that a great Number have been encouraged to vote who are either Citizens of other States or not Citizens at all. But this will make no Odds except in Appearances.

Will my good Friends Richard & Theodorick excuse me at present for neglecting to write. I am a little busy. My best regards to them, to Johny & the rest of my young Friends &c.

I am, My dearest Brother, Yr. most truly affect.

Thos Tud. Tucker

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For these "Arrangements," see Tucker's second letter to his brother of April 17, note 3.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Dear Sir

New York May 3d 1788.

I am honored with your obliging favor of the 14th ultimo and most heartily Sympathize with the good Citizens of your place in their present depressed situation; but at the same time rejoice with you in the hope of relief under the new System of government.

The flame of opposition enkindled by the adjournment of our Convention is daily decreasing and the prospect of a general adoption begins to brighten. The enclosed paper announces the ratification by a large Majority of the Convention of Maryland; which is confirmed by

authentic letters from a number of Gentlemen. The federal ticket for members to represent this City in Convention is carried by a very large Majority; and accounts of several Elections in the neighbouring Counties (that have come to hand) are much more favourable than was generally expected. The latest accounts from Virginia are favourable. Pennsylvania is in a State of tranquility and the general opposition seems to be once more on the decline.

The State of Georgia has made a large Cession of Western lands to the United States on condition that the new System is adopted and that they be allowed thirty thousand dollars for expences in defending that Country.<sup>1</sup> In haste, I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Respect and Esteem, Dear Sir, your Most Obedient Servant,

N. Gilman

P.S. All the bells in this City are now ringing to Celebrate the news from Maryland.

RC (Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

<sup>1</sup> This Georgia act of cession was not actually laid before Congress until May 29, perhaps because the state was not fully represented until May 26 when William Few joined his colleague Abraham Baldwin. See PCC, item 76, fols. 290–302; and *JCC*, 34:179. Their motion for congressional acceptance of the cession with the conditions contained in the Georgia Act was immediately referred to a committee which submitted a report on July 9 that was read on July 14 and adopted the following day, when Congress rejected Georgia's conditions and specified those under which it would accept a new cession. *JCC*, 34:188, 320–26.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sr. Circular to the other states<sup>1</sup> [May 3, 1788]

I have the honor to transmit to yr. Excy herewith enclosed to be laid before yr Legislature a state of the representation in Congress for the Months of March & April,<sup>2</sup> & am With the greatest respect yr Exy's &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> That is, other than Rhode Island and North Carolina. To his letters to the governors of those states, Thomson added the following opening sentences acknowledging letters that he had recently received from them. To Gov. John Collins of Rhode Island he wrote: "I have the honor to inform you that your Letter of the 5 of April with the papers enclosed has been rec'd & communicated to Congress." To Gov. Samuel Johnston of North Carolina: "I have rec'd. & communicated to Congress the Letters you did me the honor to write to me on the 19 of March last." And to both he lamented that he was "sorry to observe that during the course of the present federal year your State has hitherto been unrepresented." PCC, item 18B, fol. 145.

<sup>2</sup> For these enclosures and the six other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1788, see Appendix, pp. 537–46.

## Paine Wingate to John Sullivan

Sir

New York May 3d. 1788

By the last post I received a letter from a friend of mine dated Baltimore April 26, informing me that the convention of Maryland had that day ratified the new constitution—yeas 63, nays 11 only. This intelligence, so agreeable to your Excellency's wishes, I have taken the first opportunity of communicating. The state of New York have this week had their elections for delegates to their convention. In this city the votes are generally in favor of federalists, and it is said that they are so in other counties beyond expectation. It is now the opinion of those who are well acquainted with the sentiments of the people thro' the state that the probability is in favor of adopting the constitution here. The latest accounts from Virginia are, that from the returns of the delegates, which are now generally made, a majority will be for the new government. South Carolina does not seem to be doubted. Upon the whole the encouragement of having a peaceable & good government soon established is daily encreasing.<sup>1</sup> I hope we shall not be disappointed. Georgia have made a considerable cession to the united states of their Western lands upon condition that the new constitution shall be adopted & that they be allowed thirty thousand dollars for their expences in defending that territory during the late war.

We have not had a congress until yesterday for some time past, owing to two or three members going out of Town.<sup>2</sup> Other members are expected on dayly. There have been no very material dispatches to Congress since I wrote to your Excellency last.

I have the honor to be with the most respectful esteem your Excellency's most obedient and humble Servant,

Paine Wingate

P.S. Mr. Gilman desires his most respectful compliments.

RC (Nh-Ar: State Papers, Revolutionary Correspondence).

<sup>1</sup> Wingate also reported recent ratification news to his friend John Wendell in a letter of May 5, from which the following extract was printed in *The Collector*, 63 (December 1950): No. D2337.

"I shall also enclose a newspaper by which you will See the determination of Maryland, and the [prosp]ect from Virginia, respecting the new [Con]stitution. This intelligence is confirmed by various letters. The elections in the State of New York are more favorable for the n[ew] plan than was generally expected, and there is dayly an increased probability of its being adopted. I hope we Shall not be disappointed, as I conceive that it is of the utmost importance in our present critical Situation."

<sup>2</sup> Congress failed to muster a quorum between March 27 and May 2. See *JCC*, 34:114–19.



## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

My dear Sir

May 5th. [1788]

I have the pleasure to enclose you a letter from Petersburg<sup>1</sup>—and the newspaper of today—tho very uninteresting.

Maryland has acceded to the proposed Constitution by a great majority. Chase, Paca, Martin, and Mercer opposed it with their utmost vigor and abilities, but with decency. South Carolina will adopt the system very soon. The opposition in Virginia is much to be lamented and in N. York also—however from the present appearance of things I rather incline to believe that in the course of 12 months we shall have the Government in operation—yet I am not so sanguine as Hamilton or Gen. Knox.

From the aspect of matters abroad I fancy the war in Europe will be conducted with great energy and desolation—Russia and the Emperor would wish to demolish his Ottoman Majesty. A whisper circulates in Paris that all the French officers in the Turkish service are ordered to quit those dominions, which does not carry the appearance of aid—but if France should think proper to take a decided part in the Contest Mr. Neckar will be brought again into the finances, of course the United States will not profit by the war, for that great man is unquestionably—not our best friend.

Once more we are going on with the business of Congress—but have finished nothing of consequence.

Consider me as a very affect. friend and with much esteem, Your obedient Servant,

C Griffin

[P.S.] With respect to Mr Paca I had my Information from the honble Colo Howard at Baltimore,<sup>2</sup> but I am told this moment that Paca advocated the system upon the general question tho he did not consider it as the best that could be devised.

C G.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> That is, John Eager Howard.

## James R. Reid to Peter Muhlenburg

Sir,

Philadelphia, 5th May, 1788.

I am under the necessity of applying for a draught on your treasury, there is a considerable sum due me, and as it is a custom with other States to be three months in advance with their Delegates, I presume Pennsylvania are not less disposed to accommodate their delegates than any State in the Union, and therefore beg leave to ask for five months pay or £350 on account.<sup>1</sup>

I am very respectfully, your obedient Servant, James R. Reid

[P.S.] I need not mention the State of the paper money, nor do I expect to draw the money bad as it is but can make such use of the order as will answer present purposes.

N.B. Mr. Nicholson is going abroad.<sup>2</sup>

MS not found; reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:280. Addressed: "The Honble Peter Muhlenberg, Esqr., Vice President of Pennsylvania."

<sup>1</sup> For the Pennsylvania Council's May 6 order to pay Reid "three hundred and fifty pounds, in advance, for his pay as a Delegate," see *Pa. Council Minutes*, 15:449.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Pennsylvania comptroller general John Nicholson.

## John Brown to James Breckinridge

Dear Breckinridge

May 8th. 1788

I wrote you lately<sup>1</sup> consequently have little either of a public or private nature to communicate at present. We have not till yesterday<sup>2</sup> made a Congress for a month past of course have made no further progress in the Kentucky Business. I begin to grow quite impatient upon this head & almost despair of obtaining a determination in time to attend the District Court in June an object which I have much at heart & in which my private Interest & that of my Clients is much concerned. Have recd letters from Kentucky dated 4th April<sup>3</sup> expressing the greatest anxiety to know the event of their Application. Should it be rejected I believe they will immediately revolt from the Union—a measure ultimately fraught with ruin to the Atlantic States & which they ought carefully to guard against by indulging them with every conciliatory plan. But alas too many here are governed in their determinations by the contracted policy of the present hour & cannot extend their views to future events which will inevitably proceed from such misguided measures. My dear Sir continue to habituate yourself to generous Sentiments & enlarged Views of things—a liberal mind is one of heavens greatest Blessings—the reverse is a Curse imposed upon too many in this great Council of the Nation.

Live content & happy & write me fully your present Studies & when you leave WmBurg, &c in haste Adieu,

J Brown

RC (ViU: Breckinridge Papers in the collections of the Albemarle County Historical Society).

<sup>1</sup> Brown's April 11 letter to Breckinridge is the latest one found.

<sup>2</sup> Actually May 2. See *JCC*, 34:119.

<sup>3</sup> One of these letters of April 4 was from Kentucky district attorney general Harry Innes (1752–1816), who had moved to Danville in 1785 and actively promoted Kentucky statehood, though he opposed ratification of the federal constitution. Highly critical of the treatment accorded Kentucky by Congress since his arrival, Innes first

lamented “that our application relative to the seperation [*from Virginia*] is so long suspended.” But he quickly turned his letter into a catalog of death and destruction from marauding Indians who did not consider Kentuckians to be “a part of the thirteen fires” and charged that Congress failed to heed Kentucky’s repeated appeals for protection. Indeed, the federal troops on the Ohio under Col. Josiah Harmar “never were intended for our protection, but to prevent Settlements on the Foedral lands.” What was worse to Kentuckians, moreover, was the attempt of a majority of the states in 1786 “to barter away the Navigation of the Mississippi, our unalienable right. . . for a term that few of us would live to see expire.” Innes concluded that “the District of Kentucky as a part of the United States is entitled to protection—it hath been asked for—in a constitutional manner—but hath it been granted—no it hath not. The reverse hath taken place—restriction upon restriction.” He well knew how his letter to a member of Congress could be interpreted—“that those expressions which are construed into threats” could give rise “to the Idea of a revolt.” Innes Papers, DLC.

## Cyrus Griffin to Certain States

Sir

New York May 8 1788.

I do myself the honor of transmitting to your Excellency a Resolution of Congress upon the subject of the Delegation.

Most ardently do I wish and request that the Gentlemen from your State would attend upon the national business, and particularly at this interesting period.

I have the honor to be Sir with profound Respect & regard, Your Excellency’s Most Obedient Servant,

C Griffin

E N C L O S U R E

Resolved, As the sense of Congress that the President write to the Governors of the States not now represented urging them to send forward their respective Delegates, as business of the utmost importance to the Union is delayed for the want of an adequate representation.<sup>1</sup>

C G

RC (InHi: Mitten Collection). Addressed: “His Excellency The Governor of Georgia, Augusta.”

<sup>1</sup> No such resolution is found on the journals of Congress. As Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and North Carolina were also not represented at this time (see Appendix, p. 542), Griffin may have sent the same letter to the governors of the first named states; that to Gov. Samuel Johnston of North Carolina is in *N. C. State Records*, 21:471. There are no Griffin letters in the presidential letterbooks in the PCC (item 16).

## Samuel A. Otis to Benjamin Lincoln

Dear Sir

New York 8th May 1788

I have been pretty much taken up with variety of attentions, & noth-

ing of importance having taken place except what was in the papers, I have much against my inclination, deferred replying to your last of . But I assure you nothing on my part shall be wanting to cultivate a correspondence which at once gratifies my vanity, & promises me improvement. Congress have not been idle, altho they have been so interrupted by the appointment of its members to Convention, in one place & another that much less has been effected than could be wished. It was however the general, & invariable opinion that it would be more expedient that Congress should continue in session, during this uncertain & agitated year, even if nothing very important was effected, Than to leave the States without any bond of Union, or even the semblance of a foederal Government. Indeed the frequent returns of the states who have been wise enough to adopt the new Constitution, renders it amongst other things expedient that Congress should continue in sessions. Maryland ratification is now reading, And I have no doubt we shall soon have that of So Carolina. I presume from what intelligence is stirring that No. Carolina will follow the lead of Verginia *where* the opposition has gained no ground of late, & will be weakened by the unanimity of Maryland. Verginia remains doubtful however—yet I can hardly suppose She will refuse to adopt, as I am informed, upon the plan of Massachusetts. N. York are nearly equally divided. The foederalists are very positive, so are the opposition. Govr. Clinton is pitted at all events against it & indeed it is with him a very great stake; for if he is in the minority upon this question I think he must lose his election. The supporters of the measure are however powerful. The City almost unanimously, & all the commercial interest, The Schylers & great proprietors, a large number of farmers &c. Clintons friends pushed him very injudiciously for the City. What is our omen of success in my view is, that the most steady opposers in this quarter begin to dispair, and say it must be adopted with amendments. I hear a suggestion that N. York opposers have no hope of rejection, but only hold up a good countenance, in order to effect amendments, upon the Massachusetts plan. Upon the whole I recollect no period at which the prospect looked more bright than the present. I can form no judgment of N Hamsh. Their adjournment into the Wilderness augurs ill, but Langdon & Sullivan, the great leaders are both agreed in foederal measures, altho I presume their cordiality is not very perfect in other points. R Island will be overwhelmed with argument & influence, and their own minority exerting, I think may be brot to their senses.

I exceedingly rejoice at the unanimity of Massachusetts & congratulate her upon the honor she is about to acquire, in her elections. The people who are united in electing a Governor, a Lieut Governour,<sup>1</sup> & Senate, who have evinced steady measures & good policy, can hardly fail of making a good election of Representatives.



I am informed you have taken my more than orphaned neice under your wing. To that humane benevolent disposition which your friends may recognize without flattery, You have the tenderness of a father inducing your protection of one, very dear to your valuable servt my much regreted friend—Of whom I never think but my heart sickens. But the lenient hand of time, by the wise appointment of Providence, when nothing else will, heals in some measure the cruel wounds of affliction; And because our duty to ourselves, to our families, & to the world, require attention, & the discharge of social offices, having paid our respectful tribute of a tear to the deceased, we ought to turn our attention to survivours. Make my kind remembrances to my niece, to your amiable Lady & all friends, & permit me to subscribe, Your assured friend & most huml Sert,

Sam. A. Otis

RC (MeHi: Fogg Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For the recent elections of federalists John Hancock as governor and Lincoln as lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, see Otis to James Warren, April 26. Hancock was elected in a landslide over Elbridge Gerry, but Lincoln had been engaged in a three-way race against Samuel Adams and James Warren, whom he defeated 48% to 17% to 29%, but failing to obtain a clear majority had to await the result of a final determination by the legislature.

## Virginia Delegates to Edmund Randolph

Sir,

New York May 8 1788

Until a few days ago there has not been a Congress for taking into consideration your Excellencies letter of the 13th of March requesting a prolongation of the time allowed for rendering the Accounts of the State against the U.S. to the district commissioner.<sup>1</sup> We took the earliest opportunity to lay this letter before Congress—it was referred to the Board of Treasury, whose report thereupon we have now the Honor to enclose. This report expressly liberates the State Commissioner from the duty of restating the Accounts under the heads directed on the part of the United States. He is clearly at liberty to render them in the forms in which they have been kept, and the re-statements, if any such are necessary, must be made by the district Commissioner. As your Excellencies letter stated no facts upon which Congress could found an opinion that an extension of the time would be necessary from any other circumstance, and as no application of the kind, has been made by any other State, it was thought best by that Body to concur with the Board in refusing the request of Virginia, permitting the delegation to transmit the report to your Excellency for your more full information.

We beg leave to recommend that the Commissioner on the part of the State immediately tender the Accounts to the district commissioner in their original forms, if he has not time to re-state them, & should this produce a difficulty let that arise with the adverse party. Should there be any particular facts or circumstances putting it out of the power of the States Commissioner to render the Accounts according to this advice, it will be well for him to state them fully to your Excellency, to be transmitted to Congress, where we will endeavour to make them a ground for obtaining such extension of the time as you may think it necessary to ask for.<sup>2</sup>

We have the Honor to be, with the greatest respect, Your Excellencies Most Obt. Servts.,

Ed. Carrington

J Brown

C Griffin

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Carrington and signed by Carrington, Brown, and Griffin.

<sup>1</sup> For Governor Randolph's March 13 request, see Virginia Delegates to Randolph, April 3, note.

<sup>2</sup> For commissioner Andrew Dunscomb's lengthy justification of a deadline extension for Virginia and the reversal of the board of treasury's negative response to the governor's initial appeal, see Edward Carrington to Randolph, June 9, 19, and 25.

## Nathan Dane to Samuel Adams

Dear Sir,

New York May 10. 1788.

Yesterday were sent to me inclosed—the inclosed pamphlet and printed letter<sup>1</sup> with a request to convey them to you, which I do myself the honor to transmit accordingly. So far as my information extends the sentiments expressed by this writer, very generally meet the approbation of those who aim at Just and uncorrupt Government on republican principles—nor do I perceive any thing in this publication in the least inconsistent with the determination of the Massa. Convention—a determination, in my opinion, by far the wisest & best that has been made on the Subject—for tho the situation of the Country made it prudent to adopt the Constitution, and put it into operation; yet, clear I am, that we ought not to relax a moment in our attention and vigilance for further guarding and checking the exercise of powers given by the Constitution, and for securing the liberties of America, and an honest administration of Government on known and certain principles. My fears and apprehensions do not arise altogether from a consideration of the faults in the new Constitution, but, in a consider-

able measure, from a full persuasion that we have many men, and able ones too, in this Country, who have a disposition to make a bad use of any government, and who, if not well checked and restrained by the forms of the Government, will, so far as they can have influence produce a wicked and corrupt administration—and you may, Sir, be assured that the jealous advocates for the adoption of this Constitution, and who are pretty numerous, artful and active, do not intend that any amendments shall be adopted, even after the Constitution shall be put into operation, if they can any way prevent it—at least they will oppose all amendments which, I believe, the republican and honest part of the Community will contend for—however, I think the true Federalists, or true freinds of a genuine federal republic, are extending their influence and connections very considerably; and tho a large proportion of them considering our situation agree to adopt the system as presented, they are determined with candor and firmness, to endeavour to establish in these States governments on principles of freedom and equality—whether the friends of honest measures—or the friends of influence and corruption will succeed time only can determine. Sure I am, the former will have the support and advice of your self and many others who have steered the political ship through the late Storm.

Eight States have now determined relative to the Constitution proposed. I can give you no certain information respecting the other five—our accounts respecting the Sentiments of the men elected for the State Conventions are various—but, on the whole, I am inclined to believe they will adopt with recommending amendments as in Massa. In this State, Virga. & N.C. the numbers for and agt. are pretty equal, as well as abilities. Your freind Mr. Lee I understand, declined going to the State Convention, principally, on account of the unhealthiness of the place where the Convention is to meet.

I mentioned to you in my last the application of Kentucky for an admission into the union—I am Just informed a gentleman has arrived in this place from Vermont, to make enquiries, &c respecting her admission into the Union. I understand the State has appointed a Committee and given them power to apply to Congress whenever they shall see a fair opportunity for again bringing under consideration the independance and admission of that state into the Union. I have been wishing for sometime that this subject might again be brought into veiw—for I am well persuaded if these States do no[t] unite in their infancy, and cement the union, they will not do it hereafter.

With sentiments of the highest esteem, I am, Sir, Your most obedt. humbl. servant,

N. Dane



## John Brown to James Madison

Dear Sir

New York May 12th. 1788

I have had the honor to receive your favors of the 9th & 21st of April<sup>1</sup> for which accept my thanks. My hopes respecting the Success of the new Constitution in Virginia are in some measure revived by the information you have given me upon that Subject but am still sorry to find that the number of friends & foes are so nearly divided as to render the Vote of Kentucky of critical importance for I fear nothing friendly is to be expected from that quarter. I yesterday reced. letters from Colo. Muter & Mr Innes<sup>2</sup> who inform that it has few or no Supporters in that Country. Muter from a warm friend has become a violent enemy to the Plan & that upon general principles. They enclosed me a list of members chosen to represent that District in Convention & further advise that on the 1st Monday in April a Convention was to meet at Danville expressly to take into consideration the new Constitution & instruct & charge their representatives with the Sentiments of the District upon that Subject.<sup>3</sup> This measure almost precludes all hope that any good effect will result from a communication of my Sentiments to their Delegates, as I am apprehensive that they will conceive themselves religiously bound to observe Instructions framed & given with such Solemnity. However as I am personally acquainted with the Men & fully possess their confidence I shall at all events hazard the Attempt.

I have not of late been able to discover any great change in the Sentiments of the people of this State with respect to the New Government. Both parties appear equally confident & have equal expectations from Virginia. Their Elections for Convention are over but the returns are not yet made known. I believe Federalists only are elected for this City.

We have done very little in Congress since you left us—Nine States have not appeared since that time & for a month previous to Tuesday last we could not even muster Seven; Nine are again shortly expected upon the floor, as soon as this is the case I shall endeavour to obtain the Determination of Congress upon the Kentucky Application. I flatter myself that it will be in favor 'tho' still have great reason to fear the effects of Eastern Jealousy. My Anxiety upon this Subject daily increases, should not a dete[r]mination be had before the expiration of the Act of Separation—or should Congress refuse to grant this request; in either case I fear the consequences may be unfavorable to the Union especially as that District entertains such prejudices against the New Constitution which I hope & believe will be adopted. Let the event of their application be what it may I am convinc'd they will proceed in establishing their Independence. They have already chosen



Delegates to meet in Convention at Danville about the last of July to form a Constitution.<sup>4</sup> The future prosperity & tranquility of that Country greatly depends upon the Success of this important undertaking & I fear that few will be found in that Body who have Sufficiently attended to political Subjects to quallify them for the task of framing a good System of Government for that District. There is also reason to apprehend that certain partialities & prejudices will operate against a Judicious Selection from the Constitutions of the different States. Some of the most respectable Characters in that Country aware of those difficulties have expressed to me their wish that you could be prevailed upon to draw up a plan of Government for that District to be laid before their Convention—assureing that from the great confidence they place in your integrity & abilities there is every reason to believe that it would be adopted in toto. Will you pardon me for adding my request to their wishes? I am sensible of the impropriety of this application at a time when you are engaged in important Business—let my anxiety to promote the happiness of a flourishing Country in which I propose to spend my life plead my excuse.<sup>5</sup>

I send you enclosed the Statements<sup>6</sup> you required & shall at all times be happy in being favord with your commands should my Services in this quarter be of use to you. I am with esteem & respect, Dr. Sir Yo. Mo. Hble Servt.,  
J. Brown

P.S. Mrs. Elsworth desires to be rememberd to you also Mrs. Harman who is now a Widdow.<sup>7</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For Madison's letter of April 9, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:16–17; that of April 21 has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> These letters from George Muter and Harry Innes have not been found, but for an April 4 letter from Innes, see Brown to James Breckinridge, May 8, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Innes, Muter and six other members of the "court" faction in Kentucky had sent open letters to the courts of Fayette and Mercer counties on February 29 denouncing the proposed Constitution, arguing that a new federal government would abandon the right to navigate the Mississippi, and calling for a special convention to instruct the 14 Kentucky delegates to the Virginia ratifying convention to be held in Richmond in June. See *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 8:433–36. Because most of the delegates elected from Kentucky were antifederalists, the special convention became unnecessary. For the reception of the Constitution in Kentucky, see Patricia Watlington, *The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779–1792* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 147–56; Lowell H. Harrison, *Kentucky's Road to Statehood* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), pp. 57–61; and Thomas D. Matijasic, "Antifederalism in Kentucky," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly* 66 (January 1992): 36–59.

<sup>4</sup> Kentucky's constitutional convention of July 28 was aborted when word arrived of Congress' rejection of its application for statehood, for which see Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3; and Harrison, *Kentucky's Road to Statehood*, pp. 62–65.

<sup>5</sup> Madison's busy schedule and attendance at the Virginia ratifying convention prevented his compliance with this request, but in the fall he furnished Brown with observations on Thomas Jefferson's 1783 draft constitution for Virginia, for which see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:59–60, 266–67, 280–93. For the considerations on a frame of

government for Kentucky that Madison sent to Caleb Wallace in 1785, see *ibid.*, 8:350–57.

<sup>6</sup> Not found, but for these “full statements of the foreign & domestic debts” see Edward Carrington to Madison, May 28, note 2. A single-page “General Statement of the Foreign Debt of the United States of America” [\$10,271,561], in the hand of Joseph Nourse and dated May 6, 1788, is in the Peter Force Miscellany, DLC.

<sup>7</sup> Madison had boarded at the house of Vandine Elsworth, 19 Maiden Lane, while attending Congress in New York. See Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 9:260n.2.

## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

My dear sir

N. York May [12? 1788]<sup>1</sup>

According to your directions I shall pay the proper regard to the particulars mentioned in [*your*] letter of April 20th.<sup>2</sup>

Mr Paradise was embarked before that letter got to hand—and carried with him all the debates, pamphlets &c to Mr. Jefferson. I will enclose to you the Massachusetts debates by the first opportunity to Richmond.<sup>3</sup>

Be so good to inform me when you will set out to Richmond that I may direct my letters accordingly.

The packets brought no Intelligence of any moment—the whole was retailed in the news-papers—tho I supposed Mr Jefferson’s letters to you might have contained more than his short one to Congress.<sup>4</sup>

Nothing is talked of in London but the Trial of Mr Hastings—the proofs are so strong against him, and the oratory of Mr Burke so potent that in all probability he must suffer.

The Dauphin still continues very ill.

The marchioness received your Comts. with great pleasure—she & the Count most cordially return them. The lady has procured a negroe Girl, and only wants a Boy *in order that they may breed* to use her own language.

Only seven states yet—certainly this week we shall have nine. I am dear Sir with great respect & esteem, your affect. humble servant,

C Griffin

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Although Griffin omitted the day of the month, he wrote to Madison on Mondays weekly or biweekly from March 17 to May 26, including known letters of May 5 and 19.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the *Debates, Resolutions and Other Proceedings of the Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Convened at Boston on the 9th of January, 1788, for the Purpose of Amending and Ratifying the Constitution* (Boston: Adams and Nourse, 1788), for which see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,242.

<sup>4</sup> Griffin is apparently referring to Thomas Jefferson’s February 5 letter to Congress which John Jay had submitted on April 18 along with a lengthier letter of December 31, both of which were read on May 2. See PCC, item 78, 2:47-49, item 185, 4:30; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:479-83, 563-65.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, Circular to the States

Office of Secy of Congress, May 12.  
1788.

Congress anxious to bring to a close the public accounts as far as they relate to the late quarter master, commissary's, hospital, marine & cloathing departments, have passed the resolutions, which I have the honor to transmit to your Exy herewith enclosed.<sup>1</sup> As the order to the Commissioners to commence suits may affect some of the citizens of your State, I have to request that your exy will be pleased to cause it to be published for the information of all concerned.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Exys h s

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed May 8 resolutions, see *JCC*, 34:147–48. See also Thomson to the States, May 26; and these *Letters*, 23:181n.1, 233n.4.

## John Brown to James Breckinridge

Dear Breckinridge

New York May 14th. 1788

I recd. your letter containing the agreeable intilligence that my dear friend J. Smith had returned in safety from the Western Country. My anxiety on his behalf has been great—am also happy to hear that he has been successfull in accomplishing his Business. I wish he may acquit himself of the Contract he entered into last fall with Credit & Profit. He ought to be very particular in his Rects. or discharges. He has not yet written to me, am in daily expectation of receiving a letter from him which will certainly contain something interesting & amusing to me. Am sorry to find that New Constitution is still in great Jeopardy in Virga. The event is doubtful in S. Carolina. Anarchy will be the Consequence if it is rejected. 'Tis with great difficulty that we can keep the Old Machine in Motion—without the prospect of the adoption of the new it would be impossible. We have not yet been able to parade nine States—therefore have done nothing for Kentucky—cannot think myself Justifiable in returning without—must give up the Idea of being in Kentucky at June Court—shall stay here 'till August—therefore write on. I enjoy great health & am very happy—having heard that my Business is going on Smoothly in Kentuckey. Shall pay Boston a Visit before I return. Have you heard any thing from Brother James.

Adieu in great haste Yours,

J Brown

RC (ViU: Breckinridge Papers in the collections of the Albemarle County Historical Society).



## Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson

My dear Sir,

New York May 14. 1788

Mr. Barlow of Connecticut<sup>1</sup> will have the Honor to call on you with this letter. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him, but his literary Talents have considerably distinguished him as a poetical as well as prose writer, and he is introduced to me as a Gentleman deserving your countenance. Permit me to recommend him to your attention and civilities. He conducts to the Marquis de La Fayette, the Eldest son of our illustrious Friend Genl. Greene,<sup>2</sup> who is sent at the particular request of that Noble Man, to receive his education under his direction in France. I have given the little Fellow a few lines to you and directed him to deliver them in person, it is unnecessary for me to solicit for him the attention of one who so well knew his Father.

I had the pleasure to write you pretty fully on the 25th Ult.<sup>3</sup> by Mr. Paradise, since which no event has taken place except the adoption of the Constitution in Maryland, by a Majority of 63 against 11. South Carolina is now sitting, and the general countenance of intelligence from thence, is much in favor of the Measure. There seems to be no doubt entertained of an adoption by a considerable Majority. Should this be the case it will give eight States. Virginia being the next to set, will meet under very critic[al] circumstances, because upon her decision will, in my opinion, depend, not the fate of the Measure, but whether some degree of convulsion shall, or shall not, attend its Maturation. It will have gone too far to be retracted, and even Virginia herself, should she in the first instance reject, must afterwards come in. Indeed New Hampshire will certainly accede when she re-assembles, and compleate the Nine for giving action to the project, but a decision in the Negative in Virga. would, in one moment, give additional life to the Minority in Pensylvania, whose opposition has taken a stubborn stand, and the appeal may in that quarter, be to the sword, nor will I venture a conjecture upon the effect such an effort there, will have amongst the opposers in Virginia. I hope, however, that the possibility of a calamity of this sort, will have its effect on some of the more wise in the opposition, and incline them to adopt rather than run such a hazard. Should Virga. adopt, we shall at once, have a Government, the issue of a thorough revolution, without the violent means which have uniformly been requisite for the like events elsewhere. I pray God we may exhibit to the world this instance of our superior wisdom & benevolence.

I do myself the pleasure to send you by Mr. Barlow a volume containing a Number of Periodical papers which have been written in this City upon the occasion of the Constitution. They are written, it is sup-



posed, by Messrs. Madison, Jay & Hamilton. The Numbers run to as many more, the remainder are to form a second Vol. which will be published in a few weeks, & I will do myself the pleasure to send it to you as soon as it is done.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Madison, in a letter which he wrote me a few days ago,<sup>5</sup> requested me to obtain the first & second volumes of the Philosophical Transactions of the society in Philada. & forward them to you. Upon enquiry I find that the 1st Vol. is not in print having been destroyed during the War. The second, I have got the favor of Mr. Barlow to take with him for you. I am told the 1st is to be reprinted. When it is done we will take care to forward it to you. During Mr. Madisons absence in Virginia I am aware of your dependance upon me for regular information upon the progress of the business of the constitution and shall omit no opportunity of writing.

I have the Honor to be, My dr. sir with the most sincere regard, Yr.  
Friend & Hl St., Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Joel Barlow (1754–1812), poet and author of *The Vision of Columbus* (1787), who sailed for Europe on May 25 as agent for the Scioto Company. The land venture soon failed, but he remained abroad for 17 years continuing to publish and serving as consul to Algiers. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> That is, George Washington Greene, the oldest of Gen. Nathanael Greene's five children, for whom Carrington also wrote Jefferson the following letter of introduction on May 17. "My particular Friend Master George Washington Greene will have the Honor to deliver you this letter. Your acquaintance with his illustrious Father renders it unnecessary for me to solicit for him your Attention & Countenance. He is sent to France at the age of about 12 years, to be educated under the direction of the Marquis De La Fayette." Jefferson Papers, DLC.

<sup>3</sup> Actually, April 24.

<sup>4</sup> Barlow carried with him the first volume of *The Federalist*, which had been published in New York on March 22. The second volume was published on May 28 and was forwarded to Jefferson by Carrington on August 10. See Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,127; and *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 16:466–71.

<sup>5</sup> Not found.

## Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[May 14–30, 1788]

May 14th. transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs

Letters—from Mr Adams—

Decr. 11th. 1787—enclosing Mr. P. Millers paper of experiments in Navigation.

Novr. 30th, 1787, Decr. 16th, 1787.<sup>1</sup>

Letters—from Mr Jefferson—

Decr. 21st, 1787

Decr. 31st, 1787, with Arret of King of France &c.  
Feby. 5th, 1788.<sup>2</sup>

Letter—March 4th, 1788, from Mr Barclay } recommg  
Novr. 10th, 1787, from Dr Franklin } Mr Bonfield<sup>3</sup>

Pamphlet from Colignon—for extirpating misery of society.<sup>4</sup>

Letter—March 25th, 1788, Mayor of N York, & copy of  
Alderman's Letter, on the subject of Mr Van Berckel's  
complaint.<sup>5</sup>

Letter—March 3d, 1788, from John M Pintard.<sup>6</sup>

Letters from Mr Dumas—

Novr. 14th & 27th, 1787

Decr. 4th, 18 & 21st, do. with translations.<sup>7</sup>

Transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs April 24th, 1787

Letter—June 3d, 1785, from O. Pollock<sup>8</sup>—observations  
respecting the Island of Cuba.

May 24th. Transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs to be filed  
(see rect.)

Letter—March 16th, 1788 from Mr Jefferson.<sup>9</sup>

Letter—April 24th, 1788 from Mr Gardoqui &

Letter from his Catholic Majesty.<sup>10</sup>

Letter—March 11th, 1788 from the Prince of Orange on  
Mr Adams taking leave.<sup>11</sup>

27th. Transmitted to the Board of Treasury letter from Genl  
Harmer July 7th, 1787, respecting contracts with Turn-  
bull, Marmie & Co. to be returned<sup>12</sup>

29th. Transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs, agree-  
ably to order May 27th, 1788—papers relating to Francis  
Cazeaus claims<sup>13</sup>—returned from the Board of Treas-  
ury—filed there

May 19th, 1786 (vid Commee. book)

Numbered from 1 to 13. Mems. & Pets. from 1 to 10 inclusive<sup>14</sup>

No. 11. letter April 13th, 1784 from S.I. of finance enclos-  
ing letter from Compr. April 8th, 1784 & report of Audi-  
tor—copies.<sup>15</sup>

N. 12. Report of Board of treasury.<sup>16</sup>

N. 13. Report Wm. Barber—Commr. of State of NY.<sup>17</sup>

30th. Transmitted to the Office for form. Affairs to be filed

Letter—March 26th, 1788—from Mr Adams.<sup>18</sup>

Letter—March 13th, 1788—from Mr Jefferson.

March 16th, do. do.<sup>19</sup>

Letter—March 18th, 1788—from Mr Short.<sup>20</sup>

Letters—Jany. 22d & Feby. 22d [*i.e.*, 2d], 1788—from Mr  
Dumas.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These John Adams letters to John Jay are in PCC, item 84, 6:575–94; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:817–26.

<sup>2</sup> For these Thomas Jefferson letters, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:447–49, 479–83, 563–65.

<sup>3</sup> These letters from Thomas Barclay and Benjamin Franklin recommending John Bondfield are in PCC, item 91, fols. 447–48, item 82, 3:281–82.

<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly Claude Boniface Collignon's *L'avant-coureur du Changement du monde entiere par l'aisance, la bonne éducation & la prospérité générale de tous les hommes; ou, Prospectus d'un mémoire patriotique, sur les causes de la grande misère qui existe par-tout, & sur les moyens de l'extirper radicalement* (London, 1786).

<sup>5</sup> For Mayor James Duane's letter and the documents concerning Pieter Johan van Berckel's "complaint" submitted to Congress by John Jay on March 24, see PCC, item 80, 3:376–405; and *JCC*, 34:109–11. For the letter of the Alderman, John Wylley, see also *JCC*, 34:128.

<sup>6</sup> Not in the PCC.

<sup>7</sup> For these letters from Charles W. F. Dumas to John Jay, see PCC, item 93, 3:315–39; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 3:597–605.

<sup>8</sup> This Oliver Pollock letter to John Jay is in PCC, item 50, fols. 481–84.

<sup>9</sup> See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:671–76.

<sup>10</sup> For these letters from Diego de Gardoqui and Charles III, see PCC, item 97, fols. 218–20, 270–72.

<sup>11</sup> This letter from William V to Congress is in PCC, item 59, 4:379–81.

<sup>12</sup> Josiah Harmar's letter is in PCC, item 150, 2:477–84.

<sup>13</sup> See *JCC*, 34:184; and Thomson's Memorandum Book, July 7–28, 1788, note 2.

<sup>14</sup> Not identified, but for the papers related to Francis Cazeau's claim that were delivered to the board of treasury February 25, 1785, see PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 9, fols. 169–70.

<sup>15</sup> These documents of Robert Morris, James Milligan, and John D. Mercier are in PCC, item 137, 3:507–21.

<sup>16</sup> For this August 29, 1785 report, see *JCC*, 29:671–72.

<sup>17</sup> Not identified. Following this entry concerning papers relating to Cazeau's claims, Alden wrote: "NB. These papers returned & transmitted to the Bd. of Treasury June 9th, 1788."

<sup>18</sup> See PCC, item 84, 6:631–33; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:833.

<sup>19</sup> For these two Jefferson letters, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:661, 671–76.

<sup>20</sup> This letter from William Short to John Jay is in PCC, item 87, 2:73–76.

<sup>21</sup> There are actually two Dumas letters of January 22, and one of February 2, with a long postscript, in PCC, item 93, 4:7–42. The translations printed in *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 3:605, 607–8 include both of the former but only the postscript (improperly represented) of the latter.

## Edward Carrington to William Short

My dear Sir,

New York May 17. 1788

Mr. Barlow a Gentleman of Connecticut who is distinguished as a Man of literary Merit, and a Patriot, will do me the pleasure to deliver this letter.<sup>1</sup> May I solicit your Attention to him? The Eldest Son of our illustrious Friend General Greene attends him to be placed under the Care of the Marquis de La Fayette for his education—for him I need

not ask you any thing, you know the character of his Father & that is enough to ensure him your tenderest care and attention.

I have enclosed to Mr. Jefferson a Pamphlet containing a Number of papers written in this City upon the occasion of the Constitution which you will see.<sup>2</sup> I now inclose to you an address to the people of N. York lately published.<sup>3</sup> I also inclose you several papers—you & Mr. Jefferson will doubtless exchange the reading of what is addressed to each. Mr. Barlow is upon the point of departure and therefore I must conclude with assurances of the great regard with which I am my dr. sir, Your sincere Friend & Hl St.,  
Ed Carrington

RC (DLC: Short Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, May 14, notes 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> For John Jay's *An Address to the People of the State of New-York, on the Subject of the Constitution* (New York: Samuel and John Loudon, 1788), which was first published in April, see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,175. It was reprinted in *The American Museum* in June.

## Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher

My Dear Sir

New York 18 March [i.e., May] 1788

. . . . I think I have not written you since the accession of Maryland to the new System<sup>1</sup>—the accounts are favorable from the South and unless Virginia *does*, I hardly apprehend a negative from the Southern States.

Gore is here & goes for Philadelphia to morrow—He is going to lay hold of some of our great ones, and will mak[e] O. I dance to the *music of* £3700—*sub rosa*—King & other friends frequently ask after you, But I dont let them know I have but *once* heard from you.

After several applications to Greenleaf he has paid me ten pounds & 11d currency which wants your order. It was paid in paper and the difference between that & Specie is about seven pr Cent.

In Congress we go on with seven States as usual, but I think nine are like to be upon the floor this week—The most deficient State is New York,<sup>2</sup> which is very extraordinary. There is a Doctr Williamson arived who seems to have got with him from No Carolina a quantum of self consequence. Kentucki business I think must unavoidably be agitated this week—Brown who by the way improves upon acquaintance is incessant in his application. The New England members with [will?] certainly be in opposition—King tell me we are not empowered in his opinion, and if we were it is extremely improper in the present State of affairs.

I find it is the general opinion that the New wheel will revolve—N Carolina, our pompous brother Williamson thinks there will be no



fear of, nor perhaps will there be of S C, and Virginia with all stateliness, will be very unwilling to stand alone; For N York will accede with the worst possible grace, I think she will be bullied into it.

I think the people of Massachusetts, by what I have heard of their elections, are in a state of tollerable union & tranquility—This rejoices me, because N England united, will forever counterpoise any cabals & manœuvres of the South. . . .

Yours very truly,

Sam A Otis

20th May. So great a favor as yours of 9th can by no means pass unnoticed. I am glad you found all things well in Massachusetts. I think their elections shew they are in pretty good Temper. I am doubtful how it will go with Lincoln<sup>3</sup>—Cochran & Gale were out of the question in the other days uproar, whether the[y] were fortunate eno[ugh] not to discover themselves or really innocent, is not easily to be determined. They however escaped censure. . . .

Your most Huml Sert,

Sam A Otis

MS not found; reprinted from *Historical Magazine*, 2d ser. 6 (December 1869): 345–46.

<sup>1</sup> News of Maryland's ratification of the Constitution on April 26 was received by Congress May 8. See *JCC*, 34:149n; and *PCC*, item 70, fols. 557–60.

<sup>2</sup> New York's representation was the subject of the following letter between two of the state's delegates, Ezra L'Hommedieu to Leonard Gansevoort dated "Suffolk County May 15. 1788."

"Last Evening I received your favour of the 24th of last Month in which you request me to releive you in your Attendance at New York. Had I received your letter Timely, I should have so arranged my Business as to have attended in your stead for the Time you request: but at present it is impracticable for me to leave home before next month, and it is then probable I shall not be able to attend Congress. If I am elected to attend the Convention, I do not see how it will be possible for me to attend at New York next month except a few Days, & as I propose after the Convention to attend the proposed Treaty, in Case it should take place, I beleive it will be best to send on, or rather request Mr. Yates to take his seat, he having no public Business to divert him (as I know of) from the same. Mr. Gelston informed me about Ten Days ago that you proposed leaving New York the first of May but receiving no word from you I concluded there either would be a Representation of the State, or that so little Business was done, the same might be not necessary at present. I hope no Inconvenient [Inconvenience] will attend our States not being represented for a short Time, and am sure no blame will be laid to you for attending to your urgent Business at home after having been so long abroad." Gratz Collection, PHi.

<sup>3</sup> See Otis to Benjamin Lincoln, May 8, note.

## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

My dear sir

N. York May 19th. [1788]

I am honored with your two letters of May 1 & 3.<sup>1</sup>

Paradise was embarked—and carried to Mr Jefferson the debates you mention, and other publications worth attention.

I had all the boxes and packages brought to my house, have paid the freight and bonded the duties—they shall be distributed as you direct.

Some of the acorns, Sulla, and pease are deposited in my little garden. The box containing the greater part are gone forward to colonel Lewis.

The piece of Information I have communicated to the delegates of South-Carolina as you desired.

I will purchase the Mass. debates and send them in good time to meet you at Richmond.<sup>2</sup>

We have heard lately from Mr. Adams—he is greatly mortified at taking leave without the letters customary upon that occasion—and still more distressed that Mr Smith is not continued at the Court of London in some capacity or other. He seems to think that the war will be general, but has given no reasons for that opinion. At the parting scene he was told by the King [“]that he wished always to cultivate a good understanding with the united states, and would amply comply with the Treaty whenever America manifested the same disposition.” That the Courtiers jest very much upon our debelitated situation, but all seem to think that the new Constitution if adopted will place this Country upon a respectable foundation—and untill that period arrives they can have no permanent Intercourse with us.<sup>3</sup> Accept the papers—and believe me yours very affly., C. Griffin

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See Griffin to Madison, May 12, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> John Jay transmitted John Adams' letters of February 14, 16, and 21 to Congress on May 13, and one of March 26 on May 22. See *JCC*, 34:153, 174–75; *PCC*, item 185, 4:32–33, item 84, 6:595–631; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 2:827–33.

## Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount

Dear sir

New York 21. May 1788

From my Arrival in Philada. which was on the 11th Inst (for I came by Water from Portsmouth) I have been persecuted by a story that had been published in Martins Paper<sup>1</sup> & republished I think in every Paper from NC to this Place. Is it true that North Carolina is toren into factions? Are you generally governed by Mobs? and such other Questions were frequent and familiar. You know that in those Northern States which contain from 10 to 15 Counties each People think differently concerning the magnitude of a County from what we think in Carolina where a quarter nag might cross a County in half an Hour. General Caswells Name being among the federal Candidates rendered the Story as published by Martin the more exceptionable; the Story was so told as to induce the Belief that the Candidates were all

present & had effected a Riot. In this State of Intelligence & being thoroughly chagrined by a Story so obviously calculated to injure a very respectable Character & with him to injure the general Character of the State I thought it my duty to prepare a Paragraph and cause it to be published which is thought by the Readers to put the Matter in a very different or in a new Point of Light.<sup>2</sup> The inclosed paper contains the Paragraph which if you think worth while you will forward to Govr. Caswell. As I had no particular Information concerning the circumstances of the Dobbs Riot you may presume that I could not directly and pointedly contradict every assertion of Mr Martin, I was therefore obliged to account for the Riot by reference to private disputes which otherwise I should have had no desire to mention, but even under this necessity you see that I have taken Care to cast no shade on the Character of any individual. I conceive that I am possessed of some Philosophy & Patience but still I have not patience sufficient to be silent or unconcerned when I conceive that the Character of a friend is injured.

I am Dr sr, Your obedt servt,

Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Blount Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, *Martin's North Carolina Gazette*, published by Francois Xavier Martin at New Bern since January 1786. Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, 2 vols. (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1947), 2:771.

<sup>2</sup> Williamson's "Paragraph" on the "Dobbs Riot," which was published in the *New York Daily Advertiser* of May 20 and the *Independent Journal* of May 21, emphasized the private character of the "fracas" between Col. Benjamin Shepard and William Barfield "relative to the proposed Constitution" which resulted in Shepard's death.

## Paine Wingate to Sarah Wingate

My dear Sally

New York May 21. 1788.

I received your's of the tenth Instant last evening, and as you think I have neglected writing to you as often as to some others, I shall now discharge my debt to you before any body else. You will not expect that I shall write to you as frequently as to your mother, But you may depend on your share in common with the rest of the children. Your letter gives me a good deal pleasure. It is very well expressed & pertinent. You need not feel uneasy in writing a letter to any body. It is true there are defects in spelling which I could wish you knew how to mend, but these are very fashionable errors in young ladies. I have observed that you are apt to be too diffident of yourself & of what you say & do. This may proceed from a good cause. It may proceed from an anxious desire to appear well. But it should never be indulged in bashfulness. This is very unfashionable. A young lady should be very



modest in her dress, innocent in her language, & virtuous in her deportment; but at the same time when she is in company with gentlemen or ladies she will be entirely easy and unimbarassed in her behaviour. She will be very sociable & familiar upon any trifling subject much as she would be with a brother or sister. You will observe that when you go to see Polly or your Aunt Wingate & have them to see you, You are never at a loss what to say. Any chat will do for you. And much the same kind of talk is made use of among the fashionable people in their visits. Only they keep talking all the time & consequently say more nonsense than you would. Another thing is fashionable which I can not say I entirely approve of. That is—Fathers, Mothers, sons & daughters, young & old all mix together & talk & joke alike so that you cannot discover any distinction made or any respect shewn to one more than to another. I am not for keeping up a great distance between Parents & Children. I love to have them familiar, sociable & even humorous sometimes, but there is difference between staring & stark mad. The young gentlemen are never permitted to kiss a lady before company or even to take her by the hand, unless it is to lead her out of the room or to hand her into a carriage or up the steps to a door, or the like. The husband does not hand his wife upon such occasions but some other gentleman does it. So much for fashions in conduct. I do not know any remarkable changes in dress since I have been here. The ladies have still very slim waists with rumpers & plumpers. Very small feet & monstrous large heads. Long trailing gowns & short sleeves. But the plaiting of the hair & adorning the body is I think more attended to than the ornaments of the mind. Consequently the young gentlemen associate with them occasionally for their amusement but do not think of submitting to such a heavy tax as to support them for wives. You will take the hint, & if you wish to have a husband who is worth having, you will appear in such a manner as will induce him to suppose that you will not be a tax upon him to maintain you, but that you will conduce to his interest as well as happiness. I have no more instructions at this time to suggest, but shall give you my most affectionate wishes that you ever walk in the paths of peace and virtue, that you may make a wise choice of your allotments in life, that you may be happy in your friends & connexions, and that all may tend to introduce you to a happier state hereafter. My letters my dear child to any of the family you are welcome to read, on my part, but When they are sent from me they belong to another & I have no right to controul. But I dare say your mother will gratify you in every thing that is proper, perhaps there was something you would not wish to see.

I am your affectionate

Paine Wingate



## South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Pinckney

Sir

New York May 22d. 1788

The frequent Interruptions that have happen'd in the Sitting of Congress prevent us from being able to communicate any Proceedings of a very interesting Nature.

Since our last Letter to your Excellency, Congress has receiv'd the Ratifications of the new Constitution by the States of Georgia and Maryland, and also a Letter from the Governor of Rhode Island informing that the Legislature of that State had referr'd the new Constitution to the Consideration & Decision of the People at large in their Town Meetings, and that a Majority of Votes were against the Adoption of it.<sup>1</sup> This important Question being now before the Convention of our State, we have only to express our Hopes that Wisdom will guide it's Deliberations & Decision.

An Arrêt of the King of France of the 29th December 1787, giving farther Encouragement to the Trade of the United States has been transmitted to Congress by Mr. Jefferson, and a Copy of the same will be forwarded to your Excellency from the Office of Foreign Affairs.<sup>2</sup>

It was expected that a Treaty wou'd have been effected with the several Nations of Indians in the Neighbourhood of the Muskingum some time in the current Month, but the latest Advices from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs there,<sup>3</sup> give reason to suppose that it will be a Month or two longer before the Chiefs of the Nations will be in Readiness to assemble.

With respect to the Claims of Compensation for the Services of the Ship South Carolina, nothing can yet be done by us, no farther Advices of the Success of Mr. Carmichael's Application being receiv'd. On Enquiry of Mr. Gardoqui Chargé des Affaires of Spain, we find that he has no Instructions from his Court upon that Subject.<sup>4</sup>

We have the Honor to be with due Respect, Your Excellency's Most obedt. Servts.,

Dl. Huger

John Parker.

Thos. Tud. Tucker

RC (ScCoAH: Governor's Messages). Written by Tucker and signed by Tucker, Huger, and Parker.

<sup>1</sup> January 5 and May 1 letters of the governors of Georgia and Maryland enclosing their states' ratifications had been read in Congress on May 5 and 8 respectively. An April 5 letter of Gov. John Collins reporting the yeas and nays of the Rhode Island town meetings was also read May 5. See *JCC*, 34:131n, 140n, 149n.

<sup>2</sup> This arrêt, which had been discussed by Thomas Jefferson in his December 31, 1787, letter to John Jay [Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:466–71, 479–83], had actually been transmitted to Jay by William Short in his letter of January 1. Short also enclosed a printed letter of December 29 to Jefferson from the French comptroller general of finance, Claude Guillaume Lambert. They are in PCC, item 87, 2:35–46. Both were sent

to the states under cover of the following May 17 circular letter from Jay. "I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed, a copy of an Act of his most christian Majesty's Council of State 'for the encouragement of the Commerce of France with the United States of America' passed the 29th Decemr, 1787, together with a copy of a Letter on the subject of it from his Majesty's Comptroller General of finance to the honorable Mr. Jefferson, dated on the same day. Although these papers have already appeared in the Gazettes yet not having been until lately communicated officially to Congress, they could not sooner be published by their authority." PCC, item 120, 3:350. Jefferson's letter had been read on May 2 and Short's on May 5. See *JCC*, 34:130n.2, 132n.5.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Butler's letter of May 4 had been read in Congress on May 19. See *JCC*, 34:160.

<sup>4</sup> For the *South Carolina* claims, see South Carolina Delegates to Pinckney, February 19, note 2.

## Charles Thomson to George Clinton

Sir, Office of Secy of Congress May 22. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to yr Excy herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress assembled, recommending to the state of New York to make good the pay of Francis Cranbury late a soldier in the 3d battalion of New york forces from the 25 Augt. 1778 to the 14 Sept. 1780 & charge the same to the United States.<sup>1</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Yr Exys m. ob & m h s.,  
CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Exy The Govr of New York."

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed May 15 resolution, see *JCC*, 34:154. For the April 5 petition of Cranbury's widow Mary, which was referred on May 2 to the commissioner of army accounts who reported May 10, see PCC, item 62, fols. 239–42; and *JCC*, 34:131n, 150–51.

## Peleg Arnold to Stephen Arnold

Honoured Sir,<sup>1</sup> New York 25th May 1788.

I imbrace this oppertunity to acknowledge my Regard for your Self and Famaly. The many favors I have received from you Impresses my mind with a grateful Sense of acknowledgement.

I have no cause to doubt but your care will further Extend to my Famaly. I Desire you to assist them in my absence with your advice in Farming & Disposing of Such part of the Stock of Sheep & C—— as may be Necessary.

There is no matters of Importince here and whenever there is I Shall communicate them. This Letter will Remind you that I have not forgotten so Worthy a Friend; I wish you to take the troble to write if not emediately on the Receipt of this in the cource of the Summer

when you find it mo[s]t conveneint. I have wrote Several Letters to Mrs. Arnold and some to other persons, and wish to have regular answers from home once a week. I presume there will be but little business for coasting Vessels in the Summer and should that be the case, The most regular way of conveyance will be by the Post, The Letters may put into Mr. Carters Office in Providence, you may mention this to Mrs. Arnold and to all others that wish to write. If they are left there they Should have "Free" writen on them Directed "The Hon. Peleg Arnold Delegate in Congress, New-York."

Present my Dutiful Respects to your good Lady, and Love to your Famaly, and be assur'd I am with perfect Esteem your Dutiful Son,  
Peleg Arnold

RC (ICHi: Gunther Collection). Addressed: "Stephen Arnold Esqr."

<sup>1</sup> Arnold's father Stephen represented the town of Smithfield in the Rhode Island Assembly, 1781–86. Thomas Steere, *History of the Town of Smithfield* (Providence: E. L. Freeman & Co., 1881), pp. 171–72.

## William Bingham to Tench Coxe

Dear sir,

New York May 25th 1788

I have received your Letter enclosing an Address to the Convention of Virginia,<sup>1</sup> which I am of opinion may operate a very good Effect on the Minds of the People of this State, & Shall therefore have it republished.

If the Friends to the foederal System had been more active in disseminating their opinions, & had taken an earlier period for impressing them, they would not have at present to lament their unsuccessful Efforts in procuring a Majority in the Convention of this State. They confided too much on the good sense of the People & in the Relief that their Interests were too intimately connected with the Adoption of the proposed Government, to admit the possibility of their rejecting it.

But as Nine states will probably have ratified before their Session is closed, I think they will hardly have fortitude enough to adjourn the Consideration of, much less to reject the proposed Constitution.

Accounts from New Hampshire leave little room to doubt a very Speedy Decision in favor of the new Government.

I Shall communicate, as you desire, the enclosed publication to Col Hamilton, & take his opinion with respect to any exceptionable Passages.

I am Sincerely, Dear Sir, Your obedt ser, Wm. Bingham

RC (PHi: Coxe Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the publication of Coxe's "Address," which was first printed May 21 in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* under the pseudonym "An American," see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 9:832-43.

## Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher

Dear Chum

N York 25 May 1788

I shall only inform you, brother D & myself made an effort to get the post from Portland to Pownalboro, but could not succeed.<sup>1</sup> The House of Ellsworth were zealous for a new establishment from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt, & laid their plan so well, that all brother Dane's pollicy, & my honesty, could not negative this measure; we called yeas & Nays, but even N Hamshire, altho they could not help seeing our drift, would not stand by us.<sup>2</sup> Could we have stoped the southern post, *they* would have come into both plans, which I should have liked very well. When we found the Southern obtained, we gave over trying Hazzards report upon the Pownalboro post, because one or two States declared they would oppose it. But a new arrangment of the post-office must soon take place and perhaps by the time you return, we may make a more successful attempt.

Nothing has transpired in relation to the farther accession to foederal measures. So Carolina having been some time in session, I think we may speedily expect their detirmination; Virginia comes next. Maddison might unanimously be chosen chairman or president of Convention if he would accept of it. Erving left Congress yesterday. We have several members arivd since you was here, as Few, Bingham, Carrington &c. Your friend Cockran had discretion eno' to keep out of this grave diging business, So I fancy had the young man.

Mr Penfield & family with Mr D request I would make their remembrances. I mention to you we had got into Queen Street not far from the President. I think an airy agreeable part of the City; or a fine mornings walk. Mrs P is gone into Boerks[?] a few days to see her friends, But we do very well. We have had most dismal weather this spring, rain without ceasing and until this day I hardly know when the Sun appeared.

I find great alterations have taken place in the House. Compliments to all friends. Let us hear any communications that are important & believe me yours very sincerely,

Sam A Otis

RC (MB: Chamberlain Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See Otis to Thatcher, April 13, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 34:161-63.



## Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons

My dear sir

May 26th. [1788]

I have the pleasure to write you a few lines to inform the kind family that lady C. and the children are in good health; to make enquiry about yourself and our amiable friend Mrs. F. and also in the name of us all to make our sincere acknowledgements for the many favors received.

I hope that Mr OConner was safely landed in the City—we are greatly obliged to him for the care and attention he shewed to my helpless family.

Being indebted to you also in the money way I beg to know the amount that such balance may be discharged with many thanks.

Messrs. Jefferson and Adams have been able to borrow for the united States another million of florins in Holland, upon the prospect of the new Constitution being established, but as Congress have not yet ratified the Contract it may remain with You.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Jefferson seems to think that the War in Europe will be general—but no positive Judgment can be drawn from such a Chaos of politics as that part of the world now exhibits.

The british Courtiers are ridiculing our situation very much—and tell Mr Adams in a sneering manner when America shall assume some kind of Government then England will speak to her. Accept the enclosed paper—with our affections & best wishes to all—do believe me, yours &c,

C Griffin

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jefferson's brief letter of March 13 explaining his trip to Amsterdam was read in Congress this day, but his March 16 letter detailing the negotiations he and John Adams had concluded with the Dutch for a new loan of one million guilders had been read May 22. The latter was referred on the 23rd to a committee of five chaired by Abraham Baldwin whose May 28 report in favor of the loan was agreed to the following day. The board of treasury also gave its approval, submitting "an attested notarial Copy" of the contract on June 25 which Congress considered the 27th and ratified on July 2. See *JCC*, 34:174–77, 185–86, 266–67, 282–83; *PCC*, item 87, 2:51–72, item 185, 4:33, 35; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:661, 671–76. See also Abraham Yates to George Clinton, June 27 and July 2.

## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

My dear sir

N.Y. May 26th. [1788]

I have the pleasure to write you by this post to make a thousand enquiries concerning your health from the marchioness &c to enclose you the debates of the Massachusetts convention under seperate covers.

Contrary to expectation it so happens that we cannot bring nine states to act upon the floor of Congress, and this day one of the Maryland Gentlemen<sup>1</sup> is going away which will throw us aback probably for some weeks.

Messrs. Jefferson and Adams have lately met at Amsterdam, and have been able to borrow for the united states another million of florins from the dutch, upon the prospect of the New constitution being established, but Congress have not yet ratified the contract yet certainly will do it without a single objection.<sup>2</sup>

They seem to think that the war in Europe will be general, but confess that no positive Judgment can be formed from such a chaos of politics as that part of the world now exhibits.

Colonel Smith is just arrived from England, but has told us nothing of a secret or interesting nature.<sup>3</sup> The Courtiers are ridiculing our situation very much, and say upon all occasions in a laughing manner that when the united states shall assume some sort of Government then England will speak out.

Gentlemen are perpetually calling to know what will be the event of the Constitution in Virginia—do, my kind friend, at this particular crisis write to me from time to time that I may give the best information upon the subject.

Accept the enclosed papers—and accept too the best wishes & regards of your affet friend and obedient Servant, C Griffin

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, David Ross. See *JCC*, 34:179, 184.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>3</sup> That is, William Stephens Smith, secretary of the American legation in London.

## Charles Thomson to William Ellery

Sir,

New York May 26. 1788

I have received your favour of the 18 & agreeably to your request transmit you herewith a list of the members now in Congress.

It might have been expected that even the crooked wisdom of your *Know ye men* would before this have pointed out to them the necessity of altering their conduct, not from a conviction of the iniquity of their past measures but with a view to secure their wicked gains. But it seems as if they were destined to be examples, and to warn the other states against the evils and mischiefs, of pure democracy. I hope the good people of your state will be awakened to a sense of their situation & the contempt to which they have exposed themselves by suffering themselves to be guided by unprincipled designing men.



closed, an Act of the United States in Congress Assembled pass'd the 22nd.<sup>1</sup> By this and their Act of the 8th, which I had the honor of transmitting, with my Letter of the 12th, it is hoped the Accounts between the United States and Individual persons will speedily be brought to a close.

With great Respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most hum servt.,  
Cha Thomson<sup>2</sup>

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 34:169–71. See also Thomson to the States, May 12.

<sup>2</sup> On May 26 the secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay, also transmitted the following circular letter to the states enclosing a June 7, 1787, letter to him from Charles W. F. Dumas concerning a Swedish pirate ship captained by one Capt. Adolph Dahlberg, who was described to Dumas by the Swedish ambassador to The Hague, the baron Schultz von Ascheraden. See *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 3:578–80.

"Mr. Dumas, agreeable to the request of the Envoy extraordinary of his Swedish Majesty at the Hague, has transmitted to me a note he received from that minister, which I have now the honor of communicating to your Excellency, in order that such measures may be taken on the subject as circumstances and the Laws of nations may dictate." PCC, item 120, 3:352.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Dr sir

New York 26th May 1788

You recollect that the general Assembly of our State during their last session passed a Law repealing all such other Laws as were inconsistent with the Treaty of Peace.<sup>1</sup> The Secretary of Congress informs me that no such Act has been forwarded to Congress and it is much desired, will you be so good as send me by Post a printed Copy of that Law or an attested manuscript as you may think best. The general Assembly also, near the End of the Session, instructed the Delegates in Congress to move certain Propositions respecting the Navigation of the Mississippi. I shall be obliged to your Excellency for a Copy of that vote & of the Resolutions.<sup>2</sup> It may happen that Mr White has received one and the other of the Papers above reff[e]rred to, but he has not communicated them and is gone hardly to be expected here for some Months. The Virginia Delegates are also instructed respecting the Mississippi, but they are disposed not to bring forward that Business before we are ready to support them.

I have the Honour to be, Your Excellencies most obedt and very hble Servt.,  
Hu Williamson

RC (Nc–Ar: Governors' Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the North Carolina act repealing all laws in violation of the treaty of peace, which was read in Congress September 13, see *N.C. State Records*, 21:477; PCC, item 72, fols. 253–60; and *JCC*, 34:526n. See also Charles Thomson to the States, April 13, 1787, note.



<sup>2</sup> Governor Johnston forwarded these "Resolutions" June 29. On July 14 the North Carolina delegates moved in Congress that "the United States have a clear absolute and unalienable Claim to the free Navigation of the River Mississippi," a motion referred the next day to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to report. For Congress' deferral of this issue, see Williamson to Johnston, September 17, 1788.

## Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock

Sir,

New York May 27th. 1788

We received the letter of Mr. Secretary Avery of the 3d Ultimo with the resolution of the General Court inclosed, directing us to procure a copy of the plan agreeable to the feild book of the late Commissioners appointed to run the line between the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the State of New York, East of Hudson's river. We have employed a person to make a copy of that plan,<sup>1</sup> who will probably have it done in a few weeks, which, when ready, we shall forward to the Secretary, as directed.

Congress have directed the two Cannon belonging to Massachusetts to be returned to the State, agreeable to Your Excellency's request; and for the reasons mentioned in the Act of Congress,<sup>2</sup> which the Secretary will transmit, have ordered an inscription to be engraved on them, which we hope will be a pleasing circumstance to the State.

We also do ourselves the honor to give Your Excellency and the Legislature such general information touching the affairs of the union, as we think may be useful and expected from the Delegates of the State.

The principal objects, not of a secret nature, that require the attention of Congress of late, are, the Federal Territories, Indian Affairs, the unsettled Accounts of the late war, and the means of discharging the current demands upon the Union. An inconsiderable part of the year, in our opinion, would be sufficient for attending to these objects, could the States be induced regularly and seasonably to attend in Congress.

As to the Government of the Federal Territories, we need only observe, that the officers are appointed, and measures adopted, for carrying into effect the system established by Congress, by their ordinance of the 13th of July last—so that there is now, in those Territories a Government properly organised and in operation.

We flatter ourselves that the valuable and extensive tracts of federal lands, of which Congress have the disposal, may, with care and attention, be made a certain source for sinking a large part of the domestic debt of the Union. Terms for the disposal of about nine millions of acres have been agreed upon, and the average price has been rather more than two thirds of a dollar an acre in public securities. Other Companies have made application for purchasing about three mil-

lions of acres more. From a general view of the terms agreed upon, and also of the terms offered, there is reason to believe that most of the lands between the Ohio and the completion of the forty first degree of North Latitude, will sell for half a dollar an acre in securities paid down at the time of sale. As Companies appear to purchase those lands in large tracts, and agree to locate the tracts internally according to the directions of the land ordinance, passed May 20th, 1785, the reasons, for surveying in townships those lands at the public expence have, in a great measure, ceased, and accordingly the surveys have ceased for the present. In the Federal Territories, as is often the case, many claims are set up by individuals under Indian deeds, &c. to these pretended claims, as well as to punctual payments for lands sold, we hope Congress will pay proper attention—convinced as we are, that nothing but a regular system of measures Steadily adhered to for a number of years can produce all the good effects, that may be reasonably expected from this extensive property in the hands of the union.<sup>3</sup>

It has been a question, with the Eastern Delegates especially, whether peopling those new regions with emigrants from the old States, may not, in one point of view, be a disadvantage to them.

But it has been found, that those new lands are very inviting to settlers, and that, if not regularly disposed of and governed by the union, they will in a very few years, probably, be seized upon and settled in an irregular manner, and perhaps at no less expence of Inhabitants to the old States.

Considering these circumstances, the advantages of regular settlements, of lessening the public debt and military expences on the frontiers, and of keeping, by such settlements, that Country more effectually connected with the union, Congress have been induced to adopt measures to establish government, &c. there.

Provision has been made for holding treaties, in the ensuing Summer, with the Western and Southern Indians, to quiet their discontents. It does not appear that the Indians, in general, on the frontiers are hostilely disposed towards the United States; but such is the temper of Indians and the character of many of the frontier people, so extensive are the frontier Countries, and uncertain the titles to tracts of lands about which disputes arise, that discontents and depredations generally exist at some place or other, between those people and the Indians—From which Causes, if not constantly attended to and their effects guarded against, expensive and troublesome wars would result. Hence the United States unavoidably incur every year a considerable expence in the Indian department; tho trifling for several years together, compared with what would be the expence of a combined Indian war for one season. It is Judged to be the true *policy* of the United States to treat the Indians with Justice and equity; to promote peace

with them, and by a fair free trade between them and our Citizens to make, as far as it can be done, compensation for the expences of the Indian Department.

The Unsettled Accounts of the late war are a subject of importance, and particularly at this time, as a change in the forms of the Government will, probably, soon take place, when the attention of the Union will necessarily be drawn to other objects. We need not notice the measures that were adopted in the last and preceeding years relative to this subject. It is probable that in less than a year from this time, the accounts of individuals (a few accepted) will be settled, and that several officers and expences in the Treasury Department will become unnecessary and cease. It is also probable, that, in the course of a few months, the five districts Commissioners appointed to collect the accounts of the respective States against the union, will finish their business.

The Secretary of Congress will officially transmit to your Excellency, the Act of Congress of the 22d instant, relative to this subject<sup>4</sup>—by this it will appear that Congress, after having often, by their Acts and Officers, called on persons entrusted with public monies to settle their accounts, have directed decisive measures to be pursued. It is, perhaps, proper for us to observe, that the persons whom this act respects are not numerous; but a few men, principally in the middle States, who early in the war received very large sums of public monies, and who have very unreasonably delayed to render their accounts. It is not expected that very large sums on settlement will be found due from these persons, tho sums too considerable to be lost or neglected by the union.

Congress deem it essential that men, however distinguished, entrusted with the public property should always be brought, punctually, to render and settle their accounts; not only to do Justice to the public in the particular Cases; but also to evince that there is always a determination in the Government that no Accounts shall remain unsettled, and thereby to provide the most effectual security against a fraudulent line of conduct which men, so entrusted, might otherwise be tempted to pursue.

It is with great difficulty monies are obtained by Congress for discharging the current expences of the union. There is no prospect, at present, of any monies to be remitted to Europe—and as there are some measures before Congress respecting our loans in Holland not yet acted upon, we forbear to make any observations on that subject at this time.

Your Excellency by the papers furnished from time to time, by the board of Treasury, will particularly see the extent of the annual demands upon the union, and the amount of the receipts at the Federal Treasury. We only observe that for the year 1787 276,141 Dollars<sup>5</sup> only were received there exclusive of Indents and the monies last year



loaned. Should the New Constitution be put into operation, as soon as it can be reasonably expected, good Judges seem to be of opinion that no considerable sums of money can be collected under it, 'till we shall get far into the year 1790. In this situation of things, we cannot think the states will Judge it proper wholly to omit payments into the federal Treasury in the mean time, and suffer the demands upon the union to accumulate as they must—or the present Government to cease until another shall be adopted.

The State of Virginia and the District of Kentucky have applied to Congress for the Admission of that District into the union as an independant State. This subject involves in it several considerations, and particularly this, whether the admission of Kentucky into the Union ought not to be contemplated, at least for the present, in connexion with the admission of Vermont.

It does not clearly appear that Congress have the power under the Confederation to consent to the division of a state, and to the admission of a part of it, as an independant state, into the Confederacy. We doubt whether it is expedient at this time to decide on a Subject of this nature, or whether the admission of a State would be of any avail to it.

But situated as these two districts are we think it advisable, that no discouragements to their admission into the Union, as independent States, hereafter, ought to be hove in the way. We think it proper thus briefly to State this subject to your Excellency, and our sentiments relative to it, and to observe, that it is our opinion at present, that we ought to Act in conformity to them, unless otherwise instructed by the legislature.

With Sentiments of the highest esteem & respect, We are Your Excellency's Most humble Servants,

N. Dane

Sam. A. Otis

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). Written by Dane and signed by Dane and Otis.

<sup>1</sup> For which see Samuel A. Otis to James Warren, February 6, note 6; and Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book, February 7–29, note 14.

<sup>2</sup> For this May 19 congressional resolution, see *JCC*, 34:158–59.

<sup>3</sup> Congress was in the process of revising the land ordinance of May 20, 1785, to expedite the sale of western lands. A committee of five chaired by Abraham Clark had been appointed for that purpose on February 22 and their report was read for the first time on March 19 and ordered printed. Congress debated the report March 24–27 and, for lack of a quorum, not again until May 26–29. On June 19 it referred the amended report to a committee chaired by Nathan Dane that brought in a new draft (which is in the Peter Force Miscellany, DLC) on July 2 which was debated and amended July 7–8. The final “supplement” to the land ordinance adopted on July 9 incorporated earlier modifications in the system (for which see these *Letters*, 24:236–37n.3, 382n.4), altered the method of satisfying military bounties, and made the place and manner of payment more convenient. See *JCC*, 34:55n.3, 95–100, 107, 113–14, 180, 184–85, 187, 241–46, 277–81, 297, 301–3, 305–10. For published versions of the “supplement,” cf. *ibid.*, pp. 631, 633–34; and Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, nos. 20,788, 21,515, 21,533. See also Payson J.



Treat, *The National Land System, 1785–1820* (1910; reprint ed., New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), pp. 41–47.

<sup>4</sup> See Charles Thomson to the States, May 26.

<sup>5</sup> Actually \$276,641. Joseph Nourse's annual report of "Monies which have been paid by the several States into the Treasury of the United States from 1st January 1787, to 1st January 1788," dated "Register's Office 9th May 1788," is in the Peter Force Miscellany, DLC. Contributions from 10 states are reported in the following amounts: New Hampshire, \$6,402 53/90, Massachusetts, \$24,063 56/90, Connecticut, \$16,881 53/90, New York, \$41,108 19/90, New Jersey, \$5,210 46/90, Pennsylvania, \$14,272, Delaware, \$7,573 14/90, Maryland, \$85,552 80/90, Virginia, \$47,090 5/90, and North Carolina, \$28,486 78/90.

## Samuel A. Otis to Caleb Davis

Dear Sir

New York 27 May 1788

I congratulate you & my Town upon the appointment of a very respectable seat,<sup>1</sup> at the head of which you have so often met the approbation of your fellow citizens & contributed important services. I conjecture you will have a good house, because the same electors appoint the house who have chosen a good Senate. The rejection of Mr Warren at Milton, Mr Reed, and especially Mr Gorham, is very unaccountable;<sup>2</sup> I thot the latter had the fee simple of the Charlestown Seat.

Mr Dane & myself have given an official account of our doings,<sup>3</sup> and which being directed to the Governour I hope it will give no offence, as one from Mr Thacher & myself did, by being inadvertently directed to the Legislature.<sup>4</sup>

I take the opportunity to contradict an idle report that Congress are contemplating to sponge the debt of the Union—Than which, nothing can be a more groundless surmise. So far from this we have it in view, and fortunately in our power, from the fidelity & address of Messrs Adams & Jefferson to borrow another million florins in Holland, which will provide for the interest of the Dutch Loan to 1790 inclusive, & pay the expences of foreign arrangments; I mean if we omit the *installments* of 1788, 1789 & 1790 of the principal falling due to the Dutch at those periods respectively, & the French *interest & instalments* wholly. This indeed is only giving a new note for the interest, but it is all we can do under present circumstances. For the domestic debt we are making all possible provision by the sale of Lands &c. Tis true no requisition for the year has been made. This has however been omitted from very different causes than any intention to anihilate the domestic debt; For as to the foreign, should this, or any other Congress be so weak or wicked as to attempt the wiping it off, by any indirect measures the injured party would stand justified to the world, should they make attachments upon the high seas, & sue out the mortgage upon our Sea ports. In fact the reasons operating against the requisi-

tion this year were, The attention of the public was so fixed to the new System it seldom admitted of a full representation, When nine states have assembled other attention have unavoidably obtruded themselves. The ferment of the public mind also made any additional heat an object of great circumspection. Congress supposed if there was a disposition in the people to pay, there were old requisitions to exercise it upon; If there was no disposition, New requisitions, of which either no notice, or a resentful one, would probably be taken, appeared neither a measure of discretion, or honorary to Government.

From Europe the rumour seems to be of war. The two Empires have attacked the Turks in force, & the European politicians are of opinion, unless the disciple of Mahomet gets some assistance he will be overwhelmed. It is however said upon pretty good authority, that Spain objects to the admission of the Russians into the Mediterranean; And in fact when England & France disarmed, Spain has kept fifteen Line Ships equipt; Some say to awe her American Subjects who grow refractory, Whilst others assert the keeping Russia from navigating in the Mediterranean is the real object, and that She is backed by France.

In Holland the Statholder rides triumphant over the liberties of his Country. He has however done Congress the honor of a Letter since his exaltation. In France their affairs are still embroiled. The Spirit of liberty seems to have awoke, and this makes odd work in a Monarchy. Their reforms are however an uphill business; It seems to be a contest of King & ministry against the financiers & property; Which will prevail requires no great penetration to predict. The Marquis de Fayette will probably share the fate of the Duke de Sully under Harry 4th, who with much superior abilities attempting to reform abuses, stired up such an hornet's nest, as had well-nigh stung both him & his master to death. Banishment & disgrace of the honest minister alone saved the King for a time; Who at the head of his army, whilst his financiers were rolling in wealth, & the superfluities of speculation, wrote his faithful Mentor, not indeed in the usual stile of Monarchs, "For G——ds sake Sully send me a clean Shirt & pair of boots being destitute of both." The reformers it is said have rather encreased expence hitherto. They are however amongst other things about to discontinue the packetts to America upon principles of œconomy.

The late arret in favor of Commerce obtained by Mr Jefferson under countenance of Marquis de Fayette, is clamoured at by the chambers of commerce, & is refused registration by the Parliament, without which it is too precarious for any dependence.<sup>5</sup>

It is confidently asserted that England, Holland & Prussia are determined upon an offensive & defensive. The Court of Berlin it is thot however will demur. The Prussians know it is for their interest to keep well with France; And their cool politicians view the late inter-

ference with the affairs of Holland a piece of Quicksotism [Quixotism?]; They wish however to have the sole controul of the affairs of Holland, and turn them as circumstances & interest may dictate for, or against France; Their connexion with England may make them less manageable.

There is a fishery establishing at Dunkirk & the undertakers persuade the French Government, they shall be able to effect great things, which will end in Smoke; Under the present impression they are discouraging our fisheries, in hope of building their own upon the ruin. But our friends say it is temporary, & not formidable.

In respect to England it is supposed sooner or later a commercial treaty will be effected. Interest the great pole Star of men & of nations dictate it; Interest which supersedes personal animosity, & converts national hatred into amity, points it out; And whatever may now be the present feelings of both nations, hereafter, they will be connected by this powerful bond of union. In the mean time our European friends, official & others, enjoin it upon us to be prepared for events, But to observe a sacred neutrality in regard to the European bickerings. For indeed on the other side of the Atlantic, the "dogs of war are let loose," & the fire burning in the North, will probable kindle a general flame; England & France stand a tipto & a casual spark may excite an universal blaze. Indiscreet therefore is it for our printers to lard their papers with national reflections. Is it for the interest or honor of a young Merchant wishing to drive an advantageous bargain with an old established House to be perpetually bullying them? We are the youngest nation on earth, & being admitted into company with our elders, modest firmness & defference to those before us in age & experience, will give dignity & importance, Whilst a contrary conduct, will be as derogatory from national honor, as the airs of a Coxcomb are, from the demeanour of an accomplished Gentleman. Equally unfortunate are any publications criminating & reflecting upon sister states. Union is our only hope. This bond once broken, & the tragedies of antient Greece & more modern Italy will be acted over, in our now happy Country. Every man & every State have their peculiar views, prejudices, & partialities, And perhaps overrating their own importance, & consequently feel too quick, But this should rather inculcate circumspection; And altho in our public assemblies strictures upon sister states may unavoidably take place, it answers no good purpose to hold them up in our papers, & blazon family faults to the world.

We are in daily expectation of addition of such as shall be politically saved to the fœderal list; Hot spirits however fume in opposition; And much exertion, patience & discretion are necessary. Doubtless the *opposition* of Verginia, New York, & N Hamshire will adopt a uniform System. I cannot see reason to expect an absolute negative from any quarter but R Island. Probably in the three first named States an attempt will be made at adjournment without day. If they fail in this, al-



terations will be the next object, annexed as Massachusetts did. At present I suppose five in eight of the NY convention are in the opposition. Clinton and some others have done infinite mischief in this business; for which the Citizens of this state owe them no thanks. For good pollicy would probably have fixed *this* the seat of Government, from the residence of which in its present State they derive an annual advantage of 200,000 Dolls, And which would increase with our numbers & our National importance. But C is a mercenary man with daring qualities, that will carry him thro everything in pursuit of his own interest & aggrandizement. I think however this State dare not stand alone against N Engld towards which upon all occasions they look with an exploring circumspect eye.

Thus Sir I have detailed to you everything within my observation worthy your notice. Your discretion will communicate only in Confidence, Your candour excuse the trouble, And presenting myself very respectfully to my numerous friends I remain, With esteem & Regard,  
Your most huml Sert, Sam. A. Otis

RC (MHi: Davis Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Davis had just been reelected a representative from Boston to the Massachusetts General Court.

<sup>2</sup> In the recent Massachusetts elections for representatives to the General Court, Joseph Blake had been elected for Milton in the place of former speaker James Warren, William Heath for Roxbury in the place of John Read, and Thomas Harris for Charlestown in the place of Nathaniel Gorham. See "Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, commencing Wednesday 28 May 1788," DLC(ESR). For an analysis of the Massachusetts elections of 1788, see Hall, *Politics Without Parties*, pp. 299–305.

<sup>3</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>4</sup> No such letter from Otis and Thatcher to the Massachusetts General Court has been found.

<sup>5</sup> For this December 29, 1787, arrêt, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:466–71, 479–83. For the discontent of the French merchants with the arrêt, see *ibid.*, 12:564, 13:191–98. See also South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Pinckney, May 22, note 2.

## Edward Carrington to James Madison

My dear Sir,

New York May 28. 1788

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your several favors from Orange & am much obliged to you for them.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Brown informs me that he has sent you full statements of the Foreign & domestic debts<sup>2</sup>—should you find any additional papers useful, be good enough to inform me, and they shall be immediately forwarded. I can however now add to what you have received, some intelligence upon the subject of our debts. You are acquainted with the steps taken by Mr. Adams last year, for negotiating a loan of 1 Million of Guilders—this loan has not been filled up—about two thirds of the



Bonds deposited by him with our bankers to be negotiated, have remained undisposed of, owing to the dubious state of our politics—the inefficiency of our old Government is too well known in Holland to induce the confidence of Money lenders, and doubts whether the new Constitution will be adopted have prevented their taking that as a ground, on which to depend upon our honesty. As the June interest was becoming due, and as our bankers were also pressed for other indispensable demands, they lately set about some new efforts to get the loan filled—at last they had an Offer from one broker only, but it was of a Nature rather insulting than otherwise—having in his possession a Sum of our domestic securities he offered to fill up the loan, provided he should be allowed to retain one years Interest upon those securities. This would have amounted to upwards of one fourth of the sum loaned—in this embarrassment the Bankers addressed themselves to Mr. Jefferson who has gone to Holland to see what can be done. From Amsterdam he has communicated this proposition to Congress, & in the mean time is endeavouring to get the loan completed upon other terms.<sup>3</sup> In France we are undergoing also severe strictures amongst those to whom we owe money.

In the inclosed papers you will receive the late British Act of Parliament upon the subject of our Trade with the different Territories of that Nation.<sup>4</sup> You see that this Court are presuming much upon our remaining in our imbecile State, having confirmed in a formal Act, what they at first tried in only temporary regulations, for oppressing us. In the debates of the House of Commons Notice was taken of the proposed reform in our Government, which might render this an imprudent measure, but the promoters of it, supposed they had but little to apprehend. I trust we shall soon have it in our power to teach this haughty Nation which is the most dependant in an advantageous intercourse—her West India Islands cannot prosper without us. We can do very well without any thing from thence.

The Gentlemen who are attending here from N. Hampshire, assure me that there will be no doubt of an adoption of the Constitution upon the re-assembling of the Convention, as several of the Towns whose members were formerly instructed to vote in the Negative, have given up their opposition. I cannot learn that any act has taken place declaratory of such a change of sentiment, yet the supposition that it is the case, is presumable, because the persistence of the opposition in that State, must depend on its re-animation in Massachusetts, and of this there is not even a faint prospect. The acquiescence of the Minority there is fully confirmed in the late elections—upwards of two thirds of the Senators returned are declared freinds of the Constitution of which discription are generally those who represent the parts of the State where the opposition was the most obstinate.

I shall do myself the pleasure to write you by the next post and shall

constantly do so during your session, you will much oblige me by the earliest information of the symptoms discoverable in the convention respecting the important object of your Meeting. I am my Dr sir your Afft. Freind & Hl St.,  
Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See John Brown to Madison, May 12, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> See Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons, May 26, note.

<sup>4</sup> Carrington undoubtedly enclosed the May 24 issue of the *New York Daily Advertiser* which printed a copy of the recent parliamentary act regulating trade between the United States and the West Indies, 28 Geo. III, chap. 6, which may be found in the continuation volumes of Owen Ruffhead's *The Statutes at Large [1225–1800]*, 18 vols. (London: Basket, Eyre and Strahan, 1763–1800), 15:401–4.

## Abraham Yates to Abraham G. Lansing

Dr Sir<sup>1</sup>

New York 28 May 1788

I begin this letter in the Congress Room. Yesterday we had Nine. I hear An Other Member is Come in from North Carolina which will bring us up to Ten states. It is said Others are expected. Wither the attending so Many states is intirely owing to an exertion Necessary when Nine States shall have adopted the New Constitution or wither something Else is in Agitation I know not. At present We have had not[hing] Matereal in Considern. I apprehend It will be brought on the carpet to give a sanction to a Loan proposed to be taken in Europe to pay for the Interest Due for the Last year—A Measure Exceeding perorations.

I am treated with Civility And In my usual Manner Am as Civil as I can to every one. I arrived Sunday Moroning And Directly Waited on Coll Hamilton to be informed wither the Commission in the name of all five or wither I must take out a Commission for myself—And before Whoam he had qualified (The Delegates are ordered to take the New Oath of Allegiance) Being Answered that he had not known but lately that he was to qualify he had not done it We Agreed to go the next day before [...] to qualify. After that We Both went to take our Seat,<sup>2</sup> yesterday he Called at my Lodgings I Was not At home, to day he has Invited me to Dine With him Next Sunday Which I Shall do. In Respect to Federal and Entre federal I find that it is beleved here (I mean by the federelist) that the anties will be 40 to the federal 25. Hammelton tells me to day he Supposes that the Anties will adopt the Constitution and propose Amendments. I told him I was in hopes they Would be guilty of Such An Absurdity—he tells me We are in a difficult Situation. It May be the Means, if We Dont, to devide the Southeren from the Northeren States And so Devide the union. I told

him I Would be exceeding sorry of that: but reather then to Adopt the Constitution I Would Risk a government of Jew, Turk or Infidle. On a former Conversation he mentiond our situation was Difficult And did not know how providence Would order it: I told him the Government that Were agreable to providence had for its Pillers Righteousness And truth. I could hardly think that providence had a hand in a government were it required to Wade through such A Scene of Corruption, falshood And Misrepresentation. I have been Attacked by several Other Members And I generelly play of[f] in the same Way All is in good Humor. I expect a good Deal of that to Morrow. I am to dine With the president Mr Johnson.<sup>3</sup> Here ends the first Chapter from Yours Most Affecy. Abm. Yates Junr

P.S. I have urged the Members here to prepare for Amendment. They tell me they Do. I am afraid they are too slack.

RC (NN: Yates Papers). Addressed: "Abr. G Lansing Esqr."

<sup>1</sup> Abraham G. Lansing (1756–1844), an Albany, N.Y., antifederalist, was the son of Gerrit J. and Jane Waters Lansing, and brother of John Lansing. He was also Yates' son-in-law, having in 1779 married his daughter Susanna, with whom he had 14 children. Claude G. Munsell, *The Lansing Family* (New York: Privately printed, 1916), pp. 22, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Yates took his seat in Congress under his new credentials on May 26. See *JCC*, 34:179.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently William Samuel Johnson, the president of Columbia College.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Dear Sir

New York May 29th 1788

I have the pleasure to inform you that letters were received last evening from a gentleman in the Convention of South Carolina by which it appears there is a very respectable Majority in favor of the new System. An account of the ratification is hourly expected. And there is good reason to believe that the majority will be greater than appeared against the adjournment (vide the enclosed paper) as many of the minority came fettered with instructions, repugnant to their present sentiments. Late accounts from Virginia on this Subject are favourable. With the greatest Respect, I have the Honor to be, Dear Sir, your most Humble servant, N. Gilman<sup>1</sup>

RC (Capt. J.G.M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

<sup>1</sup> Gilman wrote a nearly identical letter this day to Jeremiah Wadsworth, which is document no. 9,442, Emmet Collection, NN.



## John Armstrong, Jr. to Horatio Gates

My dear Gen.

New York 30th May 1788.

Your letter of the 29th of April<sup>1</sup> was long on its way, as it did not reach me 'till the 24th Instant. That I have been very delinquent in not writing to you oftener I admit, but that this delinquency has ever arisen from want of remembrance, affection or respect, I entirely deny. The truth is that it has proceeded from a doubt or a difficulty of conveyance, from the interferences of business & sometimes perhaps (of which I should be & am heartily asham'd) from an indolence which I got from nature & which neither time nor the experience that follows it can entirely correct. 'Tis however the indolence of Mandeville's porter & can be thrown aside without any reluctance when the object is either to make a new friend, or preserve an old one.

I have done as you bid me with respect to the note you enclos'd. Troup pretended not to have any recollection of the facts but admitted the hand:writing & paid the money—or what was the same thing gave me an order upon Rivington for the amount in books. The registers came but to 12 Dollars & as you were silent as to the farther application of the money I have put it upon Rivington's honor, science & Taste to vest the remaining 28 in the newest & most approv'd things that his shop affords, & he promises to discharge the commission like a gentleman & friend—not like a printer & bookseller. The other note you mention to have been presented by Coll. Lewis neither he nor Troup have any recollection of. As to the conveyance you suggest for the books, I have my doubts. These arise from the frequent losses sustain'd by stage carriage & some of which I have myself suffer'd. Could I find any person going to Baltimore in whom I could confide, they should be sent instantly—but none such presents himself at this moment—& I have only to choose between committing them to certain risque, or waiting a few days for such an opportunity as I can approve. I prefer, & I hope you will, the delay & the certainty, to the expedition & the risque.

There's no part of my conduct on which I would not wish your approbation & I have yet no reason to think the resignation of my judicial appointment an improper step.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary I think with you it was right & that a little in society is much more desireable than a great deal in a desert. The career however which the new Government opens I'm far from thinking flattering to men of any Age or character—for tho' a friend & advocate of the System (as a Step towards common sense & practicable Government) yet it falls so far short of



what I know to be the situation & believe to be the character of this Country—that I despair at once of both the stability & convenience of the Œdifice. The fact is my dear Gen. that my creed as to popular Governments is very much chang'd under a little experience of their operation & I suspect that shape them as you will you must find them on experiment both foolish & feeble. The philosophy that teaches the equality of mankind & the dignity of human nature is founded in vanity & addressed to it alone—And in my opinion tho' there be less consolation there is infinitely more truth in the opposite doctrine, that the many were made for the few, & that we are better govern'd by rods than by reason. These ideas I wish you to consider however as meerly speculative & such as I would express only to a tried & bosom friend; they convey my fears, not my wishes—& will ever be more a matter of opinion than a rule of conduct. What particular part I'm destin'd to play in this new drama I know not? My standing at present, considering my age, & that I have been oblig'd to make my way thro' very narrow & hostile politics—is as forward as I had any right to expect, & more so perhaps, when I consider how many with better pretensions, because with more collateral supports—I have left behind me. This consideration will not however induce me to push myself forward for other or greater distinctions. I will neither conceal myself from View, nor obtrude myself upon it—& then if appointments come, they will sit easy. My friends in Pennsylvania have I hear already tho't of a place for me, & mean to try their force in sending me to the new Senate—but as they will have but two seats of that kind to fill, I need hardly say that they will be seats of much competition. The rich & the ag'd (as the natural representatives of property & wisdom, & the true counter ballance to the cormorants of the lower house), will expect, & most probably get them—& indeed so little am I set upon success in the trial, that I scarcely feel a wish to cross them. My leading wish is to see them *well* fill'd.

Another word or two concerning myself & on another subject—one on which most young men choose to display their wit at the expence of their judgment—I mean marriage. The report you alude to is unfounded. I'm not yet married, nor likely to be so.<sup>3</sup> The truth is that I'm too poor to marry a woman without some fortune & too proud to marry any woman, that I know, who possesses one. In this dilemma, 'till my circumstances change, or other objects present themselves, I must ee'r keep along in the cheerless solitary road I am in. Thus much for myself—but you will forgive an impertinence you have drawn upon yourself.

Coll. Smith return'd hither from St. James's a day or two ago.<sup>4</sup> He brings with him a wife & child—the whole profit of his legation. He has parted with some of his characteristical buckram, that is, his external manner is more easy than it was—but I fear he has exchange'd it

for a coxcomby of a worse kind—that of the Mind. He is now a very profound politician, & indeed so much so that he is often quite unintelligible. This I regret for I think well of his honor & principles. His Wife, who is a daughter of Mr. J. Adams, is the negative being described in Mrs. Shandy.

The Baron passed the winter at the same lodging house with me.<sup>5</sup> To this he has come at last. The tower is now dismantled & deserted, & he is once more upon the Justice or generosity of the public. But the public has neither—& he has only to choose between starving here or begging in Europe. This is calamitous to him & disgracefull to Us. He is now with North<sup>6</sup> who by the way is married to Duane's daughter & exit'd to the Mohawk.

We have a French Minister now with us<sup>7</sup>—& if France had wish'd to destroy the little remembrance that is left of her & her exertions—she would have sent just such a minister—distant, haughty & penurious—& entirely govern'd by the caprice of a little, singular, whimsical, hysterical old woman<sup>8</sup> whose delight is in playing with a Negro child and caressing a monkey. I wish to God we had paid our debts to our good ally & were well rid of her—for there's some danger in remaining the connexion of a pow'r whose character I must just suggest my reason for it. For 'Tis so treasonable that I might else again be suspected of being a British Emissary. Twill be eno' to bid you remember her conduct to Corsica—to Poland—to Geneva—to Holland & now to the Turks—whom after 40 years connexion she abandons. I don't travell out of my own Memory for the oldest of these instances—Your's which goes farther back will remember others.

My idea however goes but to this—that 'tis obviously our intrest to be but the distant acquaintance not the intimate friend of *any* European Pow'r.

You will I beleive subscribe to this conclusion. We hope to have seen you to the No. this spring & indeed report went so far as to remove you entirely from Virginia & set you down either in Philada. or New York for life. I hope 'tis more than report alone—& will even believe it to be so till you yourself contradict it.

Be so good as to make my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Gates & accept for your happiness & her's my best wishes. Your affectionate friend & servant,

J Armstrong jr.

RC (NH: Gates Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Armstrong had declined an appointment as one of the judges of the Northwest Territory, for which see Armstrong to Charles Thomson, January 21, 1788.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Armstrong to Alida Livingston, July 27, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> That is, William Stephens Smith.

<sup>5</sup> Baron Steuben.

<sup>6</sup> Maj. William North.

<sup>7</sup> That is, comte de Moustier.

<sup>8</sup> That is, the marquise de Bréhan, who many Americans came to believe was living illicitly with Moustier.

## William Bingham to Tench Coxe

Dear sir,

New York May 30th 1788

I have made the necessary Enquiries to enable me to answer Some of the Questions in your Letter of the 24 Inst.<sup>1</sup> I find by the public Registers that the Number of Male Negro slaves in this state amounts to 9,521 & of females to 9,368, in which Statement is comprehended the Mulattoes of both Sexes.

In the Census that fixed the Citizens of this state to 238,000, those of Vermont are not included. I have not been fortunate enough to procure the exact Boundaries of this latter State. They are I imagine rather arbitrary, as not being determined by any Authority, which New York acknowledges competent to decide.

There are Some good Harbors in the Port of New York—but I do not know the particular Spot, to which you allude. I inclose you a Pamphlet, which has considerable Merit, & has operated very forcibly on the Minds of the People here.

The returns of the Delegates to the New York Convention have not as yet been forwarded to the City—but it is expected that the antifederalists will have a Majority of 10 to 15—the Number is 65—but as yet, it is all Conjecture.

New Hampshire may be depended upon & Advices from So Carolina for the Majority in favor of federal Measures at about 50—the Point was to be determined, the Day after the last Vessel Sailed.

I am with Sincere regard, Dear sir, Your obedt hble serv,

Wm Bingham

RC (PHi: Coxe Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Coxe was apparently accumulating information for his address "To the Honorable the Convention of the State of New-York," which he signed "A Pennsylvanian" and published in the June 11 issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. See Cooke, *Tench Coxe*, pp. 121–22.

## Edward Carrington to James Madison

My dear Sir,

New York May 30. 1788

The inclosed papers contain some of the debates of the Convention of South Carolina, and a vote of a vast majority, which shews the dispo-

sitions of that Body upon the Constitution.<sup>1</sup> These papers will be of use to you, and therefore I take this the last moment that Offers before the departure of the post to forward them. I am my dr sir yrs. sincerely,  
Ed Carrington

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the *New York Journal* (May 29), which carried a second-hand account of convention proceedings, and the *Daily Advertiser* (May 29), which contained a notice from a Charleston newspaper of the defeat (by a vote of 135 to 89) of a motion to adjourn the convention until October.

## James R. Reid to William Irvine

My dear Sir.

New York 30th. May 1788.

Yesterday we had Ten States upon the floor, this day Mr. Swan Colleague to Mr. Williamson has been innoculated and I do not expect he will be able to attend.<sup>1</sup> We have made considerable progress in the land Ordinance having got to the last paragraph but one. This day is big with the fate of *Kentucky and the world*. I will write you next Monday or as soon as we finish the Ordinance and *liberate* Kentucky. I received your letter dated at Philadelphia. Mr. Brown received his *Bill*. The authentic resolution with respect to delinquents accompanies this.<sup>2</sup>

Give my love to our friends and expect punctual and early information of what is going on here from,  
James R. Reid

RC (PHi: Irvine Papers). Addressed: "The honble. General William Irvine Esqr., Carlisle."

<sup>1</sup> John Swann took his seat in Congress on May 29. He attended again on June 2 and then was absent until June 18. See *JCC*, 34:186, 192, 234, 239; and the Appendix of this volume of *Letters*, pp. 542–43.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably a reference to the unsettled accounts of "persons who have been entrusted with public monies." For Congress' May 22 resolution directing the board of treasury "to cause suits to be commenced in behalf of the United States against all [*such*] persons," see *JCC*, 34:169–71.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir.

New York 30 May. 1788.

On the day before yesterday Mr. Swann arrived here by water from Norfolk. Yesterday he took his Seat in Congress which for the first time since October last gave the State a Vote. Mr. Swann inoculated yesterday morning but expects that he will be seldom be prevented from doing duty.<sup>1</sup>



To day Congress has received a very serious Complaint from the Minister of France concerning the Conduct of the Magestracy in one of the States protecting a French Pirate, another & mournful proof that unless we have a Federal Government we shall not long escape from the depredations of some Foreign Nation.<sup>2</sup>

I was favored by your Excellencys Letter by Mr. Swann<sup>3</sup> but beg you to note that this is neither the third or fourth I have had the honor of writing or with which I may have troubled you already.

I am &c

Hugh Williamson

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>2</sup> This "very serious Complaint" from the comte de Moustier was submitted this day by John Jay to Congress, which referred it back to Jay for a report. Jay's June 6 report on the matter was referred in turn to a congressional committee consisting of Alexander Hamilton, Edward Carrington, Nathan Dane, Jonathan Dayton, and Samuel A. Otis, whose June 12 report was adopted by Congress June 13.

The case involved the authority of the French consul in Virginia to try a French ship captain on charges of fraud and theft after landing in Norfolk. The French captain, Joseph Marie Anne Ferrier, had been released under the laws of Virginia after having confessed his crimes and was awaiting transportation to Nantes to be tried formally under French admiralty law. The French consul, Martin Oster, had presented the particulars of the case to the governor of Virginia as early as October 2, 1787, seeking permission to extradite Ferrier to France, and had renewed the request November 11 after receiving no answer. Virginia's refusal to honor Oster's request had led finally to Moustier's appeal to Jay and to Congress.

In his June 6 report to Congress, Jay explained that he should discuss Ferrier's extradition with the governor of Virginia. But as the issue also involved the status of a consular convention between France and the United States, which had been under negotiation since 1784 and on which Thomas Jefferson had already been fully instructed, he argued that no attempt should be made to alter the course of those negotiations. Alexander Hamilton's June 12 committee report endorsed Jay's recommendations, and the following day Congress directed Jay to communicate the matter to the governor of Virginia "to the end that the said Executive may communicate to Congress the necessary information on the subject." The result was a protracted correspondence that failed to resolve the case before the demise of Congress in October, and which therefore had to await the ratification of a Franco-American consular convention by the new federal government, to which Jay submitted the issue in July 1789.

For the congressional proceedings on the case, see *JCC*, 34:192, 206-7, 212, 217-22, 407, 550. For the lengthy correspondence relating to it, see *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 1:253-75. See also Virginia Delegates to Edmund Randolph, July 25, 1788.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

## Edward Carrington to James Madison

My dear Sir,

New York May 31. 1788

I had the pleasure to inclose you by the last post the British Act of Parliament upon the subject of our Trade.<sup>1</sup> You will now receive in one of the papers inclosed an ordinance of the Province of Quebec,

for regulating the inland Commerce of that Province with the Neighbouring States, or in other words the U.S.<sup>2</sup>

The intention doubtless is, that these two Acts, shall co-operate to give that Nation the use of our commodities, and at the same time the exclusive benefits of carrying them; and that of Quebec leads to another object, more remote, but if compassable, would be still more mischievous to us, the allurements of the Commerce, and with it, the Affections of our Western Inhabitants by means of the Lakes and the River St Lawrence, to that quarter. As to our Commercial intercourse with the West Indies, I have not a doubt that Great Britain may be made the dependent party, and therefore a wise policy on our part, supported by an energetic government, would give us the Controul of the Terms of intercourse. As to the other object, I hope that the influence of a better government than we have hitherto had; the improvement & extension of our inland Navigation, and the Free use of the Mississippi, added to the difficulties which from Climate attend that of the St Lawrence, will all Conspire to prevent its being effected.

We are in hourly expectation of receiving information of the adoption of the constitution in South Carolina. I am my dr sir, your afft. Freind & Hl St.,

Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Carrington to Madison, May 28, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Quebec ordinance of April 14 appeared in the *New York Daily Advertiser* of May 28.

## Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph

Sir,

New York May 31, 1788

The Delegation having revived the former mode of Corresponding with your Excellency weekly, in Monthly rotation each, I have the Honor now to inclose an Act of the British Parliament, permanently establishing, with still additional impositions, the regulations which have for several years been exercised by order of the King, & Council upon the commercial intercourse of the United States with the Territories of that Kingdom; Also a paper containing an Ordinance of the province of Quebec to regulate the inland Commerce of that Province with the Neighbouring States, or in other Words, the United States.<sup>1</sup>

It may easily be perceived that these two Acts are intended to Co-operate in giving to that Nation the use of our products, while she shall also secure to herself the exclusive benefits of carrying them, for in case of our adopting a policy so uniform and effectual, as to exclude her Bottoms from our ports, an easy and free passage is opened

for all such of our Commodities as are wanted for her West India Islands, and for Naval Stores, to Quebec. There may still be another, though more remote object, the Allurement of the Commerce, and with that, the Affections of our Western Inhabitants by means of the Lakes and the River St. Lawrence, to her purposes. But at the same time that we may be sensible how much we are exposed, in various quarters, to the insidious policy of this Nation, her solicitude is also discoverable for the acquisition of our Commodities, which evinces the vanity of the boasted competency of Canada & Nova Scotia, to the furnishing of her several demands. The truth is, the West India Islands are dependent for provisions, lumber, and many other things upon importations, and these articles are attainable from the United States on much lower terms than from any more distant Country: Naval Stores are also furnished by these States on such terms that it is an object with Great Britain to import them from us, not only for the West India Trading vessels, but also for her European Service. On the other hand what we derive from an intercourse with the West India Islands, are at best, but Articles of Luxury, nor is the production of them confined to the Territories of Great Britain; as to Naval Stores they are our own. Thus viewing the Matter, she is evidently the dependent party, and under a wise policy, supported by an energetic Government, might be made to accept, instead of presuming to prescribe, the Terms of Commercial intercourse. As to the other object, I hope that the benefits of a better Government than we have hitherto had, the improvement & extension of our inland Navigation, & the free use of the Mississippi, added to the difficulties which from climate attend that of the River St. Lawrence will all Conspire to prevent its being in any degree effected.

I also have the Honor to inclose papers Containing some of the debates of the Convention of South Carolina<sup>2</sup> which indicate the good disposition of that Body towards the Constitution.

I have the honor to [be], with great respect, your Excellencies Most  
Obt. servt. Ed. Carrington

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For which see Carrington to James Madison, May 28, note 4; and the preceding entry, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Carrington to James Madison, May 30, note.

## Abraham Yates to Abraham G. Lansing

Dr Sir

New York 1 June 1788

I enclose you Maclains, Horners And Greeleafs papers.<sup>1</sup> If you Chuse I Can Continue them. These I get as often as they Come out and if you Chuse I Can furnish you With all or either of them.



Your News is verry agreeable in Respect to the Assembly Election, And so a letter McKesson Received from Mr Ray Informing that the Anties had Carried in Columbia by a Majority of scarce 300 of the Lowest Anti to the Highest federal.

But What I Can find Among the federalist here they are in hopes that the Anties will not Dare Refuse Adopting the Constitution, they may Indeed adjorn, And Adjorn Again—but they will at Last Adopt it. It is Supposed by the federals that they Will be One third, the Anties Know at present of None but New York 9, Kings 2, Queen 2 & Westchester 6, Which is but 19—the latter has been most Shamefully taken in. It is expected that South Carolina Will Adopt the New Constitution. I wish they May not but wether they Do or not Will Make no Alteration With me nor do I think Ought to Make an Alteration in the State.

I Remain Sr, Yours Affy

Abr. Yates Junr

P.S. I am well and Wish the family So. I have Sent With Jacob Pruin 4/ of Small Honny Cookies for the Children.

RC (NN: Yates Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the *New-York Daily Gazette*, published by John and Alexander M'Lean; the *New-York Morning Post*, published by William Morton (formerly Samuel Horner); and the *New-York Journal*, published by Thomas Greenleaf.

## Hugh Williamson to James Madison

Dear sir

New York June 2nd 1788

By the Time this comes to Hand you will be pretty well engaged in discussing the new Constitution & attempting to convince men who came forward with the Resolution not to be convinced. Of all the wrong heads who have started in opposition none have been mentioned who appear to be so palpably wrong as the People of Kentucke. It is said that some antified in Maryland on the last Winter fastened on the Ear of Genl Wilkinson who was accidentally there and persuaded him that in case of a new Govt. the Navigation of the Mississippi would infallibly be given up. Your Recollection must certainly enable you to say that there is a Proviso in the new Sistem which was inserted for the express purpose of preventing a majority of the Senate or of the States which is considered as the same thing from giving up the Mississippi. It is provided that two thirds of the Members present in the senate shall be required to concur in making Treaties and if the southern states attend to their Duty, this will imply  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the States in the Union together with the President, a security rather better than the present 9 States especially as Vermont & the Province of Main may be added to



the Eastern Interest and you may recollect that when a Member, Mr Willson objected to this Proviso, saying that in all Govts. the Majority should govern, it was replied that the Navigation of the Mississippi after what had already happened in Congress was not to be risked in the Hands of a meer Majority and the Objection was withdrawn.<sup>1</sup> Certainly those gentlemen know that the River is at present shut not by right but by the Hand of Power and that under the existing Govt we are never like to be able to open it. It is true that we may readily [sic] reduce the spanish Settlements on the Mississippi but that would not secure us any Exports; for a single Spanish Frigate would take every Vessel that we attempted to send out with Produce. And any Nation sending Vessels to take our Produce would expose such Vessels to Capture. On the Contrary under an efficient Govt. when we shall certainly have some Ships of War Spain will find herself under the Necessity of suffering our Produce to be exported. For myself I conceive that my opinions are not biassed by private Interest, but having claims to a considerable Quantity of Land in the Western Country I am fully persuaded that the Value of those Lands must be increased by an efficient federal Govt. It is clear that the Kentucke Gentlemen must have viewed this Subject in a difft Light, but I suspect that they have never fully examined the provision respecting Treaties. I am, Dr sir, Your most obedt Serv,

Hu Williamson

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For this September 8, 1787, debate on the treaty making power at the Constitutional Convention, see Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, 2:547–48.

## Paine Wingate to Samuel Lane

Dear Sir

New York June 2d. 1788.

I had the satisfaction of receiving your favor of the fifteenth of May. I can assure you that it gives me particular pleasure to receive fresh tokens of your friendship & such communications as may serve to revive the remembrance of our former intimacy. At this time I am rather more in a hurry than is common, & therefore shall give you but an imperfect letter which I desire you will receive as a token of my esteem & respect.

I am exceeding glad to hear from you that the prospect of the new constitution being adopted is so favorable, & that any converts have been made to that side. I am fully perswaded that wise and honest men if they knew the situation of our public affairs, would without hesitation agree with me. I have nothing which I am sensible of to byass [bias?] my mind in this matter but a hearty desire for the gen-

eral good. We are in expectation every day of receiving an account from So. Carolina of their sati[s]fying the new plan, as we have information from their convention since met that there is a large majority in favor of it. Much depends now upon New Hampshire. Their example will have great weight, more than many are sensible of. If New Hampshire should come into the plan, which from the best accounts we rely upon, we have a good degree of probability that all the states will eventually unite. Our latest accounts from Europe are that our credit begins [*to*] revive there already, upon the presumption that our government will soon be upon a more respectable footing. We have now a pretty full Congress & expect soon to have all the states represented. We are at this time engagd in a matter of considerable consequence, that is, whether Kentucky which is the Western part of Virginia & which I think I gave you some account of heretofore, shall be erected into a distinct state. This will be an affair not easily settled. There are great difficulties on all sides. The commissioners who were appointd to judge how much the united states should pay Virginia for their expences in defending the western country during the war have reported half a million of dollars for us to pay.<sup>1</sup> This is no inconsiderable sum. Georgia have also made a cession to the united states of their western lands on condition of their being paid one hundred thousand dollars.<sup>2</sup> If we should have a few more such presents we should not know how to pay them. The expences of these purchases together with the expences of the Indian treaties & of surveying & disposing of those lands will create a very large debt. It is true the country is immensely large, is an excellent soil, & capable of supporting a vast number of inhabitants, but I think they will draw off our most valuable and enterprising young men & will impede the population of our old states & prevent the establishment of manufactures. Upon the whole I doubt whether in our day that country will not be a damage to us rather than an advantage. We seem to be overstocked with lands & I believe it had been as well for the Indians to have kept their own territory.

For what news we have I must refer you to the papers enclosed. Should be obliged to you to give that which contains some account of bees to my wife with the letter to her directed. I hope you smoke your pipe with her sometimes. I am as well contented here as I expected, & enjoy good health. I am yet among strangers & should be more in my own element at home. I shall be glad to have any intelligence from you which you shall think fit to write. I have written to Capt. Jona Wiggin as you proposed, & hope it may have some effect. You will excuse my cursory writing—If you are able to read it & can derive any satisfaction from it my end is answered. I desire my respects to Mrs Lane & wishing your health & prosperity I am Dr Sir your friend & humble Servt.,

P Wingate

RC (MH-H: Wingate Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Virginia Delegates to William Heth, April 20.

<sup>2</sup> See Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon, May 3, note.

## Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[June 3–19, 1788]

- June 3d. Letters—Sept. 30th. 1787—two of the same date from the King of France—respecting Chevalier Luzerne, and the Count De Moustier.<sup>1</sup>
- June 12th. transmitted to the Board of treasury—papers enclosed in Meml. of *John Halsted*<sup>2</sup>—viz.  
Mr. Burrals report Sept. 27th, 1783.  
John Halsteds Acct. Current.  
Do. his Acct Current with the U.S.
- June 14th. transmitted to the Office f. f. Affairs to be filed—  
Letter—May 28th, 1788—& papers accompanying the same from the Count de Moustier.<sup>3</sup>  
Letter—Novr. 10th, 1787—from Sr. John Temple, with the petition & papers of Richard Laurence.<sup>4</sup>
- 19th. Letter—Oct. 16th. 1784.  
Godfrey Braumillier.<sup>5</sup>  
Baron de Beelin Bertholf.<sup>6</sup>  
Note...recd. dated Office f. f. Affairs, Sept. 14th, 1785

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, May 14–30, 1788.

<sup>1</sup> For these letters from Louis XVI, see PCC, item 96, fols. 378–83, 390–95, 410; and PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 5, fols. 359–62.

<sup>2</sup> For Halsted's September 12, 1783, memorial and enclosed accounts, as well as Congress' final action on it June 4, 1788, see PCC, item 41, 2:142–50; and JCC, 25:553n, 596–97, 636, 677, 34:201. See also Robert Morris' Diary, October 29, 1783, Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 8:676–77.

<sup>3</sup> See JCC, 34:219–22; and PCC, item 96, fols. 428–32.

<sup>4</sup> See JCC, 34:222–26; and PCC, item 42, 4:442–43, item 92, fols. 524–31.

<sup>5</sup> This letter from John Gottfir Braumüller, with an English translation, is in PCC, item 59, 3:73–76.

<sup>6</sup> For this letter from the baron de Beelen Bertholff, see *ibid.*, fols. 89–96.

## Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount

Dear sir

New York 3rd June 1788

On the last Year an Accot was taken of the Exports from the sundry Ports in our State by Order of Govr. Caswell.<sup>1</sup> The Exports from Cur-

rituck, Roanoke & Wilmington I have, but by some means those from Bath & Newbern never came into my Hands. I wish much to have them. Will you be so good as try to forward them. Any Body may take them from the Books in the mode that will suffice in 7 minutes viz for the Year 1785.

Amot. Pipe Staves . . . . Thousd. Hhd Do . . . . Thd. Brl Do . . . . Shingles . . . . Thousd . . . . Hhds Tobacco . . . . Brls Tar . . . . Pitch . . . . Turpentine . . . . feet Plank . . . . Bshls Corn.

There have as I conceive been exported few other articles of importance except perhaps Pork, Tur., Timber &c. All Eyes here are looking with Hope or fear towards Virga. The opposition have great Confidence in the mulish obstinacy of P Henry, Mason & R H Lee. We all admire the beautiful Trope of Col. Mason at the Court House in the County where he was elected. You may have been taught said he to respect the Characters of the Members of the late Convention. You may have supposed that they were an assemblage of great Men. There is nothing less true. From the Eastern States there were Knaves and Fools from the states southward of Virga. They were a parcel of Coxcombs and from the middle States Office Hunters not a few. Col. Graysons Trope of Rhetoric was more to the feelings of Virginians. He harangued the People at the Court House having in his Hand a snuff Box hardly so broad as a Moidore. The Point of finger and Thumb are inserted with difficulty. Perhaps said he you may think it of Consequence that some other States have accepted of the new Constitution, what are they? When compared to Virginia they are no more than this snuff Box is to the Size of a Man. On being asked afterwards by an intimate, why he had risqued such an assertion. There was not any short-Handman present said he.

The Convention in this State meets on the 17th Inst. as does that of N Hampshire. There is a Line of Communication established by which we are told the New Yorkers at Pokepsie for I think they are to sit there, may hear within 40 Hours what is done in New Hampshire.

Be so good as present Mrs. Blount with my respects & assure her that I am with the utmost Consideration her's & Yr. most obedt hble  
 Servt, Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Blount Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. William Blount to Richard Caswell, December 30, 1786.

## John Brown to Matthew Walton

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

New York June 5th. 1788

In consequence of a letter I reced. from Colo Crockett I did my self the honor to write to you upon the Subject of the Civil List Warrants



purchased from you & delivered to him. As he informed me that he could not pass them I requested you to take them back & satisfy him to the Amount; this I presumed had been done untill a few days ago when I reced. a letter from Mr John Smith informing that Capt Craddock had sent them in with him with directions to draw the Money at Richmond & pay it to Crocketts Order, but he further informs that he cannot get Cash for them from the Treasury & requests to know what he shall do with them. I have written to him to apply to you about them & if he cannot meet with you to dispose of them to the best advantage & apply the money to Crocketts Order. I wish you to take such steps in this Business as will enable him to make payment to Colo Crockett who has been kept out of his money much longer than could have wished.

We are all waiting with the utmost anxiety & impatience to hear the fate of the new Constitution in Virginia, the final adoption or rejection of it in a great measure depends upon the determination of her Convention of which I have heard with pleasure that you are a Member. I have heard that the Delegates from Kentucky are all in the Opposition. I am at a loss to account for the general disaffection of that District to a System of Government upon which in my opinion the peace & Glory of the United States depend. I have carefully examined the proposed plan as it may affect the District in particular & must candidly assure that I have not been able to discover that it contains principles partially injurious to the Interest of Kentucky. We have nothing to fear respecting the Navigation of the Mississippi a total change of Policy with respect to that Subject has taken place not only in Congress but throughout the Eastern States. Our political System is in a wretched situation wholly inadequate to the purposes of Government. A change must take place & in my Opinion we cannot under our present Circumstances obtain a better than the plan proposed.

Congress have determind that Kentucky ought to be admitted in to the Union & have referd it to a Committee consisting of a Member from each State to examine whether by the Articles of Confederation power is delegated to Congress for that purpose, if not to frame an Additional Article vesting in them the Necessary power to be submitted to the different States for their ratification.<sup>2</sup> I expect this will be the result & that we shall not be admitted at the present time. I shall be able to inform you with more certainty in a few days as the Committee are to meet tomorrow.

Pray write to me by every post & inform me fully the News of Kentucky. I shall set out for that Country in July by the rout of Fort Pitt.

My best Complts to my friends from that Country on Convention. I am in great haste, Yo. Mo. Obt.

J Brown

RC (KyLoF: Miscellaneous Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Walton represented Nelson County in several of the ten conventions beginning in 1784 that led to Kentucky statehood in 1792, when he was elected as a representative to the first assembly and appointed as a militia major and quarter session judge by Gov. Isaac Shelby. See Karen M. Green, *The Kentucky Gazette, 1787–1800: Genealogical and Historical Abstracts* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1983), pp. 48, 54, 57–58; and George M. Chinn, *Kentucky Settlement and Statehood, 1750–1800* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1975), pp. 439, 446, 448, 460.

<sup>2</sup> See JCC, 34:194, 198. For the context of this June 2–3 action, see Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Dear Sir.

New York June 5th 1788

I do myself the honor to forward the enclosed paper, which contains an account of the ratification of the new System by the Convention of South Carolina. No official accounts have yet come to hand; but there seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of the one enclosed; it being correspondent to preceeding accounts of the temper of the Convention, written by one of the delegates to a member of Congress, Subsequent to a proposition for an adjournment & received by the last Charles Town Packet.

Accounts from Virginia are rather favorable but among the delegates to the Convention of New York, I have no doubt, there is a large majority against the question. Notwithstanding the Convention of Virginia is now in session I hope New Hampshire will have the honor of being the ninth State in accession to the system and I beg leave to suggest that it is considered a matter of great importance that we have an account of the ratification here before the Convention of this State come to a decision as they will be influenced more by our proceedings than by the doings of Virginia.

I am happy to hear that the people in Vermont are federally inclined and much in favor of the new Contitution. With the greatest Respect & Esteem, I have the Honor to be, Dear sir, Your Most Obedient & Humble Servant,

N. Gilman

RC (Capt. J.G.M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

## Samuel A. Otis to Benjamin Lincoln

Dear Sir

New York 5th June 1788

The elections of the year betoken unanimity & decision in the Councils of *old* Massachusetts, And I am the more rejoiced as they will

contradict opinions industriously circulated which hold up an Idea of our being torn with party, & divided in sentiments.

The accession of S Carolina is an event which strengthens our expectations that a reform will take place in fœderal measures, and these are rational, from the impression that *it w[ai]ts?* upon Verginia & No Carolina.

Enclosed are the papers containing all the News in this quarter, And with my kind regards to my niece & connexions remain, Your friend & most huml sert,

Sam. A. Otis

RC (MHi: Lincoln Papers).

## Rhode Island Delegates to John Collins

Sir,

New York the 5 of June 1788.

We Consider that it is our duty to Inform your Excellency of our Safe arival here,<sup>1</sup> and a[l]tho from the Shortness of the Time we are unable to give a particular account of the business before Congress we in General inform, That there is Several matters of importance under Consideration, One of which is the Dividing of the State of Virginia and thereby making a Fourteenth State by the Name of Kentucky. It appears by the acts of the Legislature of that State that they have agreed to that measure & there is a memorial from the Inhabitants of that Country for that purpose now before Congress. The Expediency of Such a measure At this Time we Submit to your Excellencies Consideration without making any Comment thereon.

There is at this Time Eleven States Represented and when any matters of Importance to the Union are acted upon we Shall Emedietely Communicate them.

We are under the Necessity of informing your Excellency that it is Necessary for the State to make further provision for our Support which we Desire may be done in Such manner as to be least Injurious to the State and be productive of the greatest advantage to us.

We do not presume to dictate but Submit wheather it would not be the most Eligible mode to appoint a person in the State to receive Such Sum of money as the Honble. Assemb[l]y grant and Supply us with the net proceeds of it. By this means we Shall be furnish'd much Sooner, and Relev'd from the great Inconveniency that will attend on us if Directed to Draw the money when at this distance from the State.

With perfect Respect and Esteem, We have the Honor to be, your Excellencys Most Obedt. & Humble Servts,

Peleg Arnold

Jona. J. Hazard

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). Written by Arnold and signed by Arnold and Hazard.

<sup>1</sup> For the arrival of Arnold and Hazard, who took their seats in Congress May 6 and June 2, respectively, see *JCC*, 34:141, 193.

## Alexander Hamilton to John Sullivan

Dear Sir:

New York, June 6, 1788.

You will no doubt have understood that the Antifederal party has prevailed in this State by a large majority.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore of the utmost importance that all external circumstances should be made use of to influence their conduct. This will suggest to you the *great advantage* of a speedy decision in your State, if you can be sure of the question, and a prompt communication of the event to us. With this view, permit me to request that the instant you have taken a decisive vote in favor of the Constitution, you send an express to me at Poughkeepsie.<sup>2</sup> Let him take the *shortest route* to that place, change horses on the road, and use all possible diligence. I shall with pleasure defray all expenses, and give a liberal reward to the person. As I suspect an effort will be made to precipitate us, all possible *safe* dispatch on your part, as well to obtain a decision as to communicate the intelligence of it, will be desirable.

MS not found; reprinted from Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:2.

<sup>1</sup> In the April elections for the New York ratifying convention, the antifederalists won 46 seats, carrying nine counties, while the federalists won only four counties and 19 seats. *Ibid.*, 4:648n.3.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton was in Poughkeepsie for the opening of the New York ratifying convention on June 17, probably having left New York with the federalist delegates who departed with fanfare the 14th, for which see Abraham Yates to Abraham Lansing, June 15.

## Samuel A. Otis to Theodore Sedgwick

Dear Sir

New York 6th June 1788

After my congratulations upon the respectable elections of the present year, Give me leave to add them upon the favorable appearances from the South. Verginia is now in Convention, And must be influenced by the unanimity of Maryland, and the more recent accession of So. Carolina by a majority of two to one. The Gentlemen here, most acquainted with the affairs of Verginia, entertain the strongest hopes, but so great is the object, not without a degree of anxiety for the event. North Carolina looks well at present, and will certainly join the list unless Verginia should be so unfortunate as to stand out, In which case N Carolina may wavor.



In NY the opposition is powerful, but I think they will play the politician, procrastinate until the determination of Verginia & N Hamshire is known. If they assent Join them.

Congress have been so closely pressed with an application from Kentucky that the question cannot be parryed much longer. It is of great importance to the E states to bring Vermont forward; But this cannot be done without the agency of that State, Which for reasons of which I am not apprised is quite passive. No objection could operate against these measures if they went hand in hand; And really the arguments in favor of Kentucky are *powerful*. They have near one hundred thousand inhabitants at the immense distance of 800 miles from the seat of Government. They are courted by other powers to reject their allegiance to the USA. Their darling hope of opening the Mississippi is cherished by those who wish ill to the Union. And Verginia are, however extraordinary it may appear, not only willing but sanguine for the measure. The other business of Congress is detailed to the Legislature in our official letter directed to the Governour.<sup>1</sup> And some few matters not proper for a public communication are made to confidential friends in the hands of my old & tried friend Mr Davis;<sup>2</sup> To whom, and to the numerous list in both Houses that I have the felicity of putting in the same class, you will present me very respectfully.

In expectation of seeing you here upon the recess of the General Court I am, Sir, your most Huml Sev,  
Sam A Otis<sup>3</sup>

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock, May 27.

<sup>2</sup> See Otis to Caleb Davis, May 27.

<sup>3</sup> Otis also wrote the following private letter to a "Mr Greenleaf" the following day. As it is addressed only to "Mr Greenleaf," it seems likely that it was hand delivered to a person in New York City, but as Greenleaf was about to leave the city and would be away indefinitely, he was probably not the New York printer Thomas Greenleaf.

"My Dear Sir, You need be under no kind of apprehension that your affair with Mr H however public it may become will injure your reputation. Your universally polite modest & obliging demeanour must forever rest the blame upon that rash & unfortunate man; And the spirit & firmness with which you vindicated your honor must endear you to your friends, and encrease the reputation you had before acquired.

"I had anticipated your intimations in a letter to Mr D, I only regret that my pen *cannot* do you Justice. As you leave Town before I can have oppy of paying you my personal respects, Permit me to wish you an agreeable Journey, not only to Philadelphia but thro life—And to assure you I shall esteem it a favor to be inserted in the list of your Correspondents Promising the exactest attention upon my part whenever I can communicate any thing that will profit or amuse.

"With my Compliments to Mr & Mrs Ingraham, accept my assurances of being with much esteem, Your friend & Most Huml Sert, Sam A Otis." Etting, Old Congress Collection, PHi.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin

Sir, [June 6? 1788]<sup>1</sup>

We have the Honor to enclose you the Report of a Committee of Congress, respecting a Survey, to fix the Boundaries, & determine the Quantity of the Territory adjoining the State of Pennsylvania, belonging to the United States, as well as the Terms on which the Board of Treasury is authorized to dispose of the Same.<sup>2</sup>

We shall wait for the Instructions of the Honble the Supreme Executive Council, whether to make an Offer for the indefinite Quantity that may be contained within the Boundaries of the Said Tract, or suspend the Negotiation, untill the Amount is precisely ascertained by Survey.<sup>3</sup>

We would recommend the former Mode, as most conducive to the Interests of the State of Pennsylvania, & most effectually guarding against the Cupidity of private Speculators.<sup>4</sup>

We have the Honor to be with Respect, sir, Your Excellency's most obd & very hble servants,

Wm Bingham

James R. Reid

RC (DLC: Bingham Collection). Written by Bingham and signed by Bingham and Reid.

<sup>1</sup> The assignment of this date rests upon the date of the delegates' enclosure, a June 6 resolution of Congress, for which see *JCC*, 34:202–3.

<sup>2</sup> For the enclosed report concerning Pennsylvania's northwestern limits and the terms upon which the state might contract for additional lands to augment its Lake Erie boundary, see *JCC*, 34:83–84, 202–3; and *Pennsylvania Delegates to Peter Muhlenberg*, February 28, 1788.

<sup>3</sup> For the Pennsylvania Council's June 14 resolution authorizing the state's delegates "to negotiate and contract with Congress, in behalf of this State, for the purchase of the lands before described, at the rate of three-quarters of a dollar per acre in specie or public securitys bearing interest," see *Pa. Council Minutes*, 15:473; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:313–14. See also *Pennsylvania Delegates to the Board of Treasury*, July 7.

<sup>4</sup> Massachusetts' interest in this case and some of the far-reaching ramifications of this issue are discussed in the following June 23 letter written by Nathaniel Gorham at Boston to Nathan Dane.

"Mr. Otis last week informed me that Congress had ordered Mr. Hutchins to run the Line between the State of N York and the United States as also between the U S. and Massachusetts—from which I am led to suppose that Congress expect to avail themselves of a large triangular piece of land within the Jurisdiction of New York. In order to do which I conceive it is necessary to prove that Massachuse[tts] has a well grounded claim to Teritory west of Hudsons River, which never can be done as she has given up that claim and I have a right now to say that if she had not given it up she never could have made it good and how Congress can hold under an undetermined or with drawn claim I know not. The right which Massachusetts has to the Land within the State of N York is the same that you or I might have vizt. by an instrument under hand and seal,

and the conditions required in that Cession must be complied with before Massachu'ts or any under her can have a Legal title to the Land. Massachusetts has sold the whole of this right with a power of compliance with all the conditions to individuals. I have therefore no conception that Congress can make good any claim—as the Jurisdiction must be determined by the NY cession consequently the property must be determined by the Laws of that State—and they will I presume know no rule but their own cession and Laws for governing property—and it is easy to se[e] that they will not be prejudiced in favor of the Congressional claim—as that must be founded on Mass. having a charter right to that country which NY have allways denied.

“I must beg you to examine the NY and Mass. cession—and the grant from NY to Mass. and give me your opinion on the subject—and allso to write me how this business originated in Congress.” MBevHi; and Burnett, *Letters*, 8:755.

## Rhode Island Delegates to John Collins

Sir,

New York 6th June 1788.

We are inform'd that from a variaty of causes the State of Rhode-Island will be prevented from Exhibiting for Settlement their Clames against the United States within the time Limited by Resolve of Congress; If it is found Necessary for the Time to be Lengthin'd, we Desire to have Instructions from the State for that purpose Seting forth the Reasons which makes this application Necessary.

There is an application from the State of Verginia for Lengthining the Time for that State now before Congress<sup>1</sup>—and if Rhode Island find it necessary to apply, we think the Sooner the more likely to obtain.

We are with respect your Excellencys most obdt. & Humble Servts.,  
Peleg Arnold

Jona. J. Hazard

RC (R–Ar: Letters to Governors). Written by Arnold and signed by Arnold and Hazard.

<sup>1</sup> For the three-month extension subsequently granted to the states by Congress, see Charles Thomson to the States, June 24. See also Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph, June 9, note.

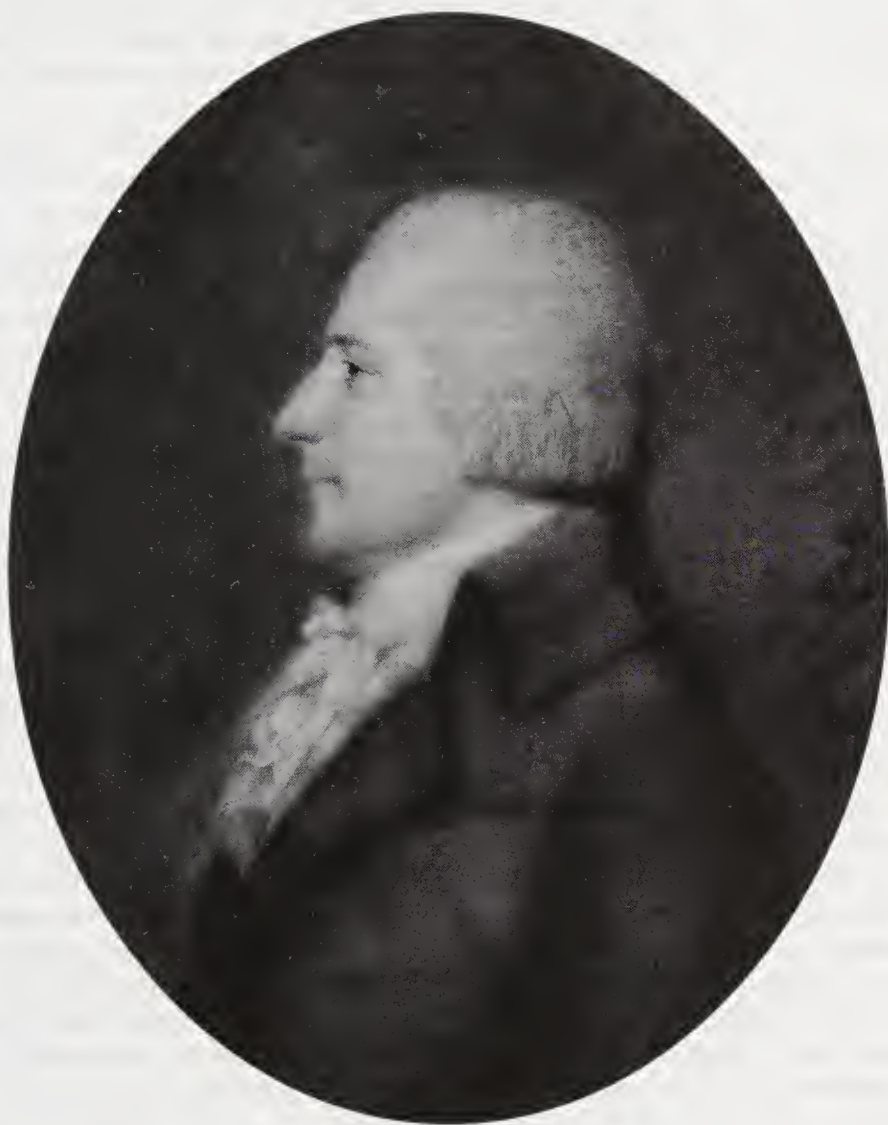
## John Brown to James Madison

Sir

New York June 7th. 1788

I was honord a few days ago by your favor of the 27th May<sup>1</sup> for which accept my thanks.

It gives me no small concern to find that the People of Kentucky are not to expect your Assistance in the important Business of framing a Constitution which they have so shortly in View.<sup>2</sup> At the time I took the liberty to trouble you with the request I was well aware of the multiplicity of your engagements, but flattered myself that from your fa-



John Brown



miliarity with the Subject of Government a few leisure hours would have enabled you to have drawn at least the outlines of a Plan which must have greatly facillitated the execution of their undertaking & might have been effectual in preventing those fundamental errors which from want of experience & proper attention to the Subject there is but too much reason to apprehend will take place in any System they may form. Perhaps this may still be in your power as their Convention is not to meet before the last week in July. The President informs me that he has sent you a Copy of a Resolution which Congress passed relative to the Seperation of Kentucky.<sup>3</sup> This contains all that has been done upon that Subject & I fear all that will be done. From the Hudson eastwardly all the members are opposed to do any thing further in this Business than to frame an Ordinance for the admission of Kentucky to be refered to the different States & ratified by them individually or to obtain from the States the ratification of an Additional Article to the Confederation vesting powers in Congress for that purpose. Either of these plans virtually amounts to a denyal of the present Application as the Compact between Vrga. & the District becomes void if not ratified by Congress before the 4th of July. Colo Hamilton heads the Opposition from the apprehension that a compliance might embarrass the New Constitution—he is supported by all the eastern States least it might add to the Southern Interest. I suppose Kentucky will assume her independence as it cannot be expected that she will continue in her present situation untill she can be admitted under the New Government & I am inclined to believe that no application under the present will be successfull. When thus forced into unconstitutional measures 'tis difficult to say how far they may proceed. I fear the contracted policy of the present Congress will be productive of Consequences ruinous to the tranquility of that promising Country; or to the importance & dignity of the United States; & perhaps to both. My disappointment in this Business has in a great measure prevented those exertions which I intended to remove the Objections of the Delegates from that Country to the New Constitution. Any Arguments which I could with propriety urge presuppose their admission into the Union—this at present will not be granted & all the letters I have recd. from the District hold out the Idea that they are determined not to make a second application. I have in general terms written to some of them that it is decidedly my opinion that there is not any thing to be apprehended relative to the Navigation of the Mississippi & that they ought to adopt the plan proposed. Indeed my mind is & for some time has been so irritated that I have avoided writing to my friends from the District now at Richmond my expectations respecting their independence least I might drop something which might have a similar effect upon them. I hope you have a decided majority without them & that the ninth Pillar may be raised in Virga. I am in haste, Sir, With esteem, Yo Mo Hble Servt., J Brown

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For which see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:59–60.

<sup>2</sup> See Brown to Madison, May 12, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> No such letter from Pres. Cyrus Griffin has been found, but for this June 2–3 resolution, see *JCC*, 34:194, 198. For the context in which it was adopted, see Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3.

## Nathan Dane to Moses Brown

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

New York. June 7. 1788

I recieved your friend[1]y letter of 22d Ultio. The causes you ask for not writing sooner in answer to my letter are unnecessary—tho I should be glad to hear from you every week and wish you to write to me as often as times and circumstances will permit; yet it is my wish to place all my correspondences with my freinds on a footing unembarrassed with forms, ceremonies and needless punctualities—whenever any thing material shall occur I Shall communicate it to you with pleasure and satisfaction. At present I have the pleasure to convey to you the information respecting the adoption of the Constitution in South Carolina, contained in the enclosed Newspaper. The Number in favor of the adoption was 149—against 73—majority 76.<sup>2</sup> You will perceive that State has in some measure adopted Massachusetts ideas about some future alterations, and well as Maryland has copied after Massachusetts in the mode of expressing her satisfaction and Joy on the occasion. As to the other States North Carolina & Virginia I can add nothing with certainty—however the probability is in favor of their adopting the Constitution. I do not know what this State will do—their elections for the Convention have gone rather more than two to one against it. However I am not fully convinced that the opposition will insist upon making their amendments conditions to the adoption, or to precede it rather than to accompany it as amendments recommended.

We have eleven States now in Congress and in a few days shall, probably, have thirteen—eight States have made returns of their acts ratifying the Constitution—in the course of this month it is likely nine will have made returns, when the subject of putting the new system into operation will be taken up in Congress. I am very uncertain when Congress will direct the new Government to meet—if this state shall not adopt it—it will not I suppose meet here. I shall be very unwilling to have it assemble in Philadelphia—for if it should, I doubt whether it will ever be able to move from that place—and I think it a very improper place for the permanent residence of the federal Government.

I think with you that our public affairs are taking a favourable turn—the revolution popular harrangues made to effect it, and various circumstances have thrown us into the extremes of disorder on the popular side. We have experienced the evils of a Government popular in its

principles and too popular, on many occasions at least in its administration. We are coming back and I have for sometime felt anxious that the political pendulum may stop in the proper medium, and in that point only will it rest and things be quiet, the laws Steady, property secured and industry encouraged. There is I see a very good Senate for the present year in Massa. and I think a majority of the house are the right kind of men—but on examining the list I think there is a very large number some of whom have no opinions of their own and some of whom have opinions perhaps not very favourable to order & good government. The evils of the numerous prosecutions which have lately taken place in the State and of which you make mention I conceive may, without much difficulty, be Stop'd by the legislature, by properly renewing the State of limitation touching such prosecutions. I think the statutes of limitations in G. Britain and formerly in Massa. did not allow of such prosecutions after several years had elapsed. Every law ought to be attended to which will have a tendency to fix the people in the habits of peace, industry and friendship. We are not Spartans to live on black broth or to be pleased with perpetual tumults & wars. Nor are we a people whose Spirits are broken and disposed to submit to an arbitrary will. We are in the mean Stages of society, in which protection and obedience, property, law, and liberty are all to be respected.

Please to give my respects to Mrs. Brown. I am very sorry to hear of her feeble state of health. Give my respects also to your partner Capt Thorndike & Mrs. Thorndike—tell Capt Thorndike<sup>3</sup> I hope he will attend the General Court. I expect to write to him in a few days concerning some affairs of the union that it will be necessary for our legislature to attend to this Session.

Pray inform me how our new affairs, the bridge and manufactory succeed from time to time. I feel more interested the undertakings should succeed than for the small property I have in them.

With sentiments of the highest este[em] & friendship, I am dr Sir,  
Your's  
N. Dane

RC (MBevHi: Moses Brown Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Moses Brown has been identified in these *Letters*, 18:598.

<sup>2</sup> Dane apparently enclosed this day's issue of either the *New York Journal* or the *Daily Advertiser*, both of which carried the story of South Carolina's ratification.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Larkin Thorndike, representative to the Massachusetts General Court from Beverly.

## Charles Thomson to John Sandford Dart

Sir  
Office of Secy of Congress, June 7. 1788  
Yesterday I had the honor to receive by Mr Kean your letter of 28 May<sup>1</sup> with 13 copies of the Acts and ordinances passed by the Legisla-



ture of South Carolina during their session of Feby 1788. Those which I recd. before these were passed in March 1787. I apprehend a session must have intervened between these two because I do not find among those recd. an Act for calling a state Convention to consider the New Constitution. If this should be the case I must request the favour of you to transmit to me by the first safe conveyance 13 Copies of the acts that may have been passed between March 1787 & Feby 1788.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honor to be, Sr, Your obedt humble Servt, C

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "John Sanford Dart Esq, Clerk of the house of Representatives—So Carolina."

<sup>1</sup> Dart's May 28 letter is in PCC, item 78, 8:229–32.

<sup>2</sup> Dart's July 7 reply, transmitting "thirteen Copies of the Resolutions of the Legislature of this State, for calling a State Convention to consider the new Constitution," is at *ibid.*, pp. 233–36.

## Charles Thomson to John Jay

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, June 7 1788

Congress have considered your letter of the 4th, wherein you inform them that "the city and county of New York have elected you one of their deputies to the state convention, which is to meet on the 17th instant at Poughkeepsie to consider and decide on the proposed federal Constitution—that if it be agreeable to Congress you will attend, if not you will decline the appointment" and request their directions on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

In answer to your letter I have it in charge to inform you that if you incline to attend the Convention, you have leave of absence for the purpose.<sup>2</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient humble Servt, Cha Thomson

FC (DNA: PCC, item 55). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

<sup>1</sup> For Jay's letter, see PCC, item 80, 3:524; and *JCC*, 34:207.

<sup>2</sup> No formal action on Jay's letter is recorded in the journals of Congress, but the endorsement on it indicates that it was referred to the secretary of Congress "to take order—to inform Mr Jay he has leave of absence to attend the Convention if he chuse." *Ibid.*

## Charles Thomson to Edmund Randolph

Sir Office of Secy of Congress. June 7th, 1788.

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed An Act passed by the United States in Congress Assembled touching



the expences attending the service of Mr David Henley, third Commissioner appointed to adjust and settle the claims of Virginia on Account of the western territory ceded by that commonwealth to the United States.<sup>1</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most Humble servant, Cha Thomson

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governour of Virginia."

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed June 4 resolves, adopted on the recommendation of the board of treasury to whom a June 11, 1787, memorial from Henley had been referred, see *JCC*, 32:308n, 34:201–2.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir      Circular      Office of Secretary of Congress, June 7th. 1788.

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed to be laid before the Legislature a state of the representation in Congress for the month of May.<sup>1</sup>

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most Humble servant, Cha Thomson

RC (InHi: Mitten Collection of Presidents of Congress). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governour of Connecticut." LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> For this enclosure and the seven other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1788, see Appendix, pp. 537–46.

## Nathan Dane to Alexander Hodgdon

Sir<sup>1</sup>      New York June 8. 1788

I a few days Since received a letter from Mr. Higginson in which he mentions that he has not received the £100 due to him from the Treasury on my draught. As I made the negociation with him expecting there would be no failure, I shall feel myself extremely obliged to you to make arrangements, to pay him, the first opportunity that you may have in your power—so well acquainted, I am fully persuaded, you are with the affairs of the Treasury, that I need not mention how much the small credit it has must be effected by any failure in cases where such particular negociations are made. As Mr. Higginson when he wrote to me requested that I would write you on the subject, Allow

me, Sir, only to urge you to do the best you can in the Case. I am by no means insensible of the difficulties you have to encounter in that office in the present barren State of the Treasury.

I expect to be in Massa. sometime in July and to return to New York about the first of August. I shall want some monies from the Treasury for paying my expences there for the residue of the year.

By the enclosed paper you will perceive that South Carolina has adopted the Constitution—members for the adoption 149, against 73, majority 76.

Virginia is now in Session. Tho nothing can be said with certainty as to her conduct yet the probability appears to be that she will adopt it. About two thirds of the members of the Convention in this State chosen are considered as against the Constitution but I do think the people of the State are against it in that proportion. With great esteem & regard, Your most obedt. humble servant,  
N. Dane

RC (MeHi: Fogg Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Hodgdon was the treasurer of Massachusetts.

## Pierpont Edwards to Asa Spalding

Dear Sir,<sup>1</sup>

New York June 8th 1788

Pray write me by the return of post informing very circumstantially how you have settled Maunsells B[on]d against Johnson &—for News I refer you to my letter to Mr Huntington.<sup>2</sup> If I can serve you or any of your friends while here I shall do it with pleasure.

I am Sir with Sentiments of Esteem & friendship, Your very Hl Serv,  
Pierpont Edwards<sup>3</sup>

RC (CtHi: Ms 73903). Addressed: "Asa Spalding Esq."

<sup>1</sup> Asa Spalding, formerly captain of a Norwich company of light infantry, was Connecticut collector of the excise in 1789–90. *Public Records of Connecticut*, 6:30, 168, 7:73, 349.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> Edwards also wrote the following letter to his daughter Susan on June 14. "I wrote you [*not found*] by the last post save one, and shoud have written again by the last, but I dined abroad on that Day, and did not return untill the office Hours were over. I hope your not writing me was not occasioned by ill Health or any adverse occurence. I have nothing new to communicate, other than what I have mentioned in your Mamma's Letter [*not found*]. Pray omit not to write me by every post especially while your Mamma is gone to No[r]thampton. Inform me of the Health of the family and of every circumstance in which you can suppose me in the least interested." General MS, NjP.

## Alexander Hamilton to James Madison

My Dear Sir

[New York, June 8, 1788]

In my last<sup>1</sup> I think I informed you that the elections had turned out, beyond expectation, favourable to the Antifœderal party.<sup>2</sup> They have a majority of two thirds in the Convention and according to the best estimate I can form of about four sevenths in the community. The views of the leaders in this City are pretty well ascertained to be turned towards a *long* adjournment say till next spring or Summer. Their incautious ones observe that this will give an opportunity to the state to *see how the government works and to act according to circumstances.*

My reasonings on the fact are to this effect. The leaders of the party hostile to the constitution are equally hostile to the Union. They are however afraid to reject the constitution at once because that step would bring matters to a crisis between this state and the states which had adopted the Constitution and between the parties in the state. A separation of the Southern district from the other part of the state it is perceived would become the object of the Fœderalists and of the two neighbouring states. They therefore resolve upon a long adjournment as the safest and most artful course to effect their final purpose. They suppose that when the Government gets into operation it will be obliged to take some steps in respect to revenue &c. which will furnish topics of declamation to its enemies in the several states and will strengthen the minorities. If any considerable discontent should show itself they will stand ready to head the opposition. If on the contrary the thing should go on smoothly and the sentiments of our own people should change they can then elect to come into the Union. They at all events take the chances of time and the chapter of accidents.

How far their friends in the Country will go with them I am not able to say, but as they have always been found very obsequious we have little reason to calculate upon an uncompliant temper in the present instance.

For my own part the more I can penetrate the views of the Antifœderal party in this state, the more I dread the consequences of the non adoption of the Constitution by any of the other states, the more I fear an eventual disunion and civil war. God grant that Virginia may accede. Her example will have a vast influence on our politics. New Hampshire, all accounts give us to expect, will be an assenting state.

The number of the volumes of the Fœderalist which you desired have been forwarded as well the se[c]ond as first, to the care of Governor Randolph. It was impossible to correct a certain error.<sup>3</sup>

In a former letter I requested you to communicate to me by express the event of any decisive question in favour of the constitution authorising changes of horses &c with an assurance to the person sent that he will be liberally paid for his diligence.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Hamilton's hand; signature, and place and dateline clipped. Docketed by Madison: "A Hamilton, 8 June 1788." Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:2-4.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 4:649-50.

<sup>2</sup> See Hamilton to John Sullivan, June 6, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 650nn.5-8.

## Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson

My dear Sir,

New York June 9. 1788

I had the honor to write you by the last packet by Mr. Barlow and Master G. W. Greene,<sup>1</sup> since which South Carolina has acceded to the new Constitution by a great Majority. The inclosed papers contain the act, and some of the debates of the convention.<sup>2</sup>

Virginia is now sitting, having met last Monday, but we have not yet received any intelligence as to the probable turn the business will take there. I am inclined to think the critical stage in which this convention meets the affair, will have much influence upon the opinions of many who sat out in the opposition. In adopting they will certainly avoid Commotion, and, at worst, accept a constitution upon which eight States have already agreed to hazard their happiness, and which may be amended, should it be found to operate badly; in rejecting they may produce commotion, with but little prospect of preventing the adoption. The five States who have not yet acceded, would never agree in their objects, and could even this be brought about, they must at last rather yeild to the 8, than these to the five; and it appears that the submission on either side must be intire, for should the 8 think of a compromise with the 5, there would be difficulty in agreeing what points to yeild. These considerations will, I apprehend, have their effect in the convention of Virginia, & produce an issue different from that which might have taken place under other circumstances. I am happy to find that the five are so separated that there cannot be a possible effort, to Unite in an attempt to dismember the union. Had the southern States joined in opinion as to the constitution, I verily believe such a desperate step would have been tried, but it would have ended in their destruction, and perhaps that of all the others.

Mr. Madison & myself have sent you sundry Pamphlets and pieces which have been written by the Friends of the constitution;<sup>3</sup> I have endeavoured to select from those which have been written on the other side, that which is reputed the best, to send you now, that you may fairly judge of the arguments brought forward amongst us pro & Con. The two Books enclosed contain a number of letters under the signature of the Federal Farmer, but the Author is not known. These letters are reputed the best of any thing that has been written in the opposition.<sup>4</sup>



I hope by the next opportunity to be able to send you the second volume of the *Federalist*. I have the Honor to be, my dear Sir, with great esteem, yr. sincere Friend & Hl st., Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Carrington to Jefferson, May 14.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the *New York Journal* and the *Daily Advertiser* for June 7.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Carrington to Jefferson, April 24, note 2, and May 14, note 4; and *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 9:746n.4.

<sup>4</sup> For publication of the letters of the "Federal Farmer," see Richard Henry Lee to Elbridge Gerry, September 29, 1787, note.

## Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph

Sir,

New York June 9. 1788

The delegation have been Honoured with your Excellencies favor of the 25th Ult. enclosing the reasons of the Commissioner for requiring an extension of the time allowed for the exhibition of the Accts. of Virginia against the United States. They are Submitted to Congress with a motion for the prolongation of the time, and these are now in reference to the Treasury Board for their report.<sup>1</sup> We shall have the issue ascertained as early as possible, but cannot undertake to encourage an expectation of success. In the mean time it will be well for Mr. Dunscomb to proceed without reliance upon the extension of the time for rendering the Accounts. Should his evidences be incomplete he may nevertheless render the Accounts, & prosecute his measures for collecting all that can be got. And as to the forms and arrangements of the Accounts, although it would have been a desirable circumstance for the State, that he should have stated them, yet that business, so far as alterations may be necessary to conform them to the Statements of the United States, may be left upon the Commissioner for that Party.

I have the Honor to be, with great respect, Yr. Excellencies Most Obt. Servt., Ed. Carrington

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the board's denial of an earlier request for an extension, see Virginia Delegates to Randolph, April 3, note. On May 21 the Virginia Council had directed Andrew Dunscomb, Virginia's commissioner for settling the state's Continental accounts, to draft a letter demonstrating why "the limited term of time for presenting the Claims of Virginia against the United States will be too short to insure justice to the State." In his May 23 reply to Governor Randolph, Dunscomb argued that the "forms and evidences demanded" by district commissioner William Winder regarding recruiting bounties, depreciation of pay, militia advances, requisitions, and claims for advances to the quartermaster, commissary, clothing, hospital, and marine departments made Dunscomb's task so complex that he was unable to organize and deliver all of the state's claims by June

20, especially given the lapse in business when Winder was absent from the state from February 5 to May 2. Dunscomb's letter was forwarded to the Virginia delegates in New York who presented it to Congress on June 6 when they moved that the state be granted an extension of unspecified length. The letter and motion were referred to the board of treasury whose report was considered June 23. The following day Congress resolved to extend the period for exhibiting state accounts by three months and to allow the presentation of additional vouchers and testimony in support of claims after they had been submitted. See *JCC*, 34:203–4, 253–60, 262–63, *PCC*, item 71, 2:601–10; *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 4:370, 444–46; and Charles Thomson to the States, June 24. See also Carrington to Randolph, June 19, note, and June 25, note 1.

## Paine Wingate to Hannah Wingate

My dear friend<sup>1</sup>

New York June 9. 1788.

I have the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 27 of May. And having returned my acknowledgements to my wife for hers of the same date, I am at liberty to make some returns to you, for the great obligations you lay me under by your correspondence. I should think I had no enjoyments worth possessing, were it not for the pleasure I have of frequent communications with my friends by writing. You will judge then whether my heart is not as much at Stratham as some body's else you mention is at New York. I assure you I have not yet found any body or thing which engrosses my affections here. I shall prefer my wife to the Dutch lady & you have given me such a flattering account of her constancy & attachment to me even tho' long absent, that I do not feel at all mortified to hear that you are otherwise engaged. It give me the greatest satisfaction to hear that you enjoy so good health whether my letters are the means of contributing to it or not. I wish it may long continue & increase & that the increase of your hea[l]th may soon be accompanied with a more valuable increase of another nature. If this should be the case you may depend on the raisins. As to your spirits, the vivacity of your letter sufficiently indicates them, without your particularly informing me. Whether the extacy of pleasure you discover at the time of writing, arose from the tho't of going to my house that afternoon, or from your having your tho't at New York just then, I cannot say, but if they should subside after such an excess I hope the receipt of this will revive them again. Most pleasures must be mutual in order to become pleasures & did I not hope that it would contribute to yours by my writing it would give me but little satisfaction to do it. Mr. Adams tells me that you expect & should be very particular in answering your letters. This I am not apt to be. I have so many whims of my own to mention, that I have not room to repeat & reply to yours. Besides your letters so abound with the most flattering complements, that it would savor of vanity in me to notice them. The French are remarkable for flattery & gallantry.

Whether you are related to that nation I cannot say. But you resemble them in one thing, you are fond of pleasing. By the way nobody is the worse for this, but as much better as they are more pleasing. And now I am speaking of pleasing it may be well eno' to pass to the subject of beauty. You wish to know whether Lady Christien (for that is the name of the Presidents lady) is as handsome as you are. I think she is much what. And I can add she resembles you in another [favor?], she is sociable & agreeable. I have given her character so particularly in some of my letters which probably you have seen, that it is needless to add any thing further. I am very glad to hear that you visit Polly. I hope that you will do it frequently & thereby increase her satisfaction in life. Mr. Adams observes that you are muster master general of the young females & I expect that your regiment will be considerably increased by young recruits by that time I shall return home. I must beg to be excused from your invitation to tea & hope you will not wait for me as I do not drink now any thing but the best hyson which your company I suppose do not afford. As you are so noted for telling the truth I cannot doubt of any thing you tell me & wish that the next time you shall write to me, you will inform me of all those hundred things which you have yet in your budget. I know it must be a burden to you to have any secrets not uncovered. I am much pleased [with?] the account you give of Mrs Weeks. She must be very happy & very pretty. I cannot tell when I shall write to you any more nonsense but believe I shall wait until I hear from you whether you wish for any more. Should be glad to know Who Betsey employs to write her letters for her. They are very pleasing to me. I expect that my wife will read & approve of this. I now must bid you adieu.

Paine Wingate

RC (DLC: Bartlett Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Recipient not identified, but Wingate was undoubtedly addressing Hannah Veazie Wingate, the wife of his cousin Joshua Wingate, and a Stratham, N.H. neighbor. See Charles E. L. Wingate, *Life and Letters of Paine Wingate*, 2 vols. (Medford, Mass.: Mercury Printing Co., 1930), 1:184–87. For other letters from Wingate to Hannah, all of which were written in a similar vein and addressed to “My dear friend,” see Wingate to Hannah, June 25 and July 21; and *ibid.*, pp. 187–90.

## Paine Wingate to Mary Wingate Wiggin

My dear Child,

New York June 9. 1788.

Your Aunt Wingate tells me in her last letter, that your mother & she were going to see you the next day for her fourth visit. This I know must be very agreeable to you & therefore it gives me pleasure to hear it. You shew your wisdom & good sense in liking your situation, and I have the satisfaction to believe that you will make a prudent, industrious & æconomical wife. The fashionable pleasures & bustle of life are



but vanity. The greatest satisfaction is to be enjoyed with a few virtuous, sensible & intimate friends & companions, & from the peaceful approbation of ones own mind from a consciousness of discharging the duties of our particular station. You know that I wish your happiness & would not by my advice or influence deprive you of any. I think you have more consideration than most of your sex & therefore will not expect uninterrupted pleasures, but study contentment with your allotments. I do not mean that to be happy it is necessary to shut ones self out from the world. While you have your small circle of valuable & intimate acquaintance, the rest of the world you will treat with great civility, politeness & affab[il]ity, especially such as are your equals & with whom you have perhaps been once intimate. The good opinion of the world is worth having, if it is not purchased at too dear a rate. But this may be done by propriety of behaviour without making it our whole business & attention to please. I shall not now trouble you with any further lessons of instruction, nor do I think from my present feelings that I shall give you a long letter.

The fashion at this time is for parents & children among those in high life to be as familiar as brothers & sisters, nay I think that the children are the most fancy, & do take greater liberties with their parents in every kind of language & behaviour than they would towards any body else. This I cannot be pleased with, tho' you know that I do not love to keep children at a distance. I have not yet heard how you exercise your motherly deportment, but hope it is with wisdom & moderation. I shall be glad at any time to receive a letter from you but would not have you give yourself any trouble to do it. If it should worry you to write & give you any uneasiness I had rather you would not do it. I can write two letters to you, easier than you can one to me. You may set your Aunt Wingate to write who has always nonsense enô in her head to fill a letter. I have enjoyed my health as yet very well but want my customary exercise. I have some intimate acquaintance who are very agreeable to me, but none among the ladies. They expect more ceremony & attention paid to them, than I am willing to take the trouble of. I have other business enô to employ my time about & feel very contented in my situation. Mrs. Elisabeth Blanchard lately wrote me a long letter chiefly upon politicks, but I could not very well enter into a new correspondence, & therefore returned her a short letter merely of friendship. Her husband expects soon to go and visit her & then to go to the West Indies. His circumstances will not admit of living with his family. How much better to live within the bounds of moderation and Œconomy than to be involved in such misfortune. We have now one Member of Congress who has the small pox very favorably<sup>1</sup> & there are some of the Inhabitants who continually have it in the city. I have reason to be glad that I had it formerly. I feel concerned about George & have wrote to Mr. Woodbridge & your mother



upon the subject.<sup>2</sup> I should be very unwilling that he should leave the school at Exeter & loose the benefit of his instruction. And at the same time would not have him pressed with any burdens that could well be avoided. I wish that you would encourage George as much as you can & make it as agreeable to him as it may be. You are sensible that whatever would make him uneasy would necessarily make me so to know it. You may tell Sally that she may read any of my letters to you, or to her aunt Wingate when she pleases, & to her mother if she thinks proper. I suppose that you have the same liberty with your letters to them. Indeed there is nothing private or interesting in them, but they are wrote principally with a view of expressing my friendship and concern for you all, & some times for the sake of a little diversion. I was last Saturday at the Jewish Synagogue which was their Sabbath day. The service was all performed in hebrew, was very long, and chiefly read in a sort of singing voice. Only the men were allowed to be in the lower part of the house & the women sat in the gallery & went up, into it on the outside of the house. They were dressed very fashionably. I have likewise been at the Romish Church & to a German Church where I could not understand a word that was said. I have indeed been to most of the places of worship in the city in order to see their different customs. I believe I shall not think fit to change my religion for any of them. Let Mr. Wiggin know that I have not heard yet from Mother Fox any further. I wish your health & every desirable enjoyment you can have.

Am your affectionate father,

P. Wingate

RC (MH-H: Wingate Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, North Carolina delegate John Swann.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

## Samuel A. Otis to Theodore Sedgwick

My Dear friend

New York 10th June 1788

I closed my last letter<sup>1</sup> without observing that having become indebted to my late friend Mr B Lincoln Jur I assigned him some notes which I understand he put into your hands to collect, and as I should be brot into fresh trouble if the debts assigned him should prove bad; your goodness will excuse my anxiety to have them attended to.

Your friends here are frequently enquiring whether & when [you] design making your appearance on the ground. [M]y answer is that being Pastor or dux of the flock, negatively, not until he has dismissed it, But positively we hope soon after that period; For altho we have a full Congress, the Honble. Speaker of the Honble Mass Assembly

would be an additional Honor to that Honble body the Congress & a great pleasure to Your friend & H Sev, Sam A Otis

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Otis to Sedgwick, June 6.

## Charles Thomson to George Handley

Sir Office of Secy of Congress. June 10th. 1788.

On the 13th of April 1787 I had the honor to transmit to Your Excellency sundry resolutions passed by the United States in Congress Assembled respecting the treaty of peace between the United States of America and Great Britain. Also a letter to Your Excellency which was unanimously agreed to in Congress on the same subject. Not having heard from You touching this matter, I take the liberty of sending You a duplicate.<sup>1</sup> The reasons why your State should pass the law recommended are so fully and so forcibly stated in the letter from Congress, that is needless to say any thing more on the subject, especially to Your State which with such unanimity & readiness hath adopted the new Constitution, which establishes the principle, that Treaties made or which shall be made under the Authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land. I presume therefore it will only be necessary for Your Excellency to bring this matter to the recollection of Your Legislature, if they have not already passed the law required.

With great respect, I have the honor &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Govr. of Georgia."

<sup>1</sup> See Thomson to the States, April 13, 1787.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear Sir New York 11th June 1788

The public Papers have not for many days afforded us any News, all Expectation is turned towards Virginia, We take for granted, I do at least, that N Carolina will follow Virginia in adopting or rejecting. I confess that my Hopes are not sanguine, but of this I do not consider myself bound to say all that I think. Congress have before them sundry matters of considerable Import which have been eventing in the Course of seven Months for there have been nine states on the floor for a few days last past only. Having come on here with a Resolution to indulge myself in as much Leisure as any others of my fellow

Labourers, the Start I have some how been constrained to take has not fully accorded with my Plan, but I shall try to mind after a few Land Questions are determined. Those Questions are extremely weighty as the national Funds are concerned. At present I have not Leisure even to return Visits.

Will you be pleased to forward a Line to Mrs. Templeman who probably is anxious to hear the Fate of her Son.<sup>1</sup> You may inform her that he was inoculated on Thursday Week in the morning, that on Saturday morning last the Pock had made their appearance, two or three on his Face & severall on his Limbs. On Sunday a few more appeared. On that Night he indulged on a feather Bed, which for several nights I had caused to be removed, and on Monday he had some 20 or 30 Pocks on his Face, the whole is still a Bagatelle; he continues to walk about & has done so every Day. He would now attend in Congress<sup>2</sup> was it not that the Place on his Arm in which he was inoculated being not quite free from Inflammation renders it inconvenient for him to put on a Coat with tight Sleeves. His Servt who as usual for Africans had the eruption 24 Hours before the Master was first relieved from his Suspicions.

I was yesterday surprised by a message of the Spanish Minister, who sent one of his Family to our lodging to apologise for his not visiting us in Person for *he has not had the small Pox*. He had left his Card at the Door without coming in. Mrs Dawson whom I saw two Evenings since, also her Daughter & grand Daughter were well, but she complains of hearing very seldom from her Edenton Friends. I know that writing Paper is scarce in Edenton & therefore was able to make one good Excuse, I presume that no other good one could be made.

Be so good as give my Respects to Mrs Iredell & the othe Ladies of your Family. I am Dr sir, Your obedt serv, Hu Williamson

RC (NcD: Iredell Manuscripts). Addressed: "James Iredell Esq. Edenton." Endorsed: "Ansd. June 25th. 1788."

<sup>1</sup> That is, North Carolina delegate John Swann.

<sup>2</sup> Swann returned to his congressional seat June 18. See *JCC*, 34:234, 239.

## William Bingham to Tench Coxe

Dear Sir,

New York June 12. 1788

I am much indebted to you for the agreeable & important Communications contained in your Letter of the 10th Inst.

The Ratification of Virginia will be an essential Accession of foederal Force. Without her Cooperation & Assistance, the Union would not possess so robust a Constitution, nor be endued with strength Sufficient to resist the Difficulties it will probably have to encounter.

Mr Jay & Col Hamilton leave New York to Morrow, to meet the State Convention.

I Shall present each of them with a Copy of the Address,<sup>1</sup> which is well calculated to affect their Passions, as well as Interests. Your particular Injunctions Shall be attended to. The most Sanguine Advocates for the fœderal System only flatter themselves with the hopes that the Convention will adjourn, & not reject; so great & So determined a Majority is opposed to the ratification. However, the future Prospects of this State, with respect to an Extension of her foreign Commerce & of her internal Resources, are So intimately connected with the Union; that I am disposed to think the People will Soon change their Sentiments & become fœderal.

I am with Regard & sincerity, D. sir, Your obed hble ser,  
Wm Bingham

PS. Accept the inclosed from your obt hle, WB

RC (PHi: Coxe Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Coxe's address "To the Honorable the Convention of the State of New-York," signed "A Pennsylvanian," for which see Bingham to Coxe, May 30, note; and *Doc. Hist. of Ratif., New York* (forthcoming volume).

## Nathan Dane to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir

New York. June 12. 1788

I this day received a letter from Colo. Grayson dated the 4th instant<sup>1</sup> the Substance of which he requested me to inform you of—saying he had not time to write to you and requesting you will not let his name be quoted in the Newspapers. "The Convention met," he writes ["]and unanimously elected Edd. Pendleton Presidt. The debates began the 4th no question taken indicative of Superiority on either side—agreed to go through the Constitution by paragraphs. The numbers were as nearly equal as possible—but Govr. Randolph today declared in favor of adopting the Constitution.<sup>2</sup> The district of Kentucky is against the Constitution and if the 4 Counties on the Ohio between the Pennsylv. line & Big Sandy Creek Join in the opposition the Constitution Cannot be adopted."

Nothing very material has occurred here. It seems to be agreed by both parties in New New [York] that 46 members chosen are against the Constitution and 19 for it.

We have I think a very good Congress not much effected with party spirit. By the inclosed paper you will see measures have been taken to bring public defaulters to account—and may it not be well that this act of Congress should be published in our Boston papers as well as in



the papers of the middle & Southern States. Please to give my respects to Mrs. Gerry. With the highest esteem & regard, Your obedt humble servant,  
N. Dane

RC (Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang, River Forest, Ill., 1980).

<sup>1</sup> For Grayson's letter, which is in the Dane Papers, DLC, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 10:1572–73.

<sup>2</sup> For Gov. Edmund Randolph's speech at the Virginia ratifying convention, which opened June 2, see *ibid.*, 9:931–36.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan

Sir

New York June 12th 1788

Having this day received the first accounts from Virginia since the meeting of their Convention I do myself the honor to inform your Excellency that from all accounts there is the greatest probability of their acceding to the new System of Government. A letter from Mr. Madison dated "Richmond July 4th"<sup>1</sup> contains the following observations—vizt. "Mr. Pendleton was put into the chair without opposition. Yesterday it was unanimously agreed that no general or particular question should be taken untill the whole had been debated clause by Clause and the debates commenced to day. The Governor has renounced the Idea of previous amendments and will vote with us. He did it in a very handsom speech which has made a very favorable impression." Other letters mention that a considerable majority was expected in favor of the question previous to the Governors declaration; which by that occurrence must be enlarged.

I believe there is now little or no reason to doubt the success of the question in North Carolina. The Honorable Mr. Williamson has lately arrived from that State and assures me that he has not been able to inform himself from what quarter the opposition is to come and that he entertains no doubt of the ratification by their Convention.

With the greatest Respect, I have the Honor to be, your Excellencys Most Obedient Servant,  
N. Gilman

RC (Nh–Ar: State Papers, Revolutionary Correspondence).

<sup>1</sup> That is, June 4, but not found. See Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:77–78. For speculation that the recipient of this letter may have been Alexander Hamilton, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 10:1614n.

## Charles Thomson to Thomas Hutchins

Sir

Office of Secy of Congress. June 12th. 1788.

I have the honor to transmit to You herewith enclosed An Act of the

United States in Congress Assembled for ascertaining the boundary line between the United States and the States of New York and Massachusetts, & for ascertaining the quantity of land lying West of the said line between Lake Erie and the State of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> I also enclose an extract from the deeds of cession made by New York and Massachusetts so far as relates to the said boundary line, and am sir, with much respect Your Obedt. humble servant

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Thos. Hutchins Esqr., Geographer of the United States."

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed June 6 resolution, see *JCC*, 34:202–3. For Pennsylvania's interest in acquiring additional lands bordering on Lake Erie east of its recognized boundary, see the Pennsylvania Delegates' letters to Benjamin Franklin, June 6, and to the Board of Treasury, July 7.

## Paine Wingate to John Wendell

Sir

New York June 12. 1788.

I received your favor of April 29, and forwarded your enclosure agreeably to desire. Mr. Isaac Gouvernuer Junr. of this city called upon me within a few days past & informed me that he had the care of those lands which the taxes respected, & said he would pay them if I would draw a bill in your favor for that purpose. I observed by your letter to me that you wished for a draft on Mrs Wingate for the money or else a Boston Bank bill. The latter I knew not where to procure, & the former I knew could not be in cash to pay you. When I mentioned this to Mr. Gouverner he shewed me your letter which he had received thro' my hands on the subject & in that you mentioned a draft on the Treasurer of New Hampshire. I told him that I could draw on the treasurer if that would answer. He said that he should chuse two bills of exchange & would send one of them immediately to you with a letter respecting the business which I herewith enclose. I told him that I had no interest in the matter but would comply with the request to serve you & him. I added that I could not answer for the money being immediately paid at the treasury but if the Bill should be returned not satisfyd, the money would be by me or the check on the Bank in this city which he gave me and I would give it either to you or him whoever brôt me the bill. Upon this condition I drew the Bill. I hope that my draft on the treasurer will answer the purpose either to procure you the money or be allowed on account of those taxes or in some way that shall be agreeable to you. But if it should not answer your purposes & you will return the bill to me with your order to pay the money here It shall be immediately complied with. I suppose it will be necessary also to send on the discharges for the taxes, which I will deliver to the Gentleman, which it is probable

he has mentioned in his letter. If my proceeding meets your wishes in this affair it will be with pleasure I serve you.

I thank you for the information you have favored me with respecting the adoption of the new Constitution. I hope that you will have the pleasure of hearing of its ratification in New Hampshire by the time you will receive this. For whatever imperfections experience may discover in it I am persuaded that you are in opinion with me that the present situation of our country makes it necessary. The event of the new Government taking place soon is now relied upon, & I hope that we shall speedily feel the happy effects of it. The accounts from Virginia & No Carolina are favorable. New York is yet supposed to be antifederal but it is thôt she will not chuse to stand alone. All the states except two are now represented in congress & the delegates of those States are expected on soon. I will enclose for you a newspaper that you may see what little news we have here. I thank you for your kindness in calling upon my family & informing me of their welfare. And be assured that I am with sentiments of due respect your most obed[i]ent & humble Servt.,

Paine Wingate

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1907).

## Paine Wingate to John Wendell

Sir

[June 12, 1788]

Since I wrote the enclosed<sup>1</sup> I have seen a Letter from a member of convention in Virginia dated on the third day after they met,<sup>2</sup> who informs that Mr. Pendleton was chosen President without opposition (he is federal)—That Governor Randolph had expressly declared for the ratification of the new Constitution without amendments—That this was done in a very handsome speech which made a favorable impression—That the Convention had unanimously voted not to decide upon the constitution or any part of it until they had gone thrô the whole by clauses in their deba[te] And that no question had yet decided fully the sentiments of that body but that the appearance was favorable. Other accounts say that there is reckoned a majority of twelve in favor of the plan. Please to deliver to the Treasurer the letter directed to him when you shall present the Bill. I am &c,

Paine Wingate

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1907).

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>2</sup> See Gilman to Sullivan, this date, note.

## Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker

My beloved Brother

June 13th. 1788. Hall of Congress.

I have been long in Expectation of hearing from you either by your Sons or by Post, & now begin to grow impatient & uneasy lest any thing disagreeable should have occur'd. I believe Dr. Johnson is not yet returned, but suppose it will not be many days longer before he arrives. Mr. Daniel Tucker arrived here from Bermuda about 10 Days ago & left our Friends in general pretty well. Nothing new from thence except that they are engaging pretty extensively in the Fishery this Year, about 15 or 16 Vessels being intended for that Employment. The whaling Ships have done tolerably well, but not so much as has been reported. Ere this arrives you will have heard of the Decision of South Carolina in favor of the New Constitution. We hear that it is also in a favorable Way in your State. I shou'd be glad to know from time to time how your Convention is going on & what are really the Prospects. Indeed I have always supposed that Virginia as well as South Carolina wou'd adopt it. From the latter I am inform'd that the people in the interior parts of the Country are much opposed to it. However I suppose & hope they will acquiesce in the Voice of the Majority. For my own part I do not expect from it any miraculously beneficial Effects immediately, whatever Time may bring about. The Impost appears to me to be almost the only Good that we shall for some time experience, & that will deprive several of the States at least of their chief Resource for the Support of their local Governments, not to say any thing of provision for the Payment of their public Debts, which already are so embarrassing that they puzzle the most ingenious to give them Support. As we are in Business, I cannot write & pay the necessary Attention. Remember me to the young Gentlemen & to all the Children with great Affection. Also to Miss Maria, Miss Carlos, & all other kind Friends. Pray write, as often as possible, & if I happen to be a little remiss (which however I do not intend to be) ascribe it either to natural Indolence or (rather) to a degree of Perplexity I often feel from a Variety of Subjects of Business which as yet are not very familiar to me. Excuse me to Richd. & Theodorick. The Expectation of seeing them has made me less particular in fulfilling my Obligation of writing to them. God bless you, my beloved Brother pray Your's most sincerely,

Tho. Tud. Tucker

[P.S.] It may possibly be acceptable to you to be inform'd how this State stands affected towards the New Constitution. What Effect the favorable Division of Virginia may have here I know not, but the Calculations at present are that the Division will be as follows—for the Constitution 19 Members, against it 46, the whole Number being 65.



## Nathan Dane to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir

New York June 14. 1788.

I have been honored with your letter of the 5th of April last. I should have written to you before this, but nothing particular worthy your notice has occurred which has not appeared in the public news papers.

You mention in your letter that the governor's Speech the last Session<sup>1</sup> remained unanswered, I presume on account of a Clause in it respecting the new Constitution. I recollect that it was at the time made a question here whether it was Judicious in the Governor in the then temper of our State, to bring any proposition before the legislature relative to the Constitution. You can best inform me what was the opinion of the people of Massachusetts respecting this part of the Governor's message.

The manner in which the Constitution was adopted in South Carolina I suppose you have seen. The Construction the State gave to some Clauses, and the amendments they proposed should hereafter be made to others.

The Convention of Virginia met the 2d instant. I have recieved and seen letters from the members of it dated as late as the 6th instant.<sup>2</sup> It appears that Governor Randolph has declared that considering the present circumstances of the United States, and the present State of the great question he shall be in favor of adopting the system and amending it afterwards. The information from Virginia taken collectively is in favor of the adoption of the proposed plan in that State tho nothing can be inferred with certainty as to the final result of the business. The Convention of this State (N York) meets the 18th instant. It appears to be agreed by both parties that of the 65 members who compose that Convention, 46 are against the Constitution, and 19 for it. If Virginia and N Hampshire shall adopt—it will be difficult to say what line of conduct N York will think it adviseable to pursue. I am inclined to think the parties are more fixed in this State than in any other in the Union—much has been written, published, and read in the State, and perhaps, the aristocratical and democratical characters in the State, are more accurately divided than in any other State. I think on the whole the Constitution will be adopted by eleven States, and it is a very desirable thing that the other two may not Stand out. So divided in sentiment as the people of some of the States are which have adopted and so difficult it will be for the union to make & execute commercial regulations, &c if N. York and R.I. only shall be out of the union that we shall find many embarrassments in the Confederacy of nine, ten, or eleven states.

We have now eleven States in Cong and one Member from each of the other States—and there is a fair prospect of our having the thirteen states on the floor in a few days—tho we have not any very impor-

tant business to do—nor shall we have I think this year except that of adopting measures for putting the new Government into operat[ion]. We have a very good Congress—men not much actuated by party spirit—and but very little if at all under that influence which heretofore under Ms. &c has so much injured the United States. We lately passed an act without much opposition for calling all those public defaulters to Account &c.

I have the honor to be with Great respect, your obdt. humble servant,  
N. Dane

RC (James S. Copley Library, La Jolla, Calif., 1986).

<sup>1</sup> For John Hancock's speech before the Massachusetts General Court October 18, 1787, in support of the new federal Constitution, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 13:410–11.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Dane to Elbridge Gerry, June 12, and Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan, June 12, note.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, June 14th, 1788.

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed an Act passed the 11th of this Month by the United States in Congress Assembled, directing the mode in which the States are to be Credited for sums paid, or which may hereafter be paid by them to Invalids, and limiting a time within which persons entitled to pensions as Invalids by past Resolutions of Congress must make Application, and produce the requisite Certificates and evidence to entitle them thereto.<sup>1</sup>

With great Respect, I have the Honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Most Humble Servt.,  
Cha Thomson

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed resolutions were adopted on the recommendation of a committee to which had been referred a June 2 petition from "John Buchanan, Robert Harris, Daniel Baldwin & Saml Jones, in behalf of themselves & other Invalids." For this petition, the committee's June 6 report, and the resolutions adopted June 11, see PCC, item 42, 1:435–38; and *JCC*, 34:197n, 204–6, 209–10.

## Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount

Dear Sir

New York 14th June 1788

Yours of 16th ult came to Hand too late by 24 Hours for the June Packet, the Mail was on Board & the Vessel ready to sail when your Letter came to Hand else I should have contrived some method of

sending your Brother 170 Dls. Your Bill however is not paid. Mr Hazard says that you have never sent him your Bond or obligation to perform the Service, of course he fears the Treasury Board will not allow of the Charge if he pays the Mony. He wrote to the Board stating his Difficulty; they have delayed to give an Answer; To day I called on them to know what answer they proposed to give. They alledged that no Proof had been adduced that you had caused the mail to be carryed. In Reply I said that I knew the allegation to be true, To this they replied that this they would admit as good Proof of what had been done but after the Payment was made for an Easy Quarter, once per Week, without the Bond there was no security that you might not drop it in the Summer when the trouble was greater. To this I only reply'd that I presumed they considered the Contract or Bond as a necessary Condition, they reply'd in the affirmative, and having previously resolved to ask no favours I would not say that I should be obliged to them for departing from the usual Ro[u]tine. The British Packet is to sail on the 3rd of July & I propose sending the mony by her in Specie to your Brother. The Amot of my Cash on Hands is about 120 Dls. The Balance I shall borrow of some acquaintance. In the mean while you will be so good as take the Occasion by first Post of sending on your obligation to the Post Master for conducting the Mail as proposed. Send also a Certificate from the Post Master or his Deputy at Washington that the Mail was properly & duely carryed by your Order & at your Expence, or to this Amount. It may not be amiss for you to send Duplicates by different Posts lest another should be lost. And you may guess that I should feel awkwardly to be 3 or 4 Weeks without Cash, but as I conceive that your Brother might have similar feeling I shall in the first Instance send him the Cash & trust to incidents. Capt. Collins is to send me some naval Stores to Philad. but they may not be there for some Time, & I expect a Dividend in this City of some 200 Dls or more of a Bankrupt Estate but I have expected it for 3 Years and more, so much the worse is the Chance you will say. I think it will eventually come, but a Decision in Chancery is to be had first. I count upon an Answer to this Letter in 4 Weeks or near that Time not sooner, therefore it is that you cannot send the Vouchers before the Packet sails. I have just recd a Letter from Mr Peterson of Yorkshire expressing his Wish that Mr Thos Blount would put it in his Power to serve him. But he who imports dry goods among paper mony is throwing Spirits into the fire that he knows must be consumed. I think Thos had much better try to man the Dutch Smack; with moderate Stone Ballast she will sail well.

I am Dr sir Your obedt servt,

Hu Williamson<sup>1</sup>

P.S. Mr Hazard has promised to send you by this days Post a Copy of the Contract that you are to sign. On its arrival I will take Care that he signs one if usual or necessary.

RC (Nc-Ar: Blount Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Williamson also wrote the following letter to Blount on June 10.

"This will be handed you by Mr Marcus George who goes to N Carolina with the Expectation of being employed as a Teacher in some private or public Institution. Mr Marcus who has been educated for Priests Orders brings with him the most ample Testimonials concerning the goodness of his morals as that he has lived a blameless exemplary Life. He has been very well educated in the several Parts of Learning that are usually taught in Colleges and seems to be well versed in Mathematics, Astronomy & natural Philosophy. He appears withall to be a modest young man & to possess liberal Sentiments. After what I have said I think I had best not mention either his particular religious persuasion or the Country that gave him Birth. I fear that the Trustees are not ready to employ a Teacher at Greenville but I am persuaded that Mr George may be well employed either at Warrenton, at Hillsbro, or some other Place that is not in a sickly situation. He will need a Horse that he may leave the flat Country before the sickly Season advances and some of your Jockies will try to cheat him; from all such Sharpers I hope you will protect him till he has had a little Time to acquire Horseical Knowledge. I conceive that he will buy cheapest for ready Paper Mony, having first sold his Specie for Paper, but of this you can inform him best. I heartily wish that Mr George may soon get a good School for I verily believe that he will prove to be a man of Abilities, of good morals, a good member of Society and a most useful Teacher." Blount Papers, Nc-Ar.

## Nathan Dane to Rufus King

Dear Sir:

New York, June 15, 1788.

I enclose to you a letter which was handed to me to forward. The principal object of attention and enquiry is the Virginia Convention.<sup>1</sup> But I need not add on this subject, as I presume the enclosed letter will give you all the information of any importance to it, which, at present, can be obtained. The members of the convention in this state meet this week. The result of their doings I must leave to time to discover. It must be an undesirable thing even to have R.I. out of the union, much more N.Y. The opposition in the latter state appears to be (many of them at least) sensible of this: from this and other circumstances I can by no means conclude, at present, that N.Y. will not keep herself in the Union.

With the highest esteem & regard, yours, &c.,      N. Dane.

MS not found; reprinted from King, *Correspondence* (King), 1:334.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps James Madison's letter to King of June 4 or 9, for which see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:76, 102.



## Nathan Dane to Caleb Strong

Dear Sir

New York June 15. 1788.

By the inclosed paper you will see how affairs stood in Virginia relative to the Constitution on the 4 instant.<sup>1</sup> I need only add that the extracts of letters mentioned in this paper are genuine, and from originals which I saw—and them from men whose information, I suppose, may be relied on. I yesterday saw a letter from a member of that Convention dated the 6th instant in which he states that the prospect of adopting the Constitution increases—but adds that nothing can be said with certainty.

The members of the Convention in this state meet this week—46 against—19 for the Constitution—at least this seems to be agreed by both parties. Notwithstanding this inequality I think, all things considered, we ought not to conclude that N.Y. will not keep herself still in the union.

Nothing of importance occurs here which you will not see in the newspapers.

By the post by which this goes we write to the Governor<sup>2</sup> respecting the boundary line between the United States, Massa. & N.Y. which is a North and South line extending from Lake Erie to the North boundary of Pennsylvania. I think that Hutchins will faithfully run this line, and as it does not respect a very large tract of land and cannot be very important to our State, my opinion is that it will be best for the legislature to authorise the Governor & Council to appoint an agent or not to attending the running the line, as on further inquiry may appear to be expedient or not.

With the highest esteem & regard, I am your obdt. humble Servant,  
N. Dane

RC (MNF: Strong Papers). Addressed: "Honorable Caleb Strong Esqr., Boston, or Northampton, Massachusetts."

<sup>1</sup> For the debates in the Virginia Convention through June 4, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 9:887–943.

<sup>2</sup> This letter from Dane and Samuel A. Otis to John Hancock has not been found, but for the subject at issue see Charles Thomson to Thomas Hutchins, June 12.

## Samuel A. Otis to Theodore Sedgwick

Dear Sir

New York 15th June 1788

Mr Maddison who you know with the endowments of a great Statesman & a fine Scholar, in the Study of men & books, possesses a cool, deliberate, cautious judgment, writes his friends in Congress in terms

very encouraging & amongst other Letters printed the following extract is more recent than the papers.

Richmond Friday June 6th

"[A] Symptomatic vote this day in favor of the question was taken; Nothing decisive however has taken place. Mr H<sup>1</sup> made a great effort yesterday & having spun his harangue until a late hour, an answer was prevented; His party were much revived, but I think they are less so this morning. The Governour is become active in favor of the adoption."

Refering you to the papers for other news I have the honor to be,  
Your most Huml Sert, Sam. A. Otis

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For Patrick Henry's "harangue" before the Virginia Convention June 5, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 9:951–68.

## Abraham Yates to Abraham G. Lansing

Dr Sir

New York 15 June 1788

Yesterday About Eleven the Governour With a number of the anti Members of Convention set out in A Poughkepsse Sloop And in the afternoon about 6:OClock the Federals under the Firing of Canon from the Battery (a Cerremoney Coll Bowman tells me your men with the Anties would not consent to).

I dont feel verry oneasy About Consequences. What steps the federals Mean to take in reality I cannot Imagin. It would seem from Common Conversation that they had some hopes that the Anties would be taken in by their Superior Ability Either to Adopt or to Adjourn because they suppose the anties after so many States Coming in will not *dare* to Reject it which they Suppose An Adoption with previous Amendments would In its Effect be. I remember Brattain Called out that we were poltroons but it had the Contrary effect to what they intended it should have—And it is possible it may have the same effect here.

I have seen the Votes for amendments the Enties [Antis] Carry up, I have had the Copy—made same Addition And sent it up to Yates & Lansing.<sup>1</sup>

The Piece is publish'd in two papers 50 Sets are gone to Pochkepsse 10 Sets (Of which I send you Six) I Reserved. There you will keep one set and Deal out the others to the friends.

I find Some Mistakes that Must be Rectified if they are Represented. The sixty Copies Cost me 30/. I shall send the papers to Morrow (I believe With Capt Dove) together with the ordinary Daily papers. Virginia the federalist are Confident will Adopt And so they say Will New Hampshire. The Members from this place seems Determined not to

Adopt (without previous Amendments) tho all the others should. I shall write from time to time If I have any thing Material.

Yours Affy.,

Abrm. Yates Junr

RC (NN: Yates Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Robert Yates and John Lansing, antifederalist delegates to the New York ratifying convention at Poughkeepsie.

## Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons

My dear sir

N York June 16th. [1788]

I would have written to you before this, but expected some private hand to carry the balance of the money due—with many thanks and acknowledgements for so much friendship and polite attention to us.

I have endeavored to get a Philadelphia bank note to enclose by post, but cannot of a less denomination than one hundred dollars—however some acquaintance will shortly be going to your City. I am told that Mr. OConner is in town, but we have not yet seen him. The enclosed letters are recommended to your friendly attention.

I am not a little happy that the important business of the proposed Constitution is going on so well in Virginia. Governor Randolph's incantation, 'tho embarrassing enough with respect to himself, may produce some pleasing consequences.<sup>1</sup>

New Hampshire will certainly adopt the system. About two thirds of this state are at present in opposition—but the federal members expect to convert a great number—and indeed from good authority I am told that Governor Clinton thinks it absolutely necessary that N York should adopt the measure also. Governor Collins and some of the leading men of Rhode Island are advocates for the plan now. From the appearance of things taken altogether we have good reason to conclude that the union will be complete.

No Intelligence from Europe. With my best regards to all I am, my dear sir, Your very affect. humble servant,

C Griffin

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> An apparent reference to Gov. Edmund Randolph's lengthy June 6–7 "incantation" in the Virginia ratifying convention, for which see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 9:971–89, 1016–28.

## Edward Carrington to James Madison

My dear Sir,

New York June 17. 1788

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 6th of June<sup>1</sup>—it gives

great satisfaction not only to myself, but all the Freinds of Federalism to whom I have had an opportunity to commun[i]cate its contents. You very prudently hazard no decided opinions as to the event, but it appears to me that we may calculate with certainty upon a considerable Majority from the facts you communicate. It is impossible that the present critical state of the business, & the consequent responsibility of Virginia to humanity, for her conduct under such circumstances, should not have enclined most of the opposition, who can discern the hazards of persevering, to follow Governor Randolph in taking the other side.

The President has just shewn me your letter to him<sup>2</sup> mentioning your indisposition. I regret it much, but hope you have before this perfectly recovered, so as to resume your Station in the House.

The Convention of New York is now assembling at Poughkepsi—the Antifederalists who are indeed the Majority, have received a shock from the Accounts from Virga., but it seems they are so fixed in their principles that they will probably, at least adjourn without adopting the Constitution.

Present to our Freinds Innes & Marshall and beleive me to be my dear Sr. Your Afft. Freind & Hl St. Ed. Carrington<sup>3</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Probably the letter from which Samuel A. Otis took an extract for Theodore Sedgwick, for which see Otis to Sedgwick, June 15.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> This day also Georgia delegate Abraham Baldwin wrote the following brief note, undoubtedly in his capacity as the chairman of a recently appointed congressional committee. "Dear Sir, A Committee of congress request your attendance this morning at the city hall on some business referred to them by congress." Charles Roberts Autograph Collection, PHC. The letter was probably directed to the postmaster general, Ebenezer Hazard, and concerned a June 5 petition from a number of mail contractors that was submitted to committee June 6. See *JCC*, 34:207n, 273–74, 294–96. But Baldwin could also have been writing as the chairman of a committee to which a board of treasury report concerning a memorial of John Woods had been referred on June 13. *JCC*, 34:230n, 240–41.

## Edward Carrington to James Wilson

Dr Sir

New York June 17. 1788

When you left this City, it was understood by the Committee on the Memorial of the Mississippi & Wabash Companies, that you was to forward some additional papers from Philada. This has occasioned the business to be delayed. I suppose that unless an early decision upon the application can be obtained, the object of the Memorialists will be lost, & therefore take the liberty to inform you of the delay, in order that you may, either forward any additional papers you wish to have



considered; or inform the Committee that they may proceed upon what have been submitted.<sup>1</sup>

I am with great regard, yr. Most Ob. Servt., Ed. Carrington

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Wilson had submitted a memorial to Congress on May 2 asserting the claims of the United Land Companies of the Illinois and Wabash, promising documentation "touching the fairness of their purchases and representing their willingness in case they should be well founded to cede to the U S a great proportion thereof." The memorial was referred on May 5 to Carrington, Abraham Clark, Nathan Dane, William Irvine, and Stephen Mix Mitchell, who reported June 27 that members of the United Land Companies should submit to Arthur St. Clair (governor of the western territory) and Richard Butler (superintendent of Indian affairs) proof of their 1773–75 purchases and ensuing treaty with the Indians, and that St. Clair and Butler should report to Congress "a full State of their enquiry." Congress "postponed" or, in effect, rejected the committee's report on July 1. Wilson's memorial and accompanying petition were returned to him on March 22, 1790. See *JCC*, 34:133, 270–71; and Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 2:115–17.

## Nathan Dane to Theodore Sedgwick

My Dear Sir

New York. June 17. 1788.

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 9th instant. I have but one moment to write—and shall improve my first leisure hour to write to you more particularly.

You mention that it will be disagreeable to you to attend Congress in the present State of the Government. Sensible of this I have not urged your attendance—but I think by the first of August the organization of the New Government will be before Congress, it will be best then to have the States ful[ly] represented in Congress, tho. I conceive that business will not be attended with any gre[at] debate, or take up much time. My aff[airs] require that I should make a short visit to Massachusetts and return to Congress by the first of August. In my absence the State will be unrepresented unless you can find it convenient to attend Congress. I could therefore wish that you would attend as early in July as you can<sup>1</sup>—tho, there is no great deal of business to be done, but as unprofitable business may be agitated and brought forward I could wish the State always to be represented in Congress.

Your sincere friend,

N. Dane

[P.S.] I have Just seen a letter from a member of the Virginia Convention—(Madison) dated the 9th instant but nothing new<sup>2</sup>—the friends of the Constitution calculate on a majority—but do not Speak with certainty.

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Sedgwick returned to Congress July 31. Dane did not return home as anticipated, remaining in New York until at least mid-September. See *JCC*, 34:378, 522, 528n.

<sup>2</sup> For this brief June 9 letter from James Madison to Rufus King, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:102.

## William Bingham to John Nicholson

Sir, New York June 18th 1788

I herewith Inclose a Resolution of Congress on the subject of Pensions that have been, or may hereafter be paid, to Invalids by the respective States.<sup>1</sup> Likewise Copy of a Motion made yesterday in Congress, the Consideration of which I desired might be postponed, untill I could hear in what Manner it would affect the Interests of Pennsylvania.<sup>2</sup>

Your opinion on this subject, will much oblige, Sir, Your obed hble serv,  
Wm Bingham

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Addressed: "J Nicholson Esqr, Comptroller of the State of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia."

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Thomson to the States, June 14, note.

<sup>2</sup> Secretary Thomson did not enter this motion on the journals of Congress, but for his report "On the petition of L[loyd] Powell an invalid late of the Pennsylvania line stating that he has never recd. the pension allowed to invalids," the case to which it may have related, see *JCC*, 34:234–35.

## Cyrus Griffin to James Madison

My dear sir N.Y. June 18th. [1788]

We are all extremely uneasy at your Indisposition—how much to be regretted indeed! And particularly when such important matters are under deliberation—but I hope that kind Heaven has restored you before this day, to be a farther blessing and honor to your Country!

We are not very sanguine upon the event of the proposed constitution in Virginia—'tho your kind letters give us some degree of spirits. Above all things take charge of your health. Most affly.

C Griffin

[P.S.] A small North River Brig has just arrived from China with a valuable Cargo, but no Intelligence.<sup>1</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The arrival of the brig *Columbia* from a 5½ month voyage from Canton was reported in the *New York Journal* and the *Daily Advertiser* for this day.

## Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph

Sir,

New York June 19th 1788

I have delayed writing to your Excellency this week in hopes of being enabled to transmit the decision of Congress upon the application for an extension of the term allowed for exhibiting the the Accounts of the State against the United States.<sup>1</sup> This may possibly be obtained tomorrow, but as that is not absolutely certain I wait no longer for it. The Board of Treasury are forming a report upon Mr Dunscombs letter taken in conjunction with one they have received from Mr. Winder, and it is their intention, so to form the report, as that it may serve to remove, or reconcile, the difficulties existing between the two Commissioners, and I have some reason to believe they will also recommend a general extension of the time allowed by the ordinance, for a few months. Should this recommendation come from the Board, it is probable Congress will agree to it, but I must still repeat my former observation, that it will be best for Mr. Dunscomb to proceed to render the Accounts, in whatever arrangement they may be, throwing upon the other Commissioner the business of new statements, if such shall be necessary. The delegation will urge the decision of Congress upon this application, and upon its being obtained no time will be lost in transmitting it, together with the report of the Treasury Board.

I have the Honor to be, with great respect, Your Excellencies Most  
Obt. Servt.,  
Ed. Carrington

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For this application, see Carrington to Randolph, June 9, note.

## Samuel A. Otis to Theodore Sedgwick

Dear Sir

New York 19th June 1788

Unless the business of impeachment should occasion delay, The General Court will probably be upon the wing by the time this reaches you. I however think the papers containing all the news in this quarter will not be unacceptable.

I observe your intentions of being here by 1st August which will give me pleasure whenever it is effected.<sup>1</sup> The Kentucky interest pushes violently for separation—That of the Province of Main is a Subject which I have not sufficiently contemplated, having only glanced at it as something distant.

I am happy that any incident has prevented you from “suspecting neglect on the part of an old tried friend” than which nothing can be farther from the intentions of, Dear Sir, Yours very sincerely,  
Sam A Otis

[P.S.] You will make my Compliments to all friends, To whom havg written so frequently, no apology is needed.

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Sedgwick returned to his seat in Congress July 31. *JCC*, 34:378.

## Charles Thomson to the Board of Treasury

Gentlemen

June 20 1788

Pursuant to an Order of Congress I have the honor to transmit to you herewith enclosed a letter of the Committee of Congress at Camp dated 2 June 1780; for the purpose expressed in the order which is subjoined to the said letter.<sup>1</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, Yr obed. hu  
Ser, CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed letter from the Committee at Headquarters to Certain States, see these *Letters*, 15:225–32. For the subjoined June 17 order, see *JCC*, 34:234.

## John Brown to James Breckinridge

Dear Breckinridge

New York June 21st 1788

I this day rec'd your favor of the 13th Instant & am not a little alarmed to hear that the New Constitution still rests upon uncertain & precarious ground. Untill this Post we were flatterd with accounts that there was a decided majority on the federal Side but the Accounts this day rec'd leave the Event in a very doubtful situation in our estimation as I find it is in yours. I have written some time since to Mr Allen & Mr Walton also to Mr Fowler<sup>1</sup> to whom I pointedly gave it as my Opinion that it ought to be adopted without hesitation as the only means left to prevent Anarchy & Confusion & to ensure safety & importance to the United States. I also inclosed a pamphlet written in this place in which the Banefull Consequences of a rejection were pointed in Just



& lively Colours<sup>2</sup>—after this & the letters which I have written to the District I did [*not*] suppose that the Delegates from that Country could be at any loss with respect to my Sen[timents which] have been uniform upon that Subject since my arrival here. Before I left Richmond I view'd the plan as they do but my appointment has placed me in a Situation from whence I have been enabled to take a more extended view of American Politics & as I have frequently mention'd to you I have discover'd a total change so far as respects the Western Country especially with regard to the Mississipi. The Advocates for the proposed Treaty with Spain now plainly discover that the Cession of the Navigation of that River would not answer the end which formerly they had in View & many of them who were most disposed to sacrifice the Western Country are now by purchase of Lands & appointments to Offices become personally interested in supporting its natural Rights against arbitrary encroachments. I am well assured that a similar attempt will never be made even by the eastern States whose Interest will be most affected by the prosperity of that Country & most sincerely hope that the impression thereby made upon the Minds of our Western Members in Convention will not induce them to reject the proposed plan of Govt. upon the Adoption of which it is candidly my Opinion that the Happiness, Dignity & Glory of the United States depend. I have very little prospect of obtaining the Assent of Congress to the present application of Kentucky to be admitted a [member of] the Union. I expect you have seen the Resolution of Congress appointing a Commtee. to draw up an Ordinance for that purpose. The Comtee. have determined that there is no power for that purpose given by Articles of Confederation. I presume Kentucky will proceed to establish her independence as tho she had been admitted & will apply or not to the new Govt. as her Interest may dictate. If unanimity prevails in the District perhaps the present disappointment may be productive of good Consequences to that Country. But be this as it will I flatter myself that they would wish to see a Good Govt. established in the United States even though they should be driven out of the Union & therefore conclude that their Delegates will not decide against the proposed plan a measure which I fear would involve the Atlantic States in Confusion.

I am happy to hear of my Brother's [safe] arrival in Kentucky & that he is well pleased with the Country. I hope he will succeed—am also well pleased to hear that my Sister is married—am not acquainted with Doctor Humphreys but have heard him well spoken of. I wish some men of our female friends were disposed of to their satisfaction—is there any prospect of it? I expect to set out for Kentucky the last of next month—have some prospect of visiting Boston before that time. I enjoy my usual good Health. Adieu, Yours Sincerely,

J Brown

P.S. In Convention of this State there are two thirds Antifederal but will be gov'd. by decision of Virga.

RC (ViU: Breckinridge Papers in the collections of the Albemarle County Historical Society).

<sup>1</sup> Only Brown's June 5 letter to Matthew Walton has been found.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps John Jay's *Address to the People of the State of New-York, on the Subject of the Constitution* (New York: Samuel and John Loudon, 1788), which began circulating in April. See Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,175; and *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 17:101–19.

## South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Pinckney

Sir, Copy New York June 21st. 1788.

Your Excellency's letter of the 24th of May came safe to us, together with the Instrument of Ratification of the new Fœderal Government, by the Convention of our State, which we presented to Congress.<sup>1</sup> This very important Subject is now under deliberation in the Conventions of Virginia, New York & New Hampshire. The accounts of the first of these are rather favorable to the adoption of the Constitution, altho it does not appear that any certain Judgment can yet be formed—from the two latter nothing has yet reached us. We anxiously wait the issue of the negociation [wi]th the Creek Indians, & earnestly wish it may have the happy effect of stopping the farther Effusion of Blood & establishing a lasting peace.

We inclose your Excellency a Copy of late Resolutions of Congress fixing the mode of crediting the several States for Monies paid to Invalid pensioners, & limiting the time for applications to be put on the List.<sup>2</sup>

The State of Georgia has transmitted to Congress an Act of its Legislature offering a Cession of Western territory to the United States under certain conditions therein expressed.<sup>3</sup> This Matter has not yet undergone any Investigation in Congress, & of course the final ratification of the Cession has not been made.

The memorial of the District of Kentucky has been considered by Congress, & a Resolution passed in favor of the expediency of concurring in the proposed Measure: but difficulties having arisen with respect to the constitutional Mode of doing it, no farther progress is yet made in that business.<sup>4</sup>

We have the honor to be, very respectfully, Your Excellency's Most obedient servts,

(signed) John Parker

Thos. Tud. Tucker

Tr (ScCoAH: Governor's Messages).

<sup>1</sup> South Carolina's ratification was submitted to Congress June 6. See *JCC*, 34:208n.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Thomson to the States, June 14.

<sup>3</sup> For this Georgia cession, which was submitted to Congress May 29, see Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon, May 3, note; and Charles Thomson to George Handley, July 17, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> For the fate of Kentucky's application for statehood see Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3.

## John Brown to John Steele

Dr Sir,<sup>1</sup>

New York, June 22, 1788

I am informed by letter recd. from Mr Allen last post that you are at Richmond & presuming that you came thro Augusta I would thank you for any information you may have it in your power to give me respecting my fathers family & my other relations in Botetourt & Montgomery. You will excuse this trouble I hope when you are assured I have not recd. a letter from that quarter, since my arrival here. Any information you may give concerning my acquaintances in K——y will also be very acceptable.

We wait with great impatience to hear the determination of Virga. upon the new Constitution. It is supposed that its fate depends upon her Vote. We are told that the Kentucky Members are opposed. I flatter myself not generally. Those objections which respect the navigation of the Mississippi are not well founded. Nothing is to be apprehended in that quarter. I hope it will be adopted, as in my opinion the safety & peace of the United States depend upon it.

The Separation of Kentucky will not be granted under the present application.<sup>2</sup> Congress have determined that it is reasonable, and appointed a Committee to bring in an act for their admission into the Union. But the Committee are of opinion that there is no power delegated to Congress for that purpose by the present Confederation. In short it is I fear impracticable to remove the objections suggested by the contracted policy of the Eastern States, who had rather risque the Union than lose what the[y] Call the Ballance of Power. We must act for ourselves—Assure our independance—frame our Constitution, & apply to the new Govt. for admission into the Union as our interest & Circumstances may dictate. If we are unanimous and prudent, we have nothing to fear. Perhaps a rejection of our present application may be advantageous to the District. Her importance will in a short time enable her to prescribe her own terms of admission.

I enjoy my usual state of good health &c &c

Tr (KyLoF: Orlando Brown Papers). This Tr was embodied in the text of a letter to Brown of December 31, 1808, from J. Speed, Jr., of Natchez, Mississippi, who had made

a copy after being shown the RC by Colonel Steele in the context of a discussion of the Aaron Burr conspiracy trial.

<sup>1</sup> John Steele (c. 1755–1817) was representing Nelson County, Kentucky, in the Virginia ratifying convention at Richmond where he voted against ratification of the Constitution. In 1790 he became a member of the Virginia Council of State and served as secretary of the Mississippi Territory, 1798–1802, becoming acting governor in 1801. See *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 10:1668n.

<sup>2</sup> For which see Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3.

## Nathan Dane to Theodore Sedgwick

My Dear Sir,

New York June 22. 1788.

I convey to you the inclosed which came to hand by the post.<sup>1</sup>

I am sorry I have it not, as yet in my power to give you any certain information respecting the conduct of Virginia as to the adoption of the Constitution, from the complexion of the letters of both parties, all I can say is, I think it is probable, the State will adopt it—in either event the majority will be small.

This State is now in Convention, but nothing decisive has taken place—it was reported last evening, and I believe from pretty good authority, that the opposition has no thoughts of rejecting in toto—nor are they wholly fixed as to previous or subsequent amendments.

Congress have agreed that it is expedient that Kentucky be independant &c—thus far was thought by all the members to be prudent and politic, all circumstances considered—but as to its final admission, into the union or to independency or any further measures relative to the subject, I believe a very considerable majority of the members are of opinion that they ought to be left to the consideration of the New Government.<sup>2</sup> We have ten States in Congress and a member from Maryland and a member from Connecticut—P[ierpon]t Edwards. E. has been here about twelve or fifteen days<sup>3</sup>—from his general reputation as a lawyer of rather brilliant talents, gentlemen were led, I believe, to expect some display of abilities—from what little I have seen of him he appears to think and Judge like a man of a warm climate—he is not thought to examine his ground well before he takes it, and of course often will expose himself to cautious and discerning men opposed to him. I have often seen men who will shine at the bar; but never in a political sphere.

In the inclosed paper you will see the treaty lately made between G. B. & Holland. English politics have now acquired an intire [a]scendency in the Netherlands; and probably will keep it some time.

With sentiments of esteem & friendship, I am Dr. Sir, your's &c,  
N. Dane.



[P.S.] As I wrote to you last week on the Subject of our attendance in Congress<sup>4</sup> I need add nothing at present.

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> In his July 3 reply to this letter, Sedgwick observed: "I am glad to be informed that congress have no determination to admit Kentucky into the Union, because instead of congress possessing a power of authorising the dismemberment of the states, their entirety seems guaranteed, by the spirit of the confederation." Dane Papers, MBevHi.

<sup>3</sup> Edwards took his seat in Congress on June 9. *JCC*, 34:208.

<sup>4</sup> See Dane to Sedgwick, June 17.

## Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker

My dear Brother

June 23d. 1788. In Congress.

Your Favor of 6th June was deliver'd to me three days ago by the Boys<sup>1</sup> who had a short passage from Norfolk. It gives me great Concern to find that you had lately been very much indisposed. However they assure me that you are intirely recover'd & that you are now as well as you have been for several Years. May Heaven continue the Blessing of Health to you. I am happy to find by the Boys & by a Letter from Richard that you intend, if Circumstances will permit, to make a Visit to this Place in the course of the next Month. I need not say how very great will be my Satisfaction on that Occasion. I find that all your young folks are in good Health, which is a great pleasure to me. Dr. Johnson had fortunately return'd from Connecticut 2 or 3 days before the young Gentlemen arrived. I have been with them to him, & they are now gone to College to give an Account of their Progress. As their Bedding is at Princeton it will be some days before they will get fixt in Lodgings at College. Your Letter to Mr. Constable I have not yet deliver'd as he was out of Town, & I did not know of his return on Saturday until late. The Boys, however, have been with him with a Letter they had to deliver. We have a Report this Day that your Convention had taken the Question for Adjournment, which had pass'd in the Negative by a Majority of Eight, & that the final Question on the Constitution was to have been put on the 21st Inst.—that the Question for Adjournment had been moved by the Opposers of the Constitution. If this Account is true, I presume that there is no Doubt of the Decision in favour of the New System. No Accounts from Bermuda since my last Directed to you at Richmond.

My best regards to your dear Children, Miss Rhind & other Friends. I am, My dearest Brother, Yr. most truly affect.,

Tho. Tud. Tucker

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, St. George's stepsons, for whom see Tucker to Tucker (2nd letter), April 17, note 3.

## Hugh Williamson to Joseph Martin

Sir New York 23rd June 1788

On the middle of May I arrived here. I had then been 3 Years out of Congress and could not have taken my seat sooner. Doctr. White had been gone a fortnight before my arrival and an Agent had been appointed for the Southern Department.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the appointment is said to be meerly temporary, but no body here has ever attempted to convince me that the Appointment was prudently made. It is alledged that the Agent appointed, as in all appointments formerly made, is altogether unacquainted with the management of Indians. Having a full Persuasion that you have a considerable acquaintance with the Indians and Interest among them, I wished to see you in that Department, but the Door seemed to be shut; there was however one mode remaining by which our State at least might have the benefit of your Influence among the Indians, this was by giving you the separate Charge of the Cherokees &c. Mr Carrington of Virga and Mr Brown, a lawyer from the Western Part of that State, were both informed of your attention to Indian Affairs and zealously promoted this measure, but my Colleague Mr. Swan who had been inoculated could not attend steadily in Congress till on the last Week and on Friday last you was chosen.<sup>2</sup> While the Agent formerly appointed for the Southern Department continues, you are to hold a subordinate Place, but to receive your Instructions from Congress with the Allowance of 900 Dlrs per Ann. I think it prob[ab]le that on the next Year the whole Duties of the Southern Department will be in your Hands, for I am persuaded that on the Remr. of this Year we shall have the satisfaction to find that the Indians under your Care conduct themselves without Offence to the Citizens of the United States. I hope in particular that our Friends in Davidson County will experience the Benefit of your attention to the safety of themselves, their wives & Children.

I beg you to observe that I have no sort of Claim to thanks for any attention I have shewn to this Business, for in all votes that I give, as a servant of the State, I am careful not to be influenced by private attachments; I constantly wish to promote such men to Office as I think will serve the public best. If you should be the means of saving the Lives of any of our fellow Citizens I shall have the Reward that I covet,

the approbation of my own Mind. Wishing that your appointment may be productive of Benefit to the State and Honor & Profit to yourself I am Sir, Your most obedt servt.  
Hu Williamson

RC (WHi: Draper Manuscripts, Tennessee Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the appointment of Richard Winn as superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern department, see Charles Thomson to Winn, March 1, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> For Martin's June 20 appointment as "Agent for the Cherokee Nation of Indians," see Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph, June 25, note 2. For Martin's previous experience in the southern department, see these *Letters*, 22:138n, 286–87, 294.

## Abraham Yates to Abraham G. Lansing

Dr Sir

23 June 1788

This I mean shall lay on my table to put down Matters as they Occur to me.

I have with me the News papers I prosecuted upon in expectation to Speak to the Governour and Jones upon that Subject but I did not find an opportunity and therefore Now Return them.<sup>1</sup> Your Brother Sander May prepare in the Mean time a Declaration But before it is made a Record it will want more Consideration than at this Day can be aforded Either by myself or frinds. I met Claxton (the printer) in the street 8 or 10 Days Ago, who was very importuning that I Should withdraw the suit or discharge him from it. I should by no means consent to withdraw it. I told him that I should by no means consent to withdraw it, and to discharge him was not possible without distroying the suit. He then told me some publication would, he supposed, answer the end of a verdict (here I suppose he meant a sort of recantation). I told him I supposed not—he said I would in the End find that the Characters of those that published were insignificant and were hardly Worth my Notice. I Answered, that that might be, but they were the ostensible or tools only. If I see him again I shall Continue the Conversation. I tell him that I dont want to injure him no farther than is absolutely necessary to the prosecution of the suit but the real authors shall come forth tho it should prove his ruin. He Complains that it has proved his ruin in some measure already that he has been Obliged to hire himself to London to work for my work and ten more.

The Mortgage of Greveroot I shall be Able to do nothing with here. I beleve I will at the End be obliged to publish and sell it at vendue for I am determined it shall not remain so.

Tho. Witbeek has been with me says he will not be able to pay untill August Next. I Shall be well satisfied if he does then.

When I went from home the family were in distress About A Servant I have heard nothing of it since. Has the Affair of Waldren succeeded? if not has he paid? I mean to buy A Wench and if any Suitable one

Comes for sale I would have you buy her: I shall try to Muster up Money one Way or other.

Have you got any Money in since I left you. I Intend soon to Oblidge Van Engen, Van Loon, Van Benson, & some others to pay. As soon as the next harvest is in, the wheat there is then to Spare before the New Wheat Can be brought Down I suppose will be the time to sell the remains. The time probably is Already past, But I would always reather venter that, you have sometimes Mis crops or Blasted.

I have Wrote sometime Ago in respect to little Jane.<sup>2</sup> I Wish to know what determination there is upon it. This I dont mean, as a Stimulus to send her down, the propriety of that Measure I leave entirely to Mrs. Yates & Susan. I Mean if it should be intended to send her down then the sooner the Better because I should wish that She should be here three or four Weeks and if then I should return I bring her up with me. If she does not come I wish she could be kept to her books More than she has the last year. It appears to me she has not made the progress that Yates has; I have no Opinion of her going into Latin, let her learn to Read, Write and Cipher and if she gets more let it be french. At all events let the World and her troubles go as they Will the Education of the Children should be attended to. Forget what Estate you Will unless the Children knows how to use it, it is a Chance if it does not at the End injure them, therefore A Child should be brought up to learning Parsimony and with it to use Oeconomy; and to be as free as possible of affectation. By the one they will be enabeled to do their Business so as not to be Imposed upon by the Second. If it be necessary they will be able to live of[f] little and by the last they will be Considered reputable in Every Stage of life fortune will throw them. The vessel just goes of[f] yours &c.

Abm. Yates Junr

24 June 1788

RC (NN: Yates Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Relevant to this paragraph, Lansing penned the following endorsement at the top of this letter: "delivered the papers referred to Sanders Lansing with directions to draw Brief &ca, 28 June 1788. AGL."

<sup>2</sup> That is, Lansing's daughter, and Yates' granddaughter, Jannetje Lansing (1780–1830). Claude G. Munsell, *The Lansing Family* (New York: Privately printed, 1916), p. 48.

## William Bingham to Benjamin Rush

Dear sir,

New York June 24th 1788

The Accounts conveyed to you in a Letter from Mr Corbin<sup>1</sup> were very flattering, & I am much indebted to you for the Communication.



But I am afraid his Sentiments received an Impression from his Wishes, & were not grounded on any rational Hope of Success. However, by the Time this Letter reaches you, the Dye will be cast, & you will be acquainted probably with the Event.

I am by no means free from Anxiety on the subject of New Hampshire, altho the most recent Advices from that State leave little room for doubting her Assent. As for New York, her unqualified rejection may be relied on.

If a ninth state Should not accede before the 4th of July, your Procession will probably not take place, but be reserved untill Some future Day; The Politics of No Carolina will receive a Tincture from the Act of Virginia, & in Case the latter Should reject, I Shall entertain little Hope of the Accession of the former.

Please to make my respectfull Compliments to Mrs Rush & believe me with sincerity & Esteem, Dear sir, Yours &c, Wm Bingham

RC (PHi: Alexander Biddle Collection).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Francis Corbin (1759–1821), a member of the Virginia House of Delegates and a staunch federalist. Rush, *Letters* (Butterfield), 1:420–21, 427.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir      Circular      Office of Secretary of Congress, June 24th. 1788.

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed An Act passed this day by the United States in Congress Assembled granting farther time to the States for exhibiting to the district commissioners their respective accounts against the United States, and for sending in the vouchers or other testimony to support the same.<sup>1</sup>

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most Humble servant,      Cha Thomson

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed resolutions allowing the states three additional months for submitting their claims to the commissioners appointed to settle the states' Continental accounts, see *JCC*, 34:262–63. See also Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph, June 9, note.

## John Brown to Archibald Stuart

Dear Sir

New York June 25th. 1788

We wait with fear & trembling to hear the determination of Virginia respecting the new Constitution. Both Federalists & Antifederalists agree in opinion that its fate depends upon her decision. Accounts

recd. by last Post leave us in great uncertainty with respect to the event. In Convention in this State there are at least two thirds Antifederal or such as will insist upon previous amendments should Virginia do the same. We have no certain information from N Hampshire but the general opinion is that she will adopt it without previous amendments. If it should not be adopted I fear the Consequences will prove ruinous to the Union.

I do not expect that Congress will assent to the Independence of Kentucky agreeably to the Acts of Separation passed by Virginia. A Resolution has passed appointing a Committee to bring in an Ordinance for the Admission of Kentucky into the Union in a mode conformable to the Articles of Confederation. The Committee are of Opinion that there is no power vested in Congress for that purpose & that nothing further can be done under the present application than to report an Additional Article granting such powers to be referred to the different states for their ratification. This will not answer our purpose as the Compact between the District & Virga. will cease on the 4th of July if not ratified by Congress. The Eastern States are opposed to the measure least another Vote should be added to the Southern States. Others are opposed least it shd embarrass the New Govt. Kentucky must & will be independent.

I have not heard from my relations in Rockbridge since I left Richmond. Pray write to me fully.

I am in great haste, yr mo obt

J Brown

PS. We this moment are informd that N Hampshire has adopted the N. Con[s]titution. *Good News.*<sup>1</sup>

RC (ViHi: Archibald Stuart Papers). Addressed: "Archd. Stewart Esq, In Convention, Richmond, Virginia."

<sup>1</sup> The Constitution was officially adopted on June 21 when New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify by a vote in convention of 57 to 47.

## Edward Carrington to James Madison

My dear Sir,

New York June 25. [17]88

I was honoured with your favor of the 13th Instant.<sup>1</sup> I hope the Kentucky Members must have seen that all the objections which have been brought forward by the Antifederalists, upon the ground of the Mississippi are fallacious. Mr. Brown, our Colleague from that Country, is fully convinced of this, and has written to that purpose, to some of the Gentlemen who are attending in convention.<sup>2</sup> I should suppose that his opinion must have weight, as he is zealously attentive to the Interests of the Western settlers.

But little discovery has yet been made of the turn likely to be given to the business in the Convention of New York. The inclosed papers contain the Speeches of the Chancellor for, and of Mr. Lansing against the constitution.<sup>3</sup> Were an Assembly collected disposed to profit by discussion, I would not wish a better advocate for the adoption than Mr. Lansing. Present me to my Freinds & believe me to be, with great sincerity Yr. Freind & HI St., Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, John Brown to Matthew Walton, June 5, to John Steele, June 22, and the preceding entry.

<sup>3</sup> For the speeches of Robert R. Livingston and John Lansing on June 19 and 20, respectively, see the New York *Daily Advertiser*, June 24.

## Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph

Sir,

New York June 25. 1788

I have the Honor to inclose to your Excellency the resolutions of Congress passed yesterday in consequence of the application of Virginia for an extension of the time for exhibiting her accounts against the United States.<sup>1</sup> I hope the time now given will be fully adequate to the object, especially as the second resolution clearly opens the way to the admission of evidence for a very long time after the accounts are rendered—this however depends greatly upon the commissioner on the part of the State—a man of capacity and an accommodating disposition may remove difficulties which to one of another discription might stand as insuperable obstacles. I own that to me the ordinance appears to be calculated, if properly understood, & acted upon with industry, by the State Commissioners, to procure tolerably equal justice to all the States.

In order that every possible misunderstanding may be removed in Virginia I do myself the Honor to accompany the resolutions with a report of the Board of Treasury which is pretty full upon Mr. Duncombs letter.

I beg leave to assure your Excellency that upon the present occasion a very liberal respect has been paid to the application of Virginia by both Congress & the Treasury Board, as no request of the kind has come from any other State, and the general terms of the Resolutions have been adopted only to take off the inconvenience which might have resulted from the example of a special indulgence.

In consequence of your Excellencies intimation upon inclosing to the delegation Colo. Jos. Martins letter, we laid the whole of your communication before Congress, and it has been resolved that an Agent be appointed for the Cherokee Indians, whereupon Colo. Martin was

elected to continue in Office for Six Months from his entering upon duty.<sup>2</sup> I have advised the Secretary at War to forward his communications to Colo. Martin, through the hands of your Excellency.

I have the Honor to be, with great respect, your Excellencies Most  
Obt. Servt.,  
Ed. Carrington

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Carrington to Randolph, June 9, note; and Charles Thomson to the States, June 24.

<sup>2</sup> On May 20 the Virginia delegates had laid before Congress Randolph's May 9 "intimation" and a March 13 letter from former Indian agent Joseph Martin concerning Cherokee unrest which had been referred to secretary at war Henry Knox to report. Knox heeded Martin's suggestions and recommended the appointment of a special agent with authority to reassure the Cherokee of Congress' pacific intentions, to help them resist Creek blandishments to make war, and to attend with them and commissioners from South Carolina and Georgia a general treaty under the supervision of newly-appointed southern Indian superintendent Richard Winn. Congress debated Knox's report June 19 and elected Martin "Agent for the Cherokee Nation of Indians" the following day. After receiving further letters from Martin, Congress also appointed him agent for the Chickasaw Indians on August 20. See *JCC*, 34:165n.1, 182-83, 241, 247, 432-33; *PCC*, item 71, 2:593-600; and Charles Thomson to Winn, March 1.

## Virginia Delegates to James Madison

Dr Sir,

1/2 after 12. June 25. 1788

The Inclosed this moment came to hand<sup>1</sup>—contemplating the critical State of the subject it concerns in Virginia we thought it best to dispatch it by express, rather than depend on the progress of the post. We have the Honor to be Sir, Yr. Most Obt Servts.

Ed. Carrington

J. Brown

C Griffin

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Addressed: "The Honble. James Madison, in his absence, Governor Randolph in Convention, Richmond." Docketed: "Saturday 28th Inst, forwarded from Alexandria by Your Hum Servt, D Henley." Written by Carrington and signed by Carrington, Brown, and Griffin.

<sup>1</sup> This enclosure, which is in the Madison Papers, DLC, was a June 21 letter from John Langdon to Alexander Hamilton informing him that the New Hampshire ratifying convention had just adopted the Constitution by a vote of 57 to 46. On the verso is a June 24 letter of transmittal from Philip Schuyler to Madison written on Hamilton's behalf and forwarded by stage. See Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:34-35; and Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:171.

This day South Carolina delegate Thomas Tudor Tucker also conveyed the same information to his brother in Virginia, St. George Tucker: "This moment we have Accounts that New Hampshire has adopted the Constitution 57 to 46." Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW.



## Paine Wingate to Hannah Wingate

My dear friend

New York June 25. 1788.

I am very happy at this moment having within the hour past received the good news of New Hampshire adopting the new Constitution. This is an event of great consequence & diffuses universal joy. The nine pillars are now erected, upon which the new building will stand, even if there should be no more props added; but we hope yet for all thirteen states in due time, which will add stability & beauty to the fabrick. You will excuse my filling any part of my letter with politics to a lady. I write from the fulness of my heart & what possesses my mind at this juncture. I also know that you are a mighty political madam, & a staunch federalist. Pleasures you know, (at least some of them) must be mutual in order to be exquisite & I am perswaded that you will chearfully partake with me in this, altho I would not ask for a participation with you in some others. My ——— very justly claims a monopoly with me in certain pleasures, in which I perfectly agree with her, & it is with reluctance on my part that distance deprives us for a short time. You say that *somebody* thinks it a long time. I am sure the mortification on that part is not greater than on mine. I hope that my absence will be recompenced by an increased happiness at my return within about two months or less. As you are pleased to use a little smutty talk some times, so I hope that you will excuse me if you should conceive a small appearance of it in what I have suggested. I do not desire that you would shew this letter to any body except to my wife, who has my free consent & desire to see all that I write & to know *all* that *I do* and whom I wish to partake with me in all that I enjoy. This I am sure you will say is making a very suitable return for all her kind thôts & wishes for me.

As Capt. Jona Wiggin I doubt not voted for the new Constitution please to give my affectionate regards to him & tell him that I thank him for his services & congratulate him upon the event. I must now turn my attention to your letter, or else perhaps you will be affronted again & say that I do not take due notice of or answer your very agreeable communications. Last evening I had the honor of receiving your very kind favor of the 15 Instant, & be assured that it gave me the greatest pleasure next to that which I received from the other letter which accompanied it. That was from one whom I very justly prefer letters from, & if you should think that I am partial, you will at the same time allow that I have very good reason to be so, from a like partiality to me. You observe in the beginning of your letter that you had been "at meeting all day." This I suppose was the most remarkable news you could tell & what you thôt would be the most acceptable to me to hear. As you had just retired from your devotions, & I hope

under the good impressions you had so lately received, I conclude that you would write me nothing but what was true. For this reason the account you give of a certain person's constancy, affection & concern for me, & desire for my return, must be very pleasing, tho' I would not have it give a painful anxiety. However as that person expresses some jealousy that you write what you ought not, I cannot but suspect a little your veracity. I know that you can to make a good story lye a little (asking your pardon). Upon other occasions I have a great regard for your word. I have not a doubt of the truth of what you say of the two poor nieces of yours & of their husbands. Nor of the wood chuck & the pigs & other increases of your domesticks. As to the small pox I dont know how you would do about that if it might have the same effect it had before. I thank you for your care of & good advice to George and shall think myself much obliged by the continuance of those favors. I have taken up so much of this letter already, that I have no room to give you any account of myself only that I am very well. I am much pleased to observe you in so good health & spirits & hope they will continue & encrease. There are a thousand pretty thôts & diverting pieces of information in your letter which I cannot now more particularly remark but do assure you that they are very acceptable. Shall be glad to hear from you frequently & am wh great esteem yours  
&c, P Wingate

RC (MH-H: Wingate Papers).

## Abraham Yates to Abraham G. Lansing

Dr Sir

New York 25 June 1788

I have yesterday sent you A letter by Capt Jacob Pruin which is Accompanied by a Pacquet Enclosing the papers upon which my suit Against the printers was founded. I think your Brother Alexander should prepare a draft of a Declaration that Yates, Lansing And Jones when they are at Leezure may Advise as I would wish that no pains should be spared to make the Most of it in the Declaration As well in Identifying, as to prepare for the Damages for the Whole Will depend upon the Declaration—And the Advise of those gentlemen cannot now be expected.

Whilst I am Writing Advise is brought (I Write this in Congress) that New Hampshire had adopted the New Constitution Which bread such an inattention to the Business the Southern Members to Write Letters to Verginia The Verginia Legislature meet the twenty third and by that time it is Supposed the Convention Will have Come to a decession so that by next Saturday it is expected that We Will hear

the Event and Others talking the Matter over (it being the Ninth State) that We Adjourned.

I Was Addressed by Several of the Members What Would the State of New York do now—I tell them the same they Would have done if New Hampshire had not Adopted it. They Will Adopt but I hoped not Without previous Amendments—That My Mind Was made up, that if all the twelve States Were to Come in that New York Aught not And I trusted they Would not—Whilst I am Writing this The Bells Are set Ringing for Joy upon this Occasion. I find Pruin is not yet gone. This therefore goes With him the Acts of the Last Session, And the Votes I have promised Mr Landon to Return him those I sent you from Poughkepsse Which You Will Do With all Speed to your Affy.

Abm. Yates Jnr

P.S. I also 4/ viz hony cook.

RC (NN: Yates Papers).

## Paine Wingate to Samuel Lane

Dear Sir

New York June 26. 1788.

By your favor of June 9th I recived the first intelligence from the General Court of New Hampshire after their meeting, and am much obliged to you for the trouble you took in giving me that early information. My wife informs me that you took particular pains to convey to me the letter; I am very much gratified by knowing how the elections have issued. I have since seen a New Hampshire paper in which there was a list of the court &c. I now Sir with particular satisfaction, congratulate upon the adoption of the new constitution in your State, and which has ensured its taking place. The latest news we have from Virginia is dated the 18 Instant. By a letter from Govr. Randolph we are told that then there had no question been taken to decide the sense of the Convention, but his calculation was that these were 82 for, 76 against & 10 doubtful. Another letter which is from an antifederalist of, the same date says, that there are reckoned 80 on each side as certain & 8 as doubtful. The event therefore is yet very dubious. It is supposed that they would come to a determination on Saturday or Wednesday last. Of New-York convention you will have as good an account as I am able to give you by the newspaper which I enclose. I hope that the spirit of lying & controversy upon this important subject will soon be done away, & that harmony and prosperity will attend the United States. We have no later intelligence from Europe than what has been in the papers. By them we have accounts of very distressing wars & other calamities. It is not unlikely that other nations may be in-



volved. The disturbances in France between the King & his Parliament & other powerful subjects is very considerable. Perhaps it may be a fortunate time for them to regain some of their ancient liberties. The spirit of American liberty which he cherished at a distance seems to have crossed the Atlantic & is not a little troublesome to him. It may perhaps be thôt wrong to suggest any thing to the reproach of our magnanimous & most christian ally, but I suppose the truth of the case is that he is a very weak & sottish prince. The latter infirmity, if he had not the former, you know will disqualify very soon a man from being active & enterprising. The Dutch are in a much worse condition than when they began their struggle & thousands of them have been obliged to fly their country & are ruined. It is very probable that those confusions in Europe may be the means of sending emigrants to America. Whether this will conduce to the real comfort & happiness of its present inhabitants I cannot say, but it will hasten on our population & make us a great if not a happy people. The western country which is yet to people is immense & I do believe it is a country in [*which*] the inhabitants can subsist themselves as easy as in any part of the world but they have many disadvantages. They are now settled in that country some of them a thousand miles from the sea. The Spaniards are on their West & South & tribes of savages in the midst of them & they will I believe have wars with both of them sooner or later. Congress have agreed to sell large tracts of that country & others are applying. I hope that it will yield some emoluments [emoluments] to the united states. The Congress will I suppose pretty soon take up the new System & prepare to put in motion. I hope that by the latter end of August we shall be able to adjourn. For my own part I am not for tarrying here any longer than is indispensable. I have my health & find my situation more agreeable than I expected. We have agreed that Kentucky should be independent in a mode conformable to the Confederation, but it cannot take place in the present situation of affairs.<sup>1</sup> I can add no more at this time but my best wishes to attend you & yours and am your obliged friend & humble Servant.

Paine Wingate

RC (MH-H: Wingate Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 34:194, 198, 287-94; and Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3.

## William Bingham to Tench Coxe

Dear Sir,

New York June 27th 1788

Your Several Inclosures in your Letter of the 18th Inst. were very flattering as our federal friends had begun to despond, from the



Tenor of the Advice that had been previously received from Virginia. Since the Adoption of New Hampshire, the Virginia Politics are not So interesting. The federal Edifice is now compleat, altho the Support of the other States will greatly Strengthen it.

If the Virginia Convention has not decided before the Ratification of New Hampshire reaches them, I have no doubt of a favorable Issue. I find by Letters received here from the antifederal Party at Richmond, that they are Sanguine, but not So confident as our Friends. This is a good Sign.

New York will reject—but no opinion can be formed of the Manner of doing it.

Yours Sincerely,

Wm Bingham

RC (PHi: Coxe Papers).

## Abraham Yates to George Clinton

D Sir

New York 27 [June 1788]

The measure about takeing up an other 1,000,000 of guilders in Holland has this day again been moved in Congress.<sup>1</sup> You Remember that last year also a New Loan of a Million was taken in Holland. It was then Said we were under an absolute necessity of Doing So upon the Account that the Bills of our agents or Managers in paying the foreign Debt were protested. Mr Jefferson in his Letter of the 16 March 1788 supposes from a Representation of the Board of Treasury of December that the Change of Government will make it Necessary to take up this Loan of an other Million.

I have again opposed this motion & given for Reason that suppose it impolitic to take up Loans in time of Peace, And that at a time we dont want it the Interest settled so as that there Can be no call untill A year hence, and to take up a Loan now for the year 1789, and 1790. Besides how will the anticipation of this Loan agree with the Ideas propagated for several years that our Credit was lost in Europe Because of the Defects in the Confederation. And now to Sponge upon the Credit of the existing Confederation for fear that we will not be Able to make payment under the New one.

There were ten states on the floor on the question. New York Devided and I am not sure wether Rhode Island agt. A Motion was for Reconsideration but the question was not put. I am apprehensive however that so soon as Nine states Can be got it will again be attempted. I shall however Watch the Motion and oppose it Which is the best I can do and let you know if What is done in it for it appears to be exceeding unjust to Load the dissenting States in the Confederation With a

Debt that if the advocates for the New Constitution Can make it work will be of no use to them.

FC (NN: Yates Papers). In the hand of Abraham Yates, and endorsed by him: "27 June 1788. To the Governor about the Loan."

<sup>1</sup> See Cyrus Griffin to Thomas FitzSimons, May 26 note; and Yates to Clinton, July 2.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Sir New York June 29th 1788

I am honored with your Excellencys obliging favor of the 21st instant and most heartily rejoice with you on the accession of our State to the new System of Government—the more especially as it is the ninth; which cannot fail of defusing general joy throughout our Nation and among the friends of Mankind in Countrys where freedom & happiness is less known.

Permit me, Sir, to Congratulate you on the renewed testimonial of public Esteem in your being again called by the voice of the people to the chief seat of Government in which I most sincerely wish you all the pleasure & satisfaction that can arise from Universal applause.<sup>1</sup>

I have the pleasure to inform you that by letters of the 20th instant received last evening from Virginia there is good reason to believe that there will be a majority of five or six of their Convention in favor of the question. Should this take place, North Carolina will undoubtedly follow—but what turn the question will take in New York is at present uncertain as there is still an inflexible majority in the opposition.

As it may at times be useful & necessary to make communications to the President which would be improper for the public Eye I must beg leave to request that my letters addressed to the president may be considered as private communications and such letters or such parts only made known to the Legislature as the public good may require. I am induced to make this request in Consequence of an Idea that seems to have obtained in our Court that all letters from Members of Congress to His Excellency the president are of a public nature and must be read in Court. I beg leave to observe that gentlemen here seem impatient to see the ratification of the new Government by New Hampshire<sup>2</sup> and will not add but to assure you of the Sincere Respect & Esteem with which I have the Honor to be, Sir, Your Excellencys Most Obedient & Most Humble Servant, N. Gilman

RC (Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

<sup>1</sup> Langdon, who had served a term as president of New Hampshire in 1785–86, was reelected over his rival John Sullivan on June 5. *N.H. State Papers*, 21:263, 294.

<sup>2</sup> For receipt of this ratification see Charles Thomson to John Dickinson, June 30; and New Hampshire Delegates to Langdon, July 2.

## Abraham Yates to Abraham G. Lansing

D Sir

New York 29 June 1788

I R[ecieve]d yours of 22 June Instant. The Letter I Wrote and Which before now you have Rd. In Respect to Mess. Jannet<sup>1</sup> Will be All that is necessary to Say upon that Subject: nor do I belive that the gentlemen of the Convention Will Request by [my] Attention At Poughkepsse, nor do I belive that the Attention of the Albany federalist Will Do them Any service. From every Information I git it appears that the Anties are neither to be frowned or flattered out of their op[p]osi[tio]n. The principle Object the Other side have in View is to get an Adjournment Which I Confess is the only Apprehension I have For if they Can Obtain an Adjournment the Members During That Time will be Seperated and open to their Management both in the News papers—and the State the Whole Time in Convulsions.

It appears to me the Fire Edge in this place is Wearing off very fast. It appears to one that the more serious Citizens get tyred of the furie and Noise. The Speeches of Lansing And Smith<sup>2</sup> meet in the Coffe House and Elsewhere With Almost general Approbation the Ringing of the Bells become reprobated as uselessly irritating And Improper in the Situation We are in.

Should Verginia Adopt and Wether they Will or not is problematical then th[ere wi]ll be New exclamations: Can our State Stand Alone? Is our state Wiser then all the Rest &a? If that storm is wethered I suppose they will see that it will be in vain to throw any farther Obstacles in the Way and they Will soon finish.

I belive my staying here May be of some Service. Last year there Was A Loan Made in Holland of 1,000,000 guilders. The Reason then given Was that Our Bills, to pay the Interest in Europe had been protested.

Now it is proposed to take up one Million more Because upon A Representation of the Board of Treasury to Mr Jeffries [Jefferson] that With the Change of Government We Will not be able to Make any Remittances till after the Year 1790.<sup>3</sup>

This Measure has been taken up twice And I have in both Instances opposed it (and Which they have not been Able to git Nine States)—Upon this Principle—That it is Impolitick At all events to take up Mony in time of profound Peace, And the More as there Will be no Interest Due untill June 1789—And What Will the World think When they Meet With the Observations that have been made for Several Years that our Credit Was Lost in Europe Because of the Defects in the confederation—if We now go and Sponge upon the Existing Confederation to set the Wheels of the New government Agoing, And then to grees them. I am well I hope the family is so I Remain Yours Affecy.  
Abm. Yates Junr

RC (NN: Yates Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Yates to Lansing, June 23, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> For the proceedings of the New York ratifying convention, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, volume XI (forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> See Yates to George Clinton, June 27.

## Charles Thomson to John Dickinson

Dear Sir,

New York June 30, 1788

I have the pleasure to inform you that authentic accounts have been recd. of New Hampshire having ratified the New Constitution, So that now nine states have adopted it.<sup>1</sup> It is hoped that Virginia will also adopt it and that we shall soon receive the agreeable intelligence from that state. There are now present seven of the adopting states and a delegate is hourly expected from Maryland; on his Arrival eight of the states which have adopted the Constitution will be represented in Congress. As Delaware is absent I wish you could by any means hasten on the delegates as I think it of importance that all the States which adopt the Constitution should be present when Congress proceed on the measures necessary for putting it in Operation.

With compliments to Mrs D & cousin Sally, I am, Sr, Yours affectionably,  
Cha Thomson

RC (PPL: Logan-Dickinson Collection). Addressed: "John Dickinson Esqr, Wilmington, Delaware."

<sup>1</sup> See New Hampshire Delegates to John Langdon, July 2.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Dear Sir,

New York July 1<sup>st</sup> 1788

As we know it to be the Wish of Govr. Huntington that a third Delegate shou'd attend Congress this summer, and as we believe that no one can leave Home with the same<sup>1</sup> as you; and as the important Question of organizing the New Government will undoubtedly be agitated in the Course of next Week; We take the Liberty of soliciting your immediate Attendance here. Mr Edwards will be at New Haven on Friday and will be very happy to accompany you to this City on Saturday or Sunday.

We are, Sir, with Sentiments of Esteem and Respect, Your very Hl Servts.,

Benj Huntington

Pierp. Edwards



RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers). Written by Edwards and signed by Edwards and Huntington.

<sup>1</sup> Edwards obviously omitted a word, such as ease or convenience.

## Benjamin Huntington to Anne Huntington

Mrs Huntington

N. York July first 1788.

Mr John Smith the Barber Sets out this Morning for Chelsea & is the Bearer of this. I arrived safely at Capt Hardings in 48 hours from the Time I left home<sup>1</sup>—had no fair wind and was in a heavy Rain about half the Way yet was very comfortable the whole Passage. Old Mrs Bates and her grand-Daughter Miss Betsey Bunce were on Board & Arrived Safe after an abundance of Sea-Sickness. Capt Culver will sail in four or five Days & by him I shall send you a little Flour. My Lodgings are Convenient & the House at Present Very full of New England Gentlemen who Incline to put up at a House of their own Country man. Capt Harding & his Lady are both in health & send Compliments &c. They have no Family but themselves and two Servants. I have seen Dr. Cogswell but have not found whether I Spell his Name right or not, have also seen Prosper Wetmore, & his Brother Robert & heard from our Friends at Stratford & Stamford &c all well. Mr James Davenport was here but one or two Days before I arrived & is Expected again soon. I have Inclosed the News & therefore have nothing to say about that Subject saving only that we expect News this Day from Virginia that they have adopted the New Constitution. By Capt Culver I shall Write some Directions about Sundry Matters which I had not Time to think of before I left Home. Give My Love to the Children. I am your,

Benj Huntington

RC (CtHi: Benjamin Huntington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Huntington, who last attended Congress in November 1783, took his seat in Congress this day. See *JCC*, 34:273.

## Jonathan Hazard to John Collins

Honored sir

New York July the 2d. 1788

Recd. your favour of the 16th of Last month and Noted the contents, I presented your complements to your friend Griffin with your Excuse for not writing, he redely Excused you, and at the same time observed he should be very happy to keep up that good harmony and corespondance between you that had hetherto subsisted, I am confident from every part of his conduct toward you, that he is your Real Friend. I

have Indeverted Ever since I have been hear, to find his mind in Regard to the constitution, but it hath been out of power, but I am Led to beleave he would have been as well pleased, had the constitution been Rejected as he now is, I have not had the pleasur to see Genl. Lamb only when he has been Ingaged in buyseness, and it would have been Intruding to have Intrupted at that time, therefor Intend an Interview with him when he is at Leishur. The Govr. and our friend Melangton Smith are now at Pokepesey at the convention, they have very hard work but I am Led to beleave that they will adobt the Constitution with previous amendments and if they do, it will opperate as tho it had been Rejected, the Express arived this day with the adobtion of Virginea.<sup>1</sup> I have Nothing further to Inform at present, when aney thing turns up shall take the pleasur to communicate Immediately. With gratude and Esteem I Remain, your Excellenceys most obdient Humble Servant,

Jona. J. Hazard

P.S. Pray give my best complements to your good famely and all frends  
Espeshaly my frend Holmes.

J H

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Although the June 25 ratification and June 28 covering letter from Edmund Randolph, president of the Virginia ratifying convention, had apparently arrived this day, they were not entered in Charles Thomson's despatch book or read in Congress until July 14. See *JCC*, 34:323n, *PCC*, item 185, 4:36; and *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 10:1542-63.

## New Hampshire Delegates to John Langdon

Sir New York July 2d 1788

We were honored last evening with the letter of the 25th of June, enclosing the ratification of the new federal Constitution by the State of New-Hampshire, and had the honor of laying it before Congress this day, upon which a Committee was appointed to report to Congress the necessary arrangements in order to carry into effect the new System of Government according to the recommendation of the general Convention of the States.<sup>1</sup>

We have the additional pleasure to inform you that by authentic letters received this day from Virginia, it appears that their Convention, on the 25th Ultimo, determined the Question in favor of the new government by a Majority of ten members.

With the highest Respect, we have the honor to be, Sir, Your Excellencys Most Obedient and Most Humble servants,

Paine Wingate

N. Gilman.

RC (NN: Emmet Collection, no. 9,580). Written by Gilman and signed by Gilman and Wingate.

<sup>1</sup> For these July 2 proceedings, see *JCC*, 34:281–82. For the report of the committee appointed for making the “necessary arrangements,” see John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

## Paine Wingate to Mary Wingate Wiggin

My dear Child

New York July 2 1788.

I now send you the little book which I some time ago mentioned to you, & gave you reason to expect. I think there are many useful sentiments in it, with which you will be pleased. No doubt the manner in which it is said to be found, is a fiction. Some suppose it was wrote by lord Chesterfield, but it is very immaterial who was the author, if it contains good moral instructions.<sup>1</sup> I have stuck into the Book a couple of pins, which I have sent to Sally, & desire you would deliver them to her as soon as you have opportunity. I have wrote to Sally informing her of the present. That to you & to her, I wou’d have you receive, not on account of their value, but as tokens of my remembrance & affection. I wrote to Sally upon Matrimony as I heard she was Courted.<sup>2</sup> And to be pertinent to your situation the subject of this letter to you, ought to be upon housewifry. How you discharge this new department of life I have not heard. I remember that you set out with determinations of correcting some of the mistakes of those you had received your education from; & That you would not betray a weak fondness & indulgence to the humours of Children, but preserve the dignity of parental authority. Perhaps experience may shew the difference between resolving & practicing. But you cannot judge of this matter decidedly until you shall have two or three turbulent boys to be fond of & yet to govern. I do not know how soon this may be, but if it ever should be the case, I hope you will have prudence to steer aright. As a mother in law you will consider that great attention is necessary to treat your little daughter properly. You will, now she is young endeavor to improve her mind with knowledge & to regulate her temper & inclinations so as shall be for her own happiness as well as that of her parents. And you will by degrees & in the methods least disgusting to her, lead her into the habits of industry & ingenious work. This will be for her reputation & amusement too, for I think that an Idle life is the most distant from satisfactory enjoyment. I must now give you a hint about your domestic business & oeconomy. You know your mother has set you a good example of this, & I think your natural disposition will induce you to imitate her therein. Prudence & good management are very expedient in young housekeepers. There is a wide difference between sordid meanness on the one hand & extrava-

gance and careless dissipation on the other. The good things of this life are designed for our enjoyment & that of our friends but decency & frugality are to direct. The early part of life is the most convenient time for making some savings. When people become older they are less disposed to business, & their expences are unavoidably encreased. But enough of this has been said. Wisdom is profitable to direct. I have a word to say about out doors concerns. How do your bees flourish? Have you good luck with your Chickens? Your mother tells me of a mighty improvement in raising chickens. That she has thirty under the care of one hen. This must be a pretty amusement. How does your Garden flourish? I do not think it is worth while for you to work in it much this summer. I hope you continue to go to meeting & to see your mother as you told me you did when you wrote to me. I shall endeavor to come & see you by that time your beach plumbs shall be ripe. I intended to have written to you on your birthday which will be on July 12, and congratulate you on that event, but as that time is near at hand you must receive this as answering that purpose. I wish you may live to see many such days in health & prosperity. You will remember the transitoriness of life & how quick we pass from one stage to another until we arrive at the close. I have wrote this letter in great haste not having time just now, & several other letters to write. I hope you will be able to read it. I enjoy my health very well, & am as well satisfied with my situation as I could be from home. You hear from me often & thô I have not written many letters to you I suppose you see those I write to others. I desire my love to Mr. Wiggin & to Polly, with whom I wish you long happiness & am your affectionate Father,

P Wingate

RC (MH-H: Wingate Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the *Letters to His Son* by the fourth earl of Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope (1694–1773), of which many editions had appeared since its original publication in 1774.

<sup>2</sup> Mary's sister Sarah was being courted by Josiah Bartlett, Jr. See Wingate to Sarah Wingate, February 23, 1788, note.

## Abraham Yates to George Clinton

Dr Sir

[July 2, 1788]

⟨A description of the Reception of the News of New Hamshire you have had in my former<sup>1</sup> which I Directed to Mr D Wit as I supposed that Letters between us (tho I have no reason but Apprehension only) Would be liable to at Least observations if not to other Abuse. L Hommedieu last Monday mentioned that he had from A Strong federal (Dr Tillotson) that the anties went upon A supposition that Virginia and NH both would Adopt: and that they were Determined that they would not adopt without Previous Amendments.⟩



*⟨The federalists notwithstanding had hopes that the News from N Hamshire Would have Struck a damp on the Spirits if not thrown the Majority on the federal side—but Mr Euger<sup>2</sup> (the Member from South Carolina) Informs that he was at Pogkepsse when the News arrived And that it made no impression on the Convention at all—So that they recur to their old hopes to git the Members Devided or to an adjournment. They seem to be Confident that the anties will not agree among themselves. Coll Lewis told me that he knew of two principal members that were of opinion that they by the Resolution of the Legislator of last February had no other powers but to Adopt or Reject. I tell him the federal Gentlemen had the Most Extraordinary Talents of Swallowing Cammels themselves and Recommg others to stick at nats.⟩*

I believe however that the Chief expectation is to git an adjournment by which they will have a farther opportunity to shew their dexterity at Management in [...] Woud [...] probably 10 States With the Members as Well as in the papers—for upon Desiring the Adjournment of the Convention the State would be in one Continual Convulsion. Willet told me to day that Brockholts Livingston Esqr had asked him to Subscribe to the expences of a federal Ship to be used in a procession the 4 July.

This very Day it has again been Moved In Order to Confirm a Loan of 1,000,000 Guilders Contracted for in Holland by Mr Adams in Case It shall be ratified by Congress.<sup>3</sup>

You Will please to observe that Mr Jefferson by a Letter of the 16 March 1788 He Writes that the Board of Treasury by their letter of December last that it Would be Impossible to make any Remittances to Europe the Ensuing year and that they must therefore Rely Altogether on the progress of the late Loan & a (A Loan made of 1,000,000 last year).

This Motion I have opposed—That I supposed it exceeding Impolitic to take up Loans in time of Peace And to pay for Interest that shall be Due only in the years 1789 & 1790. Besides how would this agree with the Ideas propagated for some years that our Credit Was Lost on Account of the Defects in the Confederation And now to anticipate and go Sponge upon the Credit of the Existing Confederation for fear that the New one would not Work.

FC (NN: Yates Papers). In the hand of Abraham Yates, and endorsed by him: "To the Governor About the News of N Hampshire and the Loan."

<sup>1</sup> Not found. There is no such description in Yates' June 27 letter to Clinton, the only other letter to him from Yates that is known.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Daniel Huger.

<sup>3</sup> Yates' reporting on this issue is suspect. The motion was simple and unambiguous—"That the contract made by John Adams. . .for the loan of one Million of gilders be ratified"—and it was adopted by a vote of 9–0, New York divided, Yates casting the only vote against it. See *JCC*, 34:282–83.

## Nathan Dane to Melancton Smith

Dear Sir,

New York July 3. 1788.

In my last letter<sup>1</sup> I briefly gave my opinion on the questions you Stated to me; now being more at leisure & Sensible that the peculiar Situation of our Government at this time is a matter of common concern and highly interesting to us all; and that we have the same object in view, the peaceable establishment of a general Government, on genuine federal and republican principles, I shall in this be more particular, and submit to your consideration several observations with that candor and frankness with which we have always communicated our sentiments to each other relative to the important subject in question.

The Constitution of the United States is now established by the people of ten States, and a day of course must soon be fixed, when all proceedings under the Confederation shall cease. The line of conduct which shall now be pursued by the three States which have not, as yet ratified is become particularly and deeply interesting to them, and to the whole Confederacy. As things are now circumstanced will it not be clearly for their interest and happiness, as well as for the interest and happiness of all the union to adopt the Constitution proposing such amendments as they may think essential. The situation of the States is now critical—as the Constitution is already established there can be no previous amendments; and a State which has not ratified, and wishes to be in the union, appears to have but this alternative before her; either to accede with recommending certain alterations, or to make them a condition of her accession; and the probable consequence of either Step must be considered. I take it for granted that New York and the other two States wish to form a part of an American Confederacy—the readiness with which they Joined in the revolution, and acceded to the articles of Confederation; their open and general professions, and their past exertions to the support of the union Justify this opinion. In all our late political discussions, a separation of the States, or Separate Confederacies, have scarcely, to my knowledge, been seriously mentioned. Admitting that Rhode Island, New York, and North Carolina all withhold their assent to the Constitution, and propose similar amendments, their situation is such, far removed from each other, and surrounded by ratifying States, that they never can think of confederating among themselves. Each one of them must be considered as Standing alone—but we have no reason to suppose that any one of those States has a wish to Stand alone, in Case she can Confederate on principles agreeable to her. If I understand the politics of these three States, they are strongly attached to governments founded in freedom and compact, and possess a Just aversion to those

which are the result of force and violence. They will, therefore, be the last States which will adopt measures tending to foment parties, and give passion an ascendancy over reason, or to hazard steps that may, in the end, lead to a civil war, and consequently to the Government of the prevailing party established by the longest Sword. It is not to be pretended that the ratifying States will have any Just cause to make war upon any non ratifying State, merely because she does not accede to to a national compact, where she has a right to act according to her discretion—nor ought we to presume that hostilities will be commenced by any party without some plausible or Just provocation. But the ratifying and non-ratifying States will immediately have opposite Interests, which, in the nature of things, they will pursue—the longer they shall remain separate the more their affections and freindship for each other will decrease—and counteracting laws and a disposition for coersive measures will take place—the affairs of the Country will have a propensity to extremities and a thousand accidents may give rise to hostilities. The question in the ratifying States being settled, it is probable the parties in them will gradually unite. In the States where the question shall remain unsettled, and the contest continue between the parties in them, as it undoubtedly will, in what manner they shall Join the union, they will grow more hostile to each other; and from what appears to be their present temper and situation, and if we reason from experience and from the character of men we must conclude, it is at least highly probable, that they will have recourse to arms, or to contentions extremely injurious to their common Interest, at no very distant period And what must be the issue of force, or of such contentions between the parties in any State is not difficult to foresee. If the other States should not interfere, those parties must decide their contest by themselves. If the party called federal Shall prevail, they bring the State into the Union Unconditionally, or establish a State Government of their own, probably, on their own principles. If the other party shall prevail they will keep the State out of the Union, unless the federal Constitution, which can hardly be presumed, shall in the mean time be made agreeable to them, and they will of necessity add a degree of severity to their laws and measures very incompatible with those principles of freedom they now contend for—this presents a disagreeable Scene in either event. But should the other States intefere, or a civil war by any accident become general between the advocates and opposers of the Constitution, throughout the United States, which is the probable consequence of any hostile beginnings, what must be the issue? our people tho enlightened are high Spirited—one party, when both are nearly ruined, may prevail, not in accommodating and fixing a government in freedom and compact, but in force and violence, and may we not expect a more severe high toned partial system established to secure the victo-



rious party, at least a system more despotic than the old one we lay aside, or the one we are adopting. Were there any great number of men heartily attached to the Confederation, their success might establish it—but this in its present form seems to have but few or no advocates. Were there any great number of men attached to it with certain defined Alterations in it, their success might establish it when so altered—but we have not agreed in those alterations—and if we may Judge from experience, and what appears to be the public opinion, it is more difficult to mould the Confederation to the wishes of the people than the Constitution—the Community in fact consists of two parties, the advocates, who are for establishing the Constitution in its present form, and the opposers, who generally if I understand them consider it as a tolerable basis, but as an imperfect and unguarded system unless amended. Were the advocates well attached to the system their success might establish it, but this is not the Case. We know that many of them and those too, who would have the most influence, from their abilities, address, and activity, in producing a Government, never will agree to a system so favourable to liberty and republicanism even as the one proposed, if by any means they can get one more favourable to themselves, and unfavourable to the body of the people. If the other party those who wish to have the system but amended, succeed, and they were agreed in the amendments their success might establish the plan so amended—but no set of amendments have been agreed upon, and different ones have been proposed by different Conventions. You will, therefore, I am confident, agree with me that the friends of liberty and of Governments founded in compact cannot reasonably expect any good consequences from force and violence—the very means are hostile to the end proposed. Our object is to improve the plan proposed: to Strengthen and secure it's democratic features; to add checks and guards to it; to secure equal liberty by proper Stipulations to prevent any undue exercise of power, and to establish beyond the power of faction to alter, a genuine federal republic. To effect this great and desirable object the peace of the Country must be preserved, candor cherished, information extended and the doors of accommodation constantly kept open. The votes of the people will I think avail them much more in establishing a government favourable to them—than any violent or forceable proceedings. It is to be considered that five States have adopted the Constitution without proposing any amendments—we have seen the amendments proposed in the Conventions of four States—and certain it is there appears to be too little in reality proposed to be gained by the amendments to Justify parties in those states carrying matters to extremities—Nor will any one, two or three States ever expect the others to meet them in amendments, but on the principles of accommodation. Whatever amendments any State may propose, I am per-



suaded you are too well acquainted with men, not to be sensible that passion, opinion, and self will must have a constant influence in their conduct relative to them, that when terms are rigidly insisted on by one party, they are generally opposed by terms rigidly insisted on by the other. It cannot be proper for any State positively to say to the others, that unless they precisely agree to the alterations she proposes she will not accede to the Union—this would be rather dictating—a state may take a question upon the Constitution simply as it stands and express its sense of it in it's present form—she may then annex recommended amendments and adopt it with them, or make them the Condition of her accession to the Union, I flatter myself, after a state has expressed her sense upon the simple proposition you will prefer the mode of adopting with recommendatory amendments annexed—the new system must soon go into operation and some of the most important laws be made in the first Congress, and essential amendments be recommended by it—the State that adopts this mode comes into the Union armed with the declared Sentiments of her people, and will immediately have a voice in the federal Councils—she there will avail herself of all her influence, and of the advantages of Accommodating principles in bringing the other States to Accord with her sentiments—whereas if she adopts conditionally She will not have a voice in those Councils during the most interesting period—party Spirit will, probably, reign in her bosom, and ill will constantly gain ground between her and the other States—And it is in my mind almost an absolute certainty that she must forever remain out of the Union, or relinquish some of her conditions. It cannot be presumed that any two of the three States will precisely agree in the same Alterations, and should they do it, it is not probable that all the States will agree exactly to them. There are many and able advocates for valuable amendments, and a good system of laws in every State and may they not prevail should all the States meet in the first Congress, but should some of them Stand out, and those in which those amendments and laws have the most friends—the federal republicans or men who wish to cement the union of the States on republican principles will be divided, and have but a part of their Strength in Congress, where they ought to have the whole. When measures of any sort become necessary in a Community, it is generally wise to take a part in them, and to bring them as near to our opinions as we can in the first instance, and I have ever thought since a federal Convention was agreed on that Rhode Island and certain individuals, who were appointed to that Convention, missed it exceedingly in not attending it. They might clearly, had they attended, have engrafted many of the principles and checks they now contend for, into the system—and have given it those features and securities which as it now appears, would meet the approbation of the people in General—they saw a Constitution of some

kind was to be made, and before it had taken a fixed direction was the time for exertions. You as well as others know it to be a fact that some parts of the Constitution most complained of, were obtained with much address and after repeated trials, and which never could have been carried had the States and members, I refer to, attended the federal Convention—for any State now to stand out and oppose appears to me to be but a repetition of the same error. I might add many more observations but I think I need not dwell longer on these points. Even when a few states had adopted without any alterations, the ground was materially changed; and now it is totally Shifted. Tho I retain my opinion respecting the feeble features, the extensive powers, and defective parts of the System, yet circumstanced as we are, I confess, I feel no impropriety in urging the three States to Accede. Men in all the States who wish to establish a free, equal, and efficient government, to the exclusion of Anarchy, corruption, faction, and oppression ought in my opinion to unite in their exertions in making the best of the Constitution now established; to preserve inviolate the liberties of America, and to promote the happiness of the people by Just and equal laws and an equitable administration; to add constitutional security to those liberties on every proper occasion are still the objects of all good men. This now appears to be the way to disappoint those men who discover a disposition to make a bad use of a Constitution in many parts not well guarded, and to use its powers to corrupt and selfish purposes—a good Constitution is capable of affording much security to the rights of the people, and ought to be aimed at with unremitted attention. But ought we to expect any Constitution under which the people may, with safety, relax in any considerable degree in their attention to public measures? can they be secure under any Constitution unless attentive themselves, and unless some of their able leaders are their real friends and their faithful guardians?

Tho I think our people have examined the system in question with candor and freedom and discovered a strong attachment to liberty—Yet I would by no means so far rely upon their exertions and vigilance as to lose sight of those Constitutional securities which may be obtained by time and experience—while we view the conduct of rulers with candor, we ought to watch their movements with an Eagle's eye, and guard and secure the temple of freedom with unceasing attention.

To conclude ought we not now to give additional weight to the plea in favor of the Constitution drawn from the peculiarity of our situation, and which when less urgent and pressing appears again and again to have saved the system! and tho the system may be abused by bad men, ought we not to recollect that The road to lasting fame in this Country has generally been Justice, and Integrity, prudence and moderation, political information and industry & that there is more than an equal chance that this will continue to be the case! Attempts

to palm upon our people vice for virtue, the mere shew of talents for real abilities, and the arts and puffs of party for a well earned reputation have generally failed—and what is wanting but to excite the attention of this intelligent people to render such attempts always unsuccessful? All these and many other considerations ought to have their Just weight in deciding the great Question before Us.

With esteem & regard, Your obedt. humble. servant,

N. Dane

A copy.

FC (MBNEH: John Wingate Thornton Papers). In the hand of Nathan Dane.

<sup>1</sup> Not found. Dane and Smith had been congressional colleagues for nearly three years, but the latter's service had ended in October 1787. Smith was at this time an antifederalist delegate at the New York ratifying convention in Poughkeepsie. Dane was replying to a June 28 letter from Smith which is in the Dane Papers, MBevHi.

## Charles Thomson to Samuel McDowell

Sir,

Office of Secretary of Congress July 3d. 1788.

In obedience to the orders of the United States in Congress Assembled, I have the honor to transmit to you herewith enclosed the proceedings of Congress relative to the Independency of the district of Kentucky.<sup>1</sup> From these you will perceive that though Congress think it expedient that the district be made a separate State and member of the Union, yet the present State of the government of the Confederacy renders it highly improper for them to proceed further than to express their opinion that the district ought to be an Independent member of the Union, as soon as circumstances will permit measures to be taken for that purpose; and to recommend as they have done to the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia<sup>2</sup> and to the inhabitants of the district so to alter their Acts and Resolutions relative to this matter as to render them conformable to the provisions in the New Constitution to the end that no impediment may be in the way of the Speedy accomplishment of this important business.<sup>3</sup>

I have only to add that from the 4th of March to the 30th of May, Congress for want of a sufficient number of States could not take up the Subject.

With great respect, &ca,

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Samuel McDowell Esqr., late President of the Convention in Kentucky." Endorsed: "N.B. a duplicate was transmitted July 9th. 1788."

<sup>1</sup> For these July 3 proceedings, see *JCC*, 34:287–94. For the background and context, see Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3; and John Brown to Archibald Stuart, June 25.



<sup>2</sup> This recommendation was forwarded this day by Thomson with the following letter to the governor of Virginia, Edmund Randolph. "In obedience to the Orders of the United States in Congress Assembled, I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed the proceedings of Congress relative to the Independency of the district of Kentucky which You will be pleased to communicate to Your Legislature, that, agreeably to the recommendation contained in the last Act of Congress, they may so alter their Acts relative to Kentucky as to render them conformable to the provisions made in the new Constitution." Continental Congress Papers, Vi.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson dispatched this letter under cover of the following July 4 note to "Brigadier Genl Harmar, on the Ohio, Fort Harmar."

"The enclosed contains despatches from Congress to the people of Kentucky, as they are important & should go in the safest & speediest manner I have put them under cover to you & have to request your care in forwarding them." This letter, which is in the Harmar Papers, MiU-C, is endorsed: "received July 16th—answered July 23. 1788."

And as a further precaution, Thomson sent a second copy of McDowell's letter with the following letter to Harmar on July 9. "The enclosed containing a duplicate of the dispatches for the Inhabitants of Kentucky, I take the liberty to address to you—And as they are in their nature important I have to request in case those I sent You on the 4th of this month are not already forwarded, to send on this by a trusty person as speedily as possible. In case the other is gone it may not be amiss to send on this also by some safe conveyance for fear of Accidents." Ibid.

## William Bingham to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir,

New York July 7th 1788

I received your Letter of the 3d Inst & Shall forward the enclosed Letter for Mr Adams agreeable to your Wishes.<sup>1</sup> The Point in favor of which you are Solicitous of engaging his Interest, will be determined, long before it will reach him, & I hope to your Satisfaction. A proper Attention to the Massachusetts Delegation in Congress, has not been wanting on this Occasion.

I agree with you in opinion that Prospects are very flattering—but to realize them we must not relax a Moment in our Exertions. The proper organization of the Government, the Institution of the necessary Departments, the Arrangement of the Offices &c will require much Time & Consideration & will greatly influence the future Operation of the System.

Your federal Procession will be a Triumph; Any of the other States, but an Ovation. Yours affectionably,

Wm Bingham

RC (PHi: Alexander Biddle Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Although Rush's letter to Bingham has not been found, his enclosed July 2 letter to John Adams is in Rush, *Letters* (Butterfield), 1:468–69.



## Jonathan Elmer to Joseph Howell

Sir

City Hall 7th. July 1788.

Inclosed are the vouchers of the pay & cloathing due to Ephraim Dayton late a serjant in Capt Hugg's company of Artillery. His indigence, infirm state of health & distance from the office have prevented his applying for a final settlement of his account before this time.

The state of New Jersey has allowed him the depreciation on the pay he actually recieved. By Capt Hubbels certificate there appears to be thirteen months in arrear & a deficiency in Cloathing. Please to settle the account as soon as convenient & favor me with the certificate of the balance due to him, which I shall take due care to have safely delivered.<sup>1</sup>

I am Sir yours &amp;c.

Jonathan Elmer

Tr (DNA: RG 93, 138:38). Addressed: "Commissioner of Army Accts."

<sup>1</sup> In his reply to Elmer of this date, Howell explained: "Serjant Ephraim Dayton the person alluded to in your letter of this date, is included in the account of the 2d Regiment of artillery and a certificate for the balance of cloathing due him, has been issued by this office to Capt. William Stevens agent to the said Regiment amounting to 13 88/90 Dollars.

"Altho' Capt Hubbell certifies that Dayton has only been paid in the Regiment to the 1st of March 1780, yet I beg leave to observe that the State of New Jersey has settled with their Troops & allowed their depreciation on pay to extend to 1st August 1780.

"The State of New York having considered this regiment as a part of the Quota of their state, have generally (if not entirely) settled with the individuals & issued their certificates for pay from the 1st of August 1780 to the 1st Jany, 1782. If serjant Dayton has not recieved his pay from the 1st of August 1780, to the day of his discharge I am of opinion he is entitled to it from the state of New York.

"The act of Congress of the 2d of November 1785 forecloses the claim in this office and no releif can be granted him by the commissioner of accounts unless by the special authority of Congress." Ibid., pp. 36-37. There is no mention of Ephraim Dayton in the journals or papers of the Continental Congress.

## Samuel A. Otis to John Adams

Dear Sir

New York July 7th 1788

Permit me tho late to congratulate you & your amiable Lady upon a return to your native Country,<sup>1</sup> The pleasure & delights of which you must relish peculiarly after so long absence. I have never been much of a traveler, but I can hardly conceive of a Country under all circumstances more eligible; And the prospect of public felicity seems the brighter from the accesion of ten states to a System which so far as I comprehend it, promises equal liberty, security of property, & decision. I do not indeed flatter myself with the return of the Golden Age. If any of our farmers have heard of Arcadia they may not think of ram-

bling in her meadows, or that her rich harvests will spontaneously flow; Ideas like these do very well in the poets imagination. Nor may our commercial people expect Gold & Silver as in Solomons reign, Yet we may venture to predict that the industrious husbandmen may reap plenteous harvests, & the vigilant, enterprising Mercht may rationally expect his ships full fraught with articles of foreign growth, in exchange for produce of his own Country. At least this is my hope & belief, altho some sensible, & I doubt not well meaning friends, hold up such a doleful picture to the contrary, as if the D——I himself had sat for it. At all events the experiment will soon be tried. Ten States have acceded. Congress feeling an obligation to call upon the people to elect their president &c, have chosen a Committee who will in a day or two report the time for operations to commence under the new Government, & which I think will probably be in Jany or Feb 1789.<sup>2</sup> N York are indeed opposed, but the last accounts from their Convention from the leaders in favor of the question “lead us hope.” Of N Carolina there can be little doubt—R Island you will be pleased to form your own Judgmt upon. They are a kind of Comet. Virginia & N Carolina & the New settled regions at the Westward, keep teasing about Mississippi.

You may probably not be informed that Congress have ratified your last loan of 1,000,000 florins,<sup>3</sup> Indeed I know of no other alternative, No resources can at present be brot into operation.

You may have heard Congress have resolved “that it is expedient for Kentucky to become a separate State,”<sup>4</sup> but this will not take place at present. The Dominion was so swoln, & Kentucky inflamed it was thot prudent to administer *this* cooling application. The business will not progress under the present Confederation, Vermont must go hand in hand with this business.

I had the pleasure of passing an hour at Col Smiths<sup>5</sup> on Saturday evening. He is delightfully situated about 12 miles from N York, and Mrs Smith is pleased with her residence at Jamaica. I took the liberty to propose directing her Letters to the Eas[t]wd, And shall carefully deliver any you may please to cover to me.

I should feel myself honored by a communication of your opinion & advice upon any matter of such importance as to claim your attention, And with my compliments to Mrs Adams & all friends, I am, Very respectfully, Your Excellencys Most Huml Sert, Sam. A. Otis

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Adams and Abigail had just returned to America from his various missions to France, the Netherlands, and Britain, 1779–88. He had been received by the Massachusetts General Court June 18. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:212–17.

<sup>2</sup> For the submission on July 8 of the report of this committee, of which Otis was a member, see John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> For this ratification on July 2, see *JCC*, 34:282–83.

<sup>4</sup> This resolution had been adopted on June 2 on the recommendation of a committee of the whole over which Otis had presided. See *JCC*, 34:189, 194.

<sup>5</sup> That is, Adams' son-in-law, William Stephens Smith. Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:214–16n.6.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to the Board of Treasury

New York, July 7, 1788.

We the Delegates of the State of Pennsylvania, in compliance with instructions, and in virtue of powers, received from the said State,<sup>1</sup> do hereby offer to contract (in behalf of the said State), with the Honble Board of Treasury, for a tract of land belonging to the United States, contained in the interval betwixt a Meridian Line, run between Lake Erie and the state of Pennsylvania, and the Boundaries of the States of New York and Massachusetts, at the rate of three-fourth of a dollar per acre; payable in Gold or Silver, or in public securities of the United States, bearing interest; when the quantity ascertained by actual survey, in the manner prescribed by a Resolution of Congress, of the 7th<sup>2</sup> of June, 1788.<sup>3</sup>

Wm. Bingham

James R. Reid

MS not found; reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:383.

<sup>1</sup> For the background of this case and the delegates' authorization to contract with Congress for additional lands to augment its Lake Erie boundary, see Pennsylvania Delegates to Peter Muhlenberg, February 28, and to Benjamin Franklin, June 6, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Actually June 6th.

<sup>3</sup> For the board of treasury's and Congress' acceptance of this Pennsylvania offer, see *JCC*, 34:352, 373, 444; *PCC*, item 176, fols. 60–61; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:382. See also Charles Thomson to Benjamin Franklin, September 4.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to John Nicholson

Sir

New York, July 7th 1788.

Previous to the receipt of your Letter of the 26th Ultio,<sup>1</sup> an Application had been made by the State of Virginia, for an Extension of the Period, to which the Ordinance of Congress of the 7 May confined the Commission of the Officers, who were to be appointed for adjusting the Accounts betwixt the United States & the Individual States.

Congress, influenced by Reasons, Similar to those you have aduced in favor of the Measure, entered into a Resolve, (of which the inclosed is a Copy)<sup>2</sup> which we hope will prolong the Duration of the Duties of this Department, Sufficiently to enable Pennsylvania to make a final Settlement of her Accounts with the United States.

We are Sincerely, Sir, Your obed hble servs,      Wm Bingham  
    James R. Reid

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Written by Bingham and signed by Bingham and Reid. Addressed: "John Nicholson Esqr, Comptroller of the State of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia."

<sup>1</sup> Nicholson's letter has not been found, but one of this date on the same topic to the President of the Pennsylvania Council, Benjamin Franklin, is in *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:323-25.

<sup>2</sup> See Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph, June 9, note; and Charles Thomson to the States, June 24.

## John Swann to James Iredell

Dear Sir

New York. July. 7t. 1788.

I received your favor some time since & shou'd have acknowledged it before this, but was at that time in the height of the small pox. You will give me leave now, sir to thank you for your polite engagement in the business on which I wrote you.

From the slow & irregular conveyance which sometimes attends Letters you may possibly hear of the decision of this State on the New Constitution before this reaches you: however as there are Chances against I shall take the liberty to mention their extreme indecision on that Subject, an indecision the more astonishing since they are apprised of it's ratification by ten States. The Constitution is ably supported by Gentlemen of great literary Merit, but the Opposition who are by no means contemptible, seem determined to dispute the ground inch by inch. What they propose to themselves from their inflexibility, is hard to discover; since it is certain, if we are to judge from their situation & the disposition of a great part of the State, that they will find their concurrence sooner or later not only expedient but unavoidable. However shou'd their determination be contrary to the general Sense of the Union, I hope it will not be made an Example to influence the deliberations & Conduct of our State. We are, Sir, in the most painful Suspense for Carolina. I confess I shou'd be most sensibly mortified were Carolina to reject the Constitution however unavailing her dissent might be with regard to it's Establishment and doubly so when I reflect that in such a determination they wou'd have the *Countenance of Rhode Island alone*, who in all probability may veer about when a certain State-System of business is gone thro' with.

The Arrangements for putting the new Government into Action have been committed for some days & in all probability will be reported on this Week.



I shou'd, Sir most certainly beg the favor of a line now and then, but knowing that you are so variously employed You are seldom allowed leisure.

I am, Dr Sir, with great Respect, your obedient Servant,  
J Swann

RC (NN: Emmet Collection, no. 1197).

## Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[July 7–28, 1788]

- July 7th To Capt Nicholson—delivered his Memorials—read March 23d, 1787, & June 18th, 1788—enclosing orders from Lambert Weeks.  
Acct. current of Capt Nicholson & Affidavit of Eliphalet Downer—to be returned to this Office by Col Walker.<sup>1</sup> (returned & filed)
- 9th. Transmitted to the Board of Treasury papers of Mr. Cazeau, see May 29th, 1788.<sup>2</sup>  
Transmitted to the Office f. f. Affairs to be filed, Letters March 15th, 1788—from Mr Dumas<sup>3</sup>  
April 9th, 1788—from Mr Carmichael<sup>4</sup>  
Decr. 21st, 1787—from Samuel Shaw<sup>5</sup>
- 11th April 7th, 1787<sup>6</sup>—Their High Mightinesses the States General on Mr Adams taking leave.
- 15th. Mr. Alexander Thomson returned the plan<sup>7</sup> of the boundary line between Massachusetts & N York which he recd April 17th, 1788—for copying.
- 16th. Transmitted to the Office f. f. Affairs, agreeable to order—July 15th, to be returned.  
Letter Jany 25th, 1788 from Secy at War, respecting Mr John Sullivan<sup>8</sup>—& copy of Instructions to Genl Harmar.<sup>9</sup>  
Extracts—letter July 7th 1788, from Secy at War  
Extract—letter June 15th from Genl Harmar  
Report of Lt Armstrong<sup>10</sup>—copies made out.
- 28th. Transmitted to the Office f. f. Affairs to be filed—  
Letter—Sept. 12th, 178—from Col. Wm. Smith & papers accompanying the same.<sup>11</sup>

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, June 3–19, 1788.

<sup>1</sup> For Capt. Samuel Nicholson's memorials and enclosed papers, see PCC, item 41, 7:138–44, 154; and JCC, 32:131n, 232–35, 333n, 33:446, 34:240n, 252, 271–73, 284, 330n, 335, 337.

<sup>2</sup> For the claims of Francis Cazeau that were referred to Thomas Jefferson by John Jay June 9, see *JCC*, 34:184, 620; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 13:247–48.

<sup>3</sup> This Charles W. F. Dumas letter is in PCC, item 93, 4:43–48; and *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1783–89, 3:609–11.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a reference to William Carmichael's letter of April 29, 1788, for which see PCC, item 88, fols. 504–10; and *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1783–89, 3:363–67.

<sup>5</sup> See PCC, item 120, 3:381–85; and *ibid.*, pp. 788–91.

<sup>6</sup> That is, April 7, 1788, for which see PCC, item 59, 4:373–76.

<sup>7</sup> This document has not been found in the PCC.

<sup>8</sup> See *JCC*, 34:21–22.

<sup>9</sup> See *ibid.*; and PCC, item 150, 3:13–14.

<sup>10</sup> PCC, item 150, 3:11.

<sup>11</sup> See PCC, item 92, fols. 304–20; and *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1783–89, 3:69–83.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear sir

New York 7th July 1788

Virginia having confederated N Carolina in Opposition, should she be disposed to stand out, can only expect countenance from Rh. Island or N York. Let me state in a few Words the politics of Rh Island. You have heard of the Effects of the Know Ye Law by which every Creditor is enabled to wipe off a Debt by paying 2/6 in the Pound, for their Paper is now at 8 for 1, & the mony being paid into the Hands of a Magistrate remains there for some Time for the Use of the Creditor and if he neglects taking it The State Treasury becomes Heir general. Thus private Debts by this Time are nearly discharged in that State. The State Certificate Debt is also nearly paid off by similar Means. The domestic or private Debts of the State were to the best of my Recollection about 566 Thousand Dlsr. A Law was made for paying one fourth of this Debt & all holders of Securities were called to bring in their Claims and receive ¼th of the Amount. Every man who neglected tendering his Claims forfeited the Amount that was offerd that is one fourth. But the Creditors in general neglected. A second & a third Payment was offered and made in the same manner and now they have advertised for paying the fourth and last Portion of the Debt. Thus the whole of the State Debt is soon to be expunged by a kind of Legerdemain. For little or no mony has issued during this Process out of the Treasury. It is thought that Rh Island will pretty soon be ready to confederate, but a was told some days since by a Leader of the Know Ye men that the good People in that State have two capital Objections against the new Constitution; first, they think that every Slave should be taxed as a white man & not represented. Second, they think that the Ratio for taxing is not proper, the States should not be taxed according to the number of Inhabitants but according to the amount of the Produce exported from each State or grown in it and exported

from any other State. I asked him what did Rh Island grow & export, he answered nothing except a little Cheese & Pot Ash. You see how reasonable a Plan his would be; Maryland, Virga & So. Caro. would be delighted with it.

The Politics of N. York are not so villanous in their Face—but not much more honourable considering them as part of the same Nation. They during the War agreed to give Congress the Power of collecting the 5 Per Ct Impost, as soon as they got Possession of this City they refused to let Congress have such Power because the[y] find the selfish advantage of imposing a duty on Imports for their own Use. Half the goods consumed in Connecticut or rather  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of them, half the goods consumed in New Jersey or  $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of them, all the goods consumed in Vermont and no small Part of those consumed in the Western Part of Massachusets are bought in New York and pay an Impost Duty of 5 Per Ct for the Use of this State. I say nothing of what the good Citizens of N Carolina import from N York whence they pay Part of the New Yorkers Taxes. Tis easy to discover why New York does not like the new Govt. But this very Argument must be a very good one with the Citizens of N Carolina why they should like that Govt. Consequently it is to be hoped that they will neither copy N York nor Rh. Island.

I am with great Regard Dr Sir, Your obed servt,

Hu Williamson

RC (NcD: Iredell Manuscripts).

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Sir

New York July 8th 1788

I am honored with your Excellencys obliging favor of the 28th June and beg you to accept my Sincere acknowledgements for the particulars of the Celebration of the new Constitution. I most heartily rejoice with you and all lovers of peace & concord, on this most glorious and unparalled occurrence in the course of human affairs. The accession of New-Hampshire ensured the System—that of Virginia will I think Ensure tranquility though it has been confidently ascerted of the latter, that their adopting the Constitution has had no effect on the Convention at Poughkeepsie. I am not much inclined, however, to believe the report. I think there is a gleam of hope that, from a principle of fear, the anties will come about. Accounts last evening give some Countenance to this opinion; though the case is still very doubtful. I am informed that they do not expect to close this week.

The time for the meeting of the new Congress is not yet assigned—

but the general opinion is that it may take place by the first of February. If so it may become necessary to have an early session of our Legislature. I have nothing of importance to communicate. Mr. Wingate desires his Compliments. Excuse haste—and suffer me to add only, that, with the highest Respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most Humble Servant,

N. Gilman

RC (Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

## John Brown to John Smith

Dear Smith<sup>1</sup>

New York July 9th. 1788.

I was this day favor'd with yours of the 1st Instant from Richmond for which accept my warmest thanks. I am very happy to hear that you have finally Settled the Amt. of Certificates with Colo. Crockett as it gave me pain to find that he had been so long kept out of his due tho it in a great measure proceeded from his detaining the Certificates. I hope the Note which you have passed for the Discount will not produce any Inconveniency to you. If you will inform me the Amt. I will forward you an order on the Treasury for it. I am rather at a loss what to say with respect to the purchase of the remainder of Quirks Claims—'tho believe I must make it. Cash is out of the Question—I have his Bond for about £20—& would engage to take up his Bonds now due to the amt. of £100. This ought to be considered by him as Cash. If you can contract with him [. . .] upon these terms or any other which you may think more advantageous I request that you will do it—But would not be restricted to any particular Bonds & would wish some time to produce them. I only agree to this to prevent a loss of the whole Contract in which you well know I was much imposed upon.

I am willing that Capt. Craddock should appropriate the Bond referred to for the Payment of my Just debts, he is well acquainted with my Business & have no doubt but he will transact it to the best advantage. I am not acquainted with nature of the Contract between Mr. Harvey & Capt. Kennedy therefore cannot determine with what propriety he can injoin the Judgt. obtained against him upon the bond by Mr. Preston. Should he file a Bill it will not be in my power to put in an Answer untill after my return to the District—if he pays the Money I wish it to be appropriated agreeable to my former letter. Congress on the 3d Instant came to a final determination upon the subject of the Kentucky address—which was to refer the application to the New Government & to recommend it to the State of Virginia & the District to make the Necessary Alterations in their Acts & Resolutions upon



that Subject.<sup>2</sup> The great change which has taken place in the Genl. Government of the Union in some measure Justified the decision which was contrary to the expectations which I at first entertained—but had it not been for the opposition of the Eastern States Kentucky might have been admitted into the Union before the New Constitution had been adopted by Nine States. I hope this disappointment will not be productive of any bad consequences to the District—but that unanimity & good Order will still prevail. In my opinion their Interest requires that they should assume their Independence, frame a Constitution & proceed to the exercise of Government & when the New Govt. is in Motion then to make application to be admitted into the Union if it should appear advisable.

I thank you for the Journal of the Virga. Convention containing the Ratification of & proposed Amendments to the New Constitution<sup>3</sup>—the proceedings of that Body were recd. here with every possible mark of Joy. This State is still in Session, what the result of their deliberations will be is as yet very uncertain. N. Carolina will doubtless adopt it. Congress are now engaged in taking measures for setting it in Motion. The Elections are to be held in Jany. next & the New Congress to meet in Feby—I expect at Philada.<sup>4</sup>

I am as yet uncertain which rout I shall take to Kentucky, as I expect to be governed by the State of the River. I propose to leave this about the tenth of August & hope to be at Danville the 1st of Septr. in order to attend Court at that term. In the mean[time] I propose to pay the Eastern States a Visit—& shall set out in company with Genl. Knox for Boston tomorrow morning. I expect to continue my Journey as far as New-Hampshire & to return through Connecticut. I promise myself much pleasure in this excursion as I shall go part of the way by Sea a mode of travelling new to me. I [am] happy to hear of the wealfare of my fathers family & of my other Relations. Am much pleased to find that you still entertain hopes of becoming an Inhabitant of Kentucky together with your fathers family Nothing [would?] add more to my happiness than this Ev[entuality. Ed]ward & family I expect will remove to that Co[untr]y this fall. We shall all be there yet. My hopes respecting the future importance of that Country are sanguine. I have engaged in foreign Negotiations which if Successful will be of great consequence to Kentucky. Am not at liberty to inform you of particulars at present.<sup>5</sup> Remember me most affecly. to all my Relations particularly to your Mama & Cousin Betsy. Tel Capt. Preston that I have not succeeded in procuring a private Teacher for that family agreeable to my expectations express'd in my last letter to him<sup>6</sup>—but hope shortly to be able to engage with one.

I am with great friendship, Dear Jack Yours, J Brown

RC (CtY: John Mason Brown Papers). Addressed: "John Smith Esquire, Botetourt County."

<sup>1</sup> Not identified beyond Brown's address.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 34:287–94. For the context of this "final determination," see Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson, November 10, 1787, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> For the *Journal of the Convention of Virginia* (Richmond: A. Davis, 1788), see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,555. For an evaluation of the *Journal* as a source for convention proceedings, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 9:901–6. The ratification and proposed amendments are in *ibid.*, 10:1542, 1546, 1553–56.

<sup>4</sup> On July 2 Congress took up the ninth ratification of the Constitution, that of New Hampshire, and appointed a committee to "report an Act to Congress for putting the said constitution into operation in pursuance of the resolutions of the late federal Convention." The committee, consisting of chairman Edward Carrington, Pierpont Edwards, Abraham Baldwin, Samuel A. Otis, and Thomas Tudor Tucker, recommended on July 8 that the first Wednesdays in December, January, and February should be designated for appointing presidential electors, for electing a president, and for commencing proceedings under the new government, although they left the site undetermined. The early stages of debate were complicated by the delay in receiving ratifications from Virginia (July 14) and New York (July 30) and by the rejection of the Constitution by Rhode Island and North Carolina. However, the sectional split over the site of the government—New York, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Lancaster, and Baltimore were all considered—became the major stumbling block. The report was taken up July 14, 28, 30, August 4–7, 13, 26, and September 2–4. Finally, on September 12, the southern delegates yielded to the majority interest in New York when Henry Lee observed that "longer delay in executing the previous arrangements necessary to put into operation the federal government may produce national injury." The following day Congress adopted an ordinance establishing dates in 1789 for appointing presidential electors (January 7), for electing a president (February 4), and for "commencing proceedings under the said constitution" (March 4), at "the present seat of Congress." See *JCC*, 34:281, 303–4, 315n, 317–18, 323n, 358–60, 367–68, 383–88, 392–404, 414n, 415–19, 455–57, 481–84, 487–88, 495–97, 515–18, 522–23, 633, 635; and Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,518. For a recent analysis of the voting on the issue of locating the new government, employing the statistical technique of multidimensional scaling, see Calvin Jillson and Rick K. Wilson, *Congressional Dynamics, Structure, Coordination, and Choice in the First American Congress, 1774–1789* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 281–86.

<sup>5</sup> See the following entry, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Not found.

## John Brown to George Muter

Sir,<sup>1</sup>

*New-York, July 10, 1788.*

An answer to your favor of the 16th March was together with several other letters, put into the hand of one of Genl. Harmer's officers, who set out in May last for the Ohio, and who promised to forward them to the District; but I fear that they have miscarried, as I was a few days ago informed that his orders had been countermanded, and that he had been sent to the garrison at West Point. Indeed I have found it al-

most impracticable to transmit a letter to Kentucky, as there is scarce any communication between this place and that country. A post is now established from this place to Fort Pitt, to set out once in two weeks after the 20th inst. this will render the communication easy and certain. Before this reaches you I expect you will have heard the determination of congress relative to the separation of Kentucky, as a copy of the proceedings has been forwarded to the District, by the secretary of congress, a few days ago.<sup>2</sup> It was not in my power to obtain a decision earlier than the 3d inst. great part of the winter and spring there was not a representation of the states sufficient to proceed in this business, and after it was referred to a grand committee, they could not be prevailed upon to report, a majority of them being opposed to the measure. The eastern states would not, nor do I think they ever will assent to the admission of the District into the union as an independent state, unless Vermont or the province of Main[e] is brought forward at the same time. The change which has taken place in the general government is made the ostensible objection to the measure; but the jealousy of the growing importance of the Western Country, and an unwillingness to add a vote to the southern interest, are the real causes of opposition, and I am inclined to believe that they will exist to a certain degree even under the new government, to which the application is referred by congress. The question which the District will now have to determine upon, will be whether or not it will be most expedient to continue the connection with the state of Virginia, or to declare their independence, and proceed to frame a constitution of government. 'Tis generally expected that the latter will be the determination, as you have proceeded too far to think of relinquishing the measure, and the interest of the District will render it altogether inexpedient to continue in your present situation until an application for admission into the union can be made in a constitutional mode to the new government. This step will, in my opinion tend to preserve unanimity, and will enable you to adopt with effect such measures as may be necessary to promote the interest of the district. In private conferences which I have had with Mr. Gardoqui the Spanish minister at this place, I have been assured by him in the most explicit terms, that if Kentucky will declare her independence, and empower some proper person to negotiate with him, that he has authority, and will engage to open the navigation of the Mississippi, for the exportation of their produce, on terms of mutual advantage.<sup>3</sup> But that this privilege never can be extended to them while part of the United States, by reason of commercial treaties existing between that court and other powers of Europe. As there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration, I have thought proper to communicate it to a few confidential friends in the district, with his permission, not doubting but they will make a prudent use of the information, which is in part confirmed by



dispatches yesterday received by congress from Mr Carmichael, our minister at that court, the contents of which I am not at liberty to disclose.<sup>4</sup>

Congress is now engaged in framing an ordinance for putting the new government into motion, it is not yet completed, but as it now stands, the elections are to be made in December, and the new Congress to meet in February, but it may undergo alteration.<sup>5</sup> Ten states have ratified—this state is now in session—what the result of their deliberations will be, is as yet doubtful; two thirds of the members are opposed, but 'tis probable they may be influenced by motives of expediency. N. Carolina will adopt—time alone can determine how far the new government will answer the expectations of its friends—my hopes are sanguine—the change was necessary.

I fear, should not the present treaty at Muskingum prove successful, that we shall have an Indian war upon all our borders. I do not expect that the present congress will in that case be able to make any effectual measures for our defence. There is not a dollar in the federal treasury which can be appropriated to that purpose. I shall leave this place shortly, and expect to be at the September term. I have enjoyed my usual state of good health, and have spent my time here agreeably.

I am with great esteem, Your most humble serv., J. Brown

MS not found; reprinted from *The Palladium* (Frankfort, Ky.), September 4, 1806.

<sup>1</sup> A native of Scotland, George Muter (d. 1811) of Fayette County was Chief Justice of the Kentucky district and a founding member of the Danville Political Club (1786). He attended most of the ten conventions leading to statehood, but he had a reputation for vacillation, for being amenable to more forceful leaders in both the "court" and "country" parties in Kentucky politics. See Lowell H. Harrison, *Kentucky's Road to Statehood* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), pp. 23, 31, 34–35, 44, 65–66, 86, 104.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Thomson to Samuel McDowell, July 3.

<sup>3</sup> Brown had apparently begun his "conferences" with the Spanish minister in early June when it became clear to him from Congress' action on June 2–3 that Kentucky would not be admitted to statehood "at the present time," for which see Brown to Matthew Walton, June 5, note 2. In his June 7 letter to James Madison, Brown had also expressed disappointment and irritation at this outcome, even speculating whether "Kentucky will assume her independence as it cannot be expected that she will continue in her present situation untill she can be admitted under the New Government." For a discussion of Brown's exchanges with Gardoqui, the context in which this letter ("the most basic document in the history of the Spanish conspiracy") was written, and its impact on Kentucky politics, especially as it was used to embarrass Brown and damage his political career over the ensuing twenty years, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 19:470–74, nn. 122 and 124; and Patricia Watlington, *The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779–1792* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 159–65, 175, 206–7, 253–54.

<sup>4</sup> In his April 29 letter to John Jay, which was read on July 7, William Carmichael informed Congress that the Spanish court had concluded that "a free Port on the Mississippi will satisfy the Americans & on that idea Ground their expectations that the instructions sent in Autumn last to Mr. Gardoqui will enable that Gentleman to bring the Negotiation to a Speedy termination." See PCC, item 88, fols. 504–11, item 185, 4:35; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 3:363–67.

<sup>5</sup> See the preceding entry, note 4.



## Jeremiah Wadsworth to Mehitable Wadsworth

My dear friend

New York July 10 1788

I arrived here last Night at Sun Set.<sup>1</sup> I embarked at New Haven Monday evening—in the same Vessel which we formerly went to Lloyds Neck in & had the same weather as nearly as possible & to add to my troubles I had the sick Head Ach all the way. Jack nursed me and I was benefitted by Pickering and am very well. I Lodge at Mrs Cuylers, and find Mrs Burr expecting every hour to ly in. My love to sisters and the Children. I have hardly got my Head Steady enough to write, it seems yet to be at Sea. I wish You to send my Watch by Brig & desire him to deliver it to Clarke or Beecher to bring to me.

I am, Affectionatee Yours

Jere Wadsworth

PS Since Writing the above have seen N & Mrs Lawrence who desire their particular compliments & thanks to You all for Your care of Jack.

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Wadsworth returned to his seat in Congress this day. Cf. *JCC*, 34:305, 315.

## Peleg Arnold to Welcome Arnold

Sir,

New York 11th July 1788.

We have this Day Thirteen States on the Floor of Congress which has not been until the present case Since the year 1776.<sup>1</sup>

Ten States having Ratified the New Constitution, Congress are now Deliberating on the Time for the States to appoint Ellectors, to Choose a President and when Proceedings Shall commence under Said Constitution; In this Important Business from the peculiar Situation of our State the Delegation have Declined to act From the preasant appearance this is the Last year that Congress will assemble under the old Confederation; The time Reported by the Comtee. to assemble under the New Government is the first Monday in February Next. The Question has not yet been Ditermin'd on; but I beleave it will not Exceed that Time.

The information from this States Convention has generally Been that they would not addopt the New Constitution; But the Last Reports Say that the Federal Party gain Strength and it is generally believed here that it will be addopted. I presume the amendmets by the Virginia Convention have had Considerable influence on the minds of the Members of this Stats Convention which has occationed this change.

I wish to have a Line from you as often as you find it Convenient, and am your assurd Frend,

Peleg Arnold

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Actually, since April 1777. See Edmund C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941), p. 711.

## Nathan Dane to Caleb Strong

My Dear Sir

New York July 13. 1788.

I thank for your obliging letter of the 18 Ultò. It gives me real satisfaction, as I think must you, to see government in Massachusetts so fully restored. The riens by consent of the people themselves have now got into good hands—and I think good men will keep the principal Share in the Government, if they do not govern too much.

We now have thirteen states on the floor of Congress—a circumstance which has not happened before for several years past. The Committee appointed to report an Act for putting the Constitution of the United States into operation, reported last week and Congress have spent one day in considering the report.<sup>1</sup> The States appear to be very unanimous in this business—except as to the place where Congress under the Constitution shall meet. Whether it shall meet at New York or Philadelphia will be a matter much contested. There will not be more than one State majority, I think, for either plan but this you will understand will be a question only in Case N. York shall adopt the Constitution. If she does not there will, I presume, be no question, as it will generally be thought to be improper for Congress to assemble in a nonratifying state. If she shall adopt, from present appearances, it is probable that a majority of the States will prefer this City (N.Y.) for the meeting of the New Congress. This question will probably be decided in a few days. The Convention of this State is every day now expected to finish its business, and it is hoped it will adopt. I think we shall fix the meeting of the New Government to be about the first Wednesday in February next. The Delegates of Massachusetts and of some other States wish it to be at an earlier period as the States they represent can with ease assemble sooner, but it is said to be impossible for Virginia, North Carolina, &c from their great extent sooner to make their elections and attend.

In the enclosed paper you will see the amendments recommended in Virginia.

With Sentiments of esteem and friendship, I am Dr Sir, your obedt.  
humble Servant.

N. Dane

RC (MNF: Strong Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Sir

(Private)

New York July 15th 1788

I am honored with your Excellency's obliging favor of the 5th instant. Time & place of commencing proceedings under the New government is not yet determined on. It has been put off from day to day in order to give New York time to come in and take a part in the business but I am very sorry to inform you that the perverseness of the Anties in their Convention continues. They stand out for previous amendments and are attempting to persuade the populace that Congress may receive them on such conditions. It is impossible to determine at present where this business will end. The South part of the State are highly federal and are greatly incensed against the Governor and his party. They threaten a dereliction of the government—and if they should be unable to bring over the Country party I am inclined to think that a secession of this City and the Islands will absolutely take place—but there is still a gleam of hope though not a very bright one, that they will accede. Should we proceed to business in the new Congress without the Voice of New York and Rhode Island, it might be a gratification to Mason and a few others, but what would become of the Eastern Interests? This is, in my humble judgment, a matter of serious Consideration and I heartily wish that measures might be adopted by the New England States to bring that little wicked State of R Island to a sense of the duty they owe themselves and their neighbours.

The Honorable Mr Cochran who is concerned with Lord Dundonald in the tar business has sent me a number of his books. I beg leave to inclose one for your perusal.<sup>1</sup> Mr Wingate desire his Compliments. Excuse haste and believe me to be Most Respectfully, Sir, Your Excellencys Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant N. Gilman

RC (Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to John Chaloner

Dear Sir

New York July 15 1788

I arrived here last Wednesday—and am Yet without your answer to my letter from Hartford. Col Hamilton being absent I can not learn if you have remitted him any Money. But as I have before me a pressing letter from Mr Church and am otherwise distressed for Money I pray you to let me know immediately what I can depend on and what if any has been sent Col Hamilton. I would come to Philadelphia but my

duty in Congress will not at present permit me. I beg you will not let me remain without an Answer—my love to Mrs Chaloner & the family.  
I am dear Sir Your very H S,  
Jere Wadsworth

RC (PHi: Chaloner and White Collection).

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to John Lawrence

Sir  
New York July 15 1788  
I have presented Your claim to the Treasy. Board and examined all the Papers respecting it, and they have agreed to go into the Consideration of it this day—but I have reason to believe they will not agree to the Sum asserted by Mr. Thomson as they declare it is more than has been allowed any other Commissioner,<sup>1</sup> but they will do all they can to extend Your claim consistent with their opinion of Justice. When I know the result I will communicate it,<sup>2</sup> and persue your further instructions. I am, very respectfully, Your most Hum sert,  
Jere Wadsworth

RC (CtHi: Hoadley Collection).

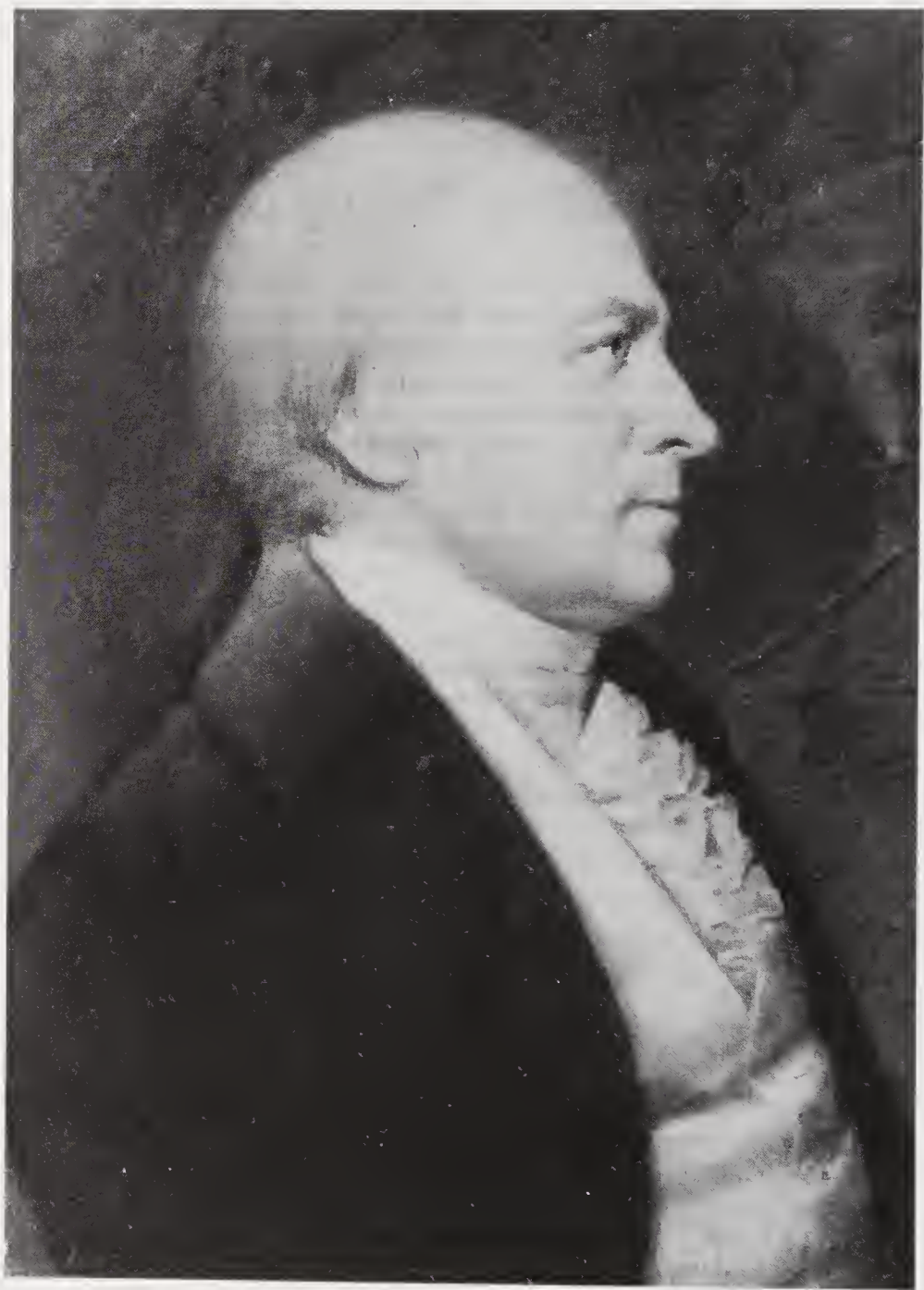
<sup>1</sup> No documents or other evidence relating to Lawrence's claim have been found in the journal or papers of Congress. Lawrence, the treasurer of Connecticut, was formerly Continental loan officer for the state. See *JCC*, 6:928, 18:1150–51; and these *Letters*, 16:407–8, 447–48.

<sup>2</sup> Wadsworth also wrote the following brief letter to Lawrence on July 20. "Inclosed you have a letter I received from the Treasury Board. When I know the result of their revision of your Account I will again write you. In the interim if You can think of any thing which will be likely to be usefull to inforce Your claim you will please to communicate it." *Ibid*.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to Oliver Wolcott

Dear Sir  
New York July 15 1788  
I am sorry to inform you that the Federalists in this State despair of an unconditional adoption of the Constitution—and their is reason to believe this Citty & its Vicinity will be detached from the upper part of the State. The convulsions in consequence of this business will certainly reach our State—and too much care can not be taken to prevent any premature Steps. I will write You more particularly in a day or two—and as I shall write you unreservedly on all occurrences You will not suffer any extracts to be published from my letters without particularly marked by me.  
I am dear sir Yours,  
J Wadsworth<sup>1</sup>





Jeremiah Wadsworth

[P.S.] A report of a committee is before the House to put a New Government in motion which will be finished in a day or two.

RC (CtHi: Oliver Wolcott, Jr. Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Wadsworth also wrote brief letters this day to his wife, Mehitable, and to his daughters, Catherine and Harriet, all of which are in the Wadsworth Papers, CtHi. He had little news to report except that "Mrs Burr has lately been delivered of a Child Still born & has been very ill—she is now better."

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

N. York July 16. [17]88

The inclosed papers will give you the latest intelligence from Poughkepsie. It seems by no means certain what the result there will be. Some of the most sanguine calculate on a ratification. The best informed apprehend some clog that will amount to a condition. The question is made peculiarly interesting in this place, by its connexion with the question relative to the place to be recommended for the meeting of the first Congress under the new Government.

13 States are at present represented. A plan for setting this new Machine in motion has been reported some days,<sup>1</sup> but will not be hurried to a conclusion. Having been but a little time here, I am not yet fully in the politics of Congress. I had on the road several returns of a bilious lax which made my journey more tedious & less agreeable than it would otherwise have been.<sup>2</sup> At present I am pretty well again. Hoping this will find you & yours more compleatly so, I remain, Yr. Affete friend,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:187–88.

<sup>1</sup> See John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Madison had just returned to Congress from attending the Virginia ratifying convention. Although he had set out from Richmond on July 1, ill health caused him to tarry at Mt. Vernon July 4–7 before taking the stage from Alexandria. He took his seat on July 17 and remained in Congress until the second week in December. See *JCC*, 34:329, 338; Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:185, 373–75; and Washington, *Diaries* (Jackson and Twohig), 5:357.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Sir

(Private)

New York July 17th 1788

This is merely to accompany the papers of the day, by which you will discover the temper of the Poughkeepsie Convention. They are still in session and the heart of their Pharoah is still unrelenting. It is impos-

sible to foresee the issue of this business. Their present situation is critical. The people of this City are highly federal—they will adhere to the Union at all events and are making preparation for an expensive procession to take place on Wednesday next.

With the highest Respect, I have the Honor to be, Sir, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant, N. Gilman

RC (Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

## Samuel A. Otis to George Thatcher

Dear Sir

New York 17 July 1788

...and first I inform you That we have had Thirteen States frequently upon the floor & have been very industrious—What have you been about? Look at the Journal—One thing seems to be agreed, that new government is to take place about mid winter—Next week perhaps the Time will be agreed upon.<sup>1</sup> The *place* will be a bone of Contention, Southern people are opposed to N Y, & I think the Yorkers hang back in such manner am rather of opinion it will not be here. For my own part I am in present sentiment for N York but we are all in suspense for the doings of Convention. Probably the question will this day be taken *therein*. I am of opinion it will not be a favorable decision. Clinton is popular has a majority at command & is very violent. They may possibly adjourn which is the best expectation I form. The Yorkers are determined however to have their frolic, & I dont know but we are in danger of runing into excess in regard to processions. Perhaps my gravity & aversion to parade may have induced this opinion. It is an implied triumph over minority which always irritates. I think the movements of the new Govt should be mild, discreat & attended with great circumspection.

Enclosed is Greenleafs<sup>2</sup> which details pretty fairly, To which refering you I am, With regard & esteem, Your Hume St,

Sam. A. Otes [Otis]

MS not found; reprinted from *Historical Magazine*, 2d ser. 6 (December 1869): 349.

<sup>1</sup> For the protracted debate over the establishment of the new government, see John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently an issue of Thomas Greenleaf's *New York Journal*.

## Charles Thomson to George Handley

Sir,

July 17. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to your Exy herewith enclosed an Act

lately passed by the united states in Congress Assembled entitled “A supplement to an Ordinance entitled An Ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of land in the Western territory,”<sup>1</sup> also a report of a Committee which has been agreed to by Congress touchg the offer made by the state of Georgia to cede her claim to a certain tract of territory;<sup>2</sup> and an act passed instructg the Superintendt & Comrs. for the southern department to notify, if necessary, to the hostile Indians that should they persist in refusing to enter into a treaty upon reasonable terms the Arms of the United States shall be called forth<sup>3</sup> for the protection of that frontier & the subsequent order passed to give efficacy to this instruction.<sup>4</sup> I hope this will have the desired effect in restoring peace to your borders & have the honor to be with great respect, Your Excy’s Most Ob. &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: “His Exy Govr of Georgia.”

<sup>1</sup> See the following entry, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> For this Georgia cession, which had been submitted to Congress May 29, see Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon, May 3, note.

<sup>3</sup> For this July 15 resolve, see *JCC*, 34:326; and South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Pinckney, August 16, note 3. For Congress’ previous resolution instructing the southern Indian commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Creek Indians who had been retaliating against settler intrusions along the Georgia frontier since the summer of 1787, see Thomson to Certain States, October 27, note 1; and Nicholas Gilman to John Sullivan, November 7, 1787, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 34:327.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secy of Congress, July 17. 1788  
I have the honor to transmit to your Excellcy herewith enclosed A supplement to the Ordinance ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western territory which was passed by Congress the 9th of this Month.<sup>1</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor to be, &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 34:306–10. For the background and adoption of this supplement to the May 20, 1785, western land ordinance, see Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock, May 27, note 3.

## Paine Wingate to John Pickering

Dear Sir, New York July 17, 1788.  
Heartily fatigued with the business of the day, and with writing I set down to write you a very hasty letter. A few days since I recd a letter



from your Bror. dated June 26, on the day preceding the night on which he was made prisoner by the insurgents of that country.<sup>1</sup> He was then very well with his family, and tho he mentioned that he had been threatened, he said he was under no apprehensions of mischief from those villains. He supposed that keeping Franklin confined would be his security. I am exceeding sorry that he found the misfortune of being disappointed. You will see by the enclosed newspaper the measures that have been taken & the intelligence that has been received from your Bror. I do not think that you need be anxious for his safety for I believe they will not venture to use any further violence to his person. I should have informed you sooner of his situation but Major Hodgdon said he had written to Capt. Williams. I thot that the letter, said in the newspaper from your brother, would be an alleviation to your concern & for that reason have written to you at this time. Should I receive any material intelligence respecting him further I will give you information as soon as may be. I hope soon to have it in my power to give you agreeable intelligence upon that head.

We have now a full representation in Congress from all the States. Have not yet made the arrangements for the new Congress. The first Wednesday in Dec. is proposed for chusing electors of President, & the last Wednesday of that month for the choice of President. The beginning of Feb. it is probable Congress will meet & it is yet mere conjecture that Philadelphia will be the place. A few days will now determine all those points. We have waited this week to know the determination of New York convention. Our intelligence last evening was not favorable from Poughkeepsie. We expect hourly to hear the final result. There is too much I suspect of personal animosity among some members of the convention which will be a detriment to that condensation which at this time is very necessary. This city will be exceedingly enraged against the antifederal party if they should reject the constitution as it will necesitate the removal of Congress which they much fear. Nineteen of twenty are said to be federal in the city. Next Wednesday is the day appointed for the procession in New York celebrating the new constitution which is to be with extraordinary pomp. I believe the late principle transactions of Congress will be in your newspapers & needless here to mention. I hope we shall adjourn after a while if not I think I shall return by the beginning of Sept. when I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you and all our friends well. I am Dr. Sir your affectionate friend & brother.

Paine Wingate.

Tr (DLC: Burnett Collection). Copied for Edmund C. Burnett "from the original furnished by the courtesy of Mr. C. E. L. Wingate of Winchester, Massachusetts." Wingate, *Life and Letters*, 1:235–36.

<sup>1</sup> Timothy Pickering, a New Englander, had in 1786 turned his attentions to the development of lands he had obtained in northern Pennsylvania, the success of which de-

pended in part upon the settlement of the conflict that had long wracked the Wyoming Valley. Soon after Pennsylvania created Luzerne County in September 1786, a measure designed to help pacify the region, Pickering was appointed to a number of offices involved in its organization, and for a time appeared to inspire the confidence of both sides in the conflict. But he was increasingly viewed by Connecticut partisans as a captive of Pennsylvania interests and on June 26 a number of dissidents abducted him in a desperate effort to alter events and bring pressure on the state. For an account of Pickering's work in Luzerne County and his June 26–July 15 abduction, see Gerard H. Clarfield, *Timothy Pickering and the American Revolution* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980), pp. 90–115; and *Susquehanna Co. Papers*, 9:xli–xlv.

Wingate was married to Pickering's sister Eunice.

## William Bingham to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir,

New York July 18th 1788

I received the Letter you inclosed concerning the Effects of the federal Procession<sup>1</sup> on the various Descriptions of Persons that participated in the future Enjoyment, & was much pleased with the Perusal.

I have no occasion for a Stimulus to increase the force of my Exertion to fix the Seat of federal Government at Philadelphia. I have devoted myself Solely to that Object for a considerable Time past, & have the most flattering Prospect of Succeeding—but it is far from being certain, for the Competition is very great, & there are as many Cities contending for this Advantage, as there were for the Honor of Homers Birth. Our City has So great a start of the others, that many are desirous of depriving us of this Benefit, from the Operation of low minded Jealousy & Envy.

You will please to keep this Letter secret, as a Strong Expectation of success would rather tend to defeat our Views.

I am with much Regard, Dear sir, Your obed hble ser,

Wm Bingham

RC (PHi: Alexander Biddle Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See Rush, *Letters* (Butterfield), 1:470–77.

## Charles Thomson to Thomas Hutchins

Sir

July 18 1788

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith enclosed a few copies of the Supplement to the land Ordinance,<sup>1</sup> an Act empowering you to appoint Surveyors & fixing the sum to be allowed to the Surveyor,<sup>2</sup> also a Motion which is referred to you to take Order.<sup>3</sup>

I am sr yr obedt. humble Servt

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "T Hutchins Esqr, Geographer of the US."

<sup>1</sup> See Thomson to the States, July 17.

<sup>2</sup> For these July 17 resolves, see *JCC*, 34:331.

<sup>3</sup> For this instruction to Hutchins concerning the terms of Virginia's reservation of military bounty lands in its western lands cession, see *JCC*, 34:332–34. Although Virginia aimed to provide for its bounty claims from lands reserved south of the Ohio River, it had nevertheless stipulated that if insufficient land was available there for this purpose, the deficiency would be "made up to the said troops in good lands to be laid off between the river Scioto and little Miami on the North west side of the river Ohio." By terms of the enclosed resolve, Congress declared invalid any bounty claims surveyed and located prior to ascertaining such an insufficiency. And the governor of Virginia was requested "to inform Congress whether there has been any deficiency of good land reserved. . . on the south east side of the Ohio. . . ; and if there has been. . . what is the amount," so that the remaining land could be disposed of "for the general benefit of the Union." For the background of this issue, see William Grayson to James Madison, August 31, 1787, note 4. See also Thomson to Edmund Randolph, July 21.

## Charles Thomson to John Pierce

Sir,

July 18. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith enclosed an act empowering & directing the board of treasury in the settlement of your Accots to place to your credit a sum for your extra service as Comr. of Army Accots.<sup>1</sup>

I am sr &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> For Pierce's July 9 memorial seeking the settlement of his compensation as commissioner of army accounts, which was referred July 11 to a committee which submitted a report whose recommendations were adopted July 16, see PCC, item 41, 8:246–47; and *JCC*, 34:317n., 327–29.

For the announcement of Pierce's death just two weeks later, and the election of a new commissioner of army accounts, Joseph Howell, on August 28, see *JCC*, 34:392, 407n, 468; and Thomson to Howell, August 30.

## Nathan Dane to Theodore Sedgwick

My Dear Sir

New York July 20. 1788.

I am much obliged to you for Your favor of the 3d instant<sup>1</sup> which I received the 17th instant.

Your account of the character of our General Court for the present year gives me real satisfaction—it is good evidence the people are come to think well on political subjects and to assume a proper temper.

The Independency of Kentucky is assigned over to the New Government to do what they may think proper respecting it.

The inclosed is the report of the Committee on the subject of putting *the Constitution of the United States of America* into operation (our reports you know are not made public till acted upon). The report some days ago was agreed to in part, that is Congress have fixed the first Wednesday in Decr. for the appointment of the Electors of the president—and the last Wednesday in the same month for them to assemble and vote for him.<sup>2</sup> The majority of the states appear to be for fixing the first Wednesday in February for the Govt. to assemble—the Eastern and Middle States could be much more expeditious in this business, but it is Stated by the Southern Delegates, that it is impossible for their States to be prepared to elect, &c, sooner than the times mentioned. The principal point in dispute is where shall Congress assemble under the Constitution, should this State adopt. I think from present Appearances a majority of the States will be for this City—those who contended for Philadelphia about ten days ago urged vehemently for the decision of the question, but finding Congress not in a disposition to decide until after this State's Convention shall have acted upon the Subject, nothing has been said about it since. As every member, I imagine, has made up his mind on the residue of the report it is, probable, we shall finish it in one day's time after we hear the result of the proceedings of the N York Convention—you see by the report we make a simple piece of business of it, nor has it caused much debate or delay—having thirteen states on the floor we took up this business sooner than was expected.

We now expect every day to hear this State has decided as to the adoption—but there seems to be no certainty what their decision will be—tho—I think the probability, is in favor of their acceding to the New Confederacy.

I propose to stay in N. York till the inclosed report shall be acted upon and that I rather expect will be this week. I shall then make a Short tour to Massa.—there is considerable of business to be done by the present Congress to clear the files, &c, but none of it very import[ant].

Brother Thatcher when he went from this place last March proposed to be here the first of August, or late in July—but we have heard scarcely a word from him since he left us and are uncertain whether he will return as he proposed or not—and as you must, I suppose, attend the General Court in Sepr. it makes it necessary for me to calculate upon return'g to Congress this Summer or early in the fall which I wish to avoid if I could.

With sentiments of esteem & regard, I am, Dear Sir, your humble  
sert. N. D[ane]

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Sedgwick's letter is in the Dane Papers, MBevHi.



<sup>2</sup> For the committee's July 8 report and its consideration on July 14, see *JCC*, 34:303–4, 317–18. See also John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to John Smith

Dear Sir,<sup>1</sup>

New York July 20. 1788

Your favour of the 11th I received & had wrote you an answer to send by the post but was disappointed by the mail's being closed before my letter got to the office. After that I concluded you were so near a Close in the Business that I might see you before my Letter would come to hand.

I am very sorry that any thing I wrote to Mr Barclay should give you the least uneasiness or in any wise divert your Attention from the great Objects in which you are engaged. You were very right in your Conjecture of my Reasons, which I supposed at the Time were well founded, but I assure you I had not the least Idea of an Imputation of Neglect or Inattention, knowing that no Gentleman in that Delegation was under the least Obligation to communicate to me any thing that was passing in the Convention neither do I know that I had any reason to expect it.

That you entertain no jealousy toward me on Account of difference of Sentiment I am glad to hear and really beleive it to be as you say.

I conclude that the Propositions you mention & with some difficulty were come into by the Majority were understood by them to amount to such an adoption that this State would be considered as being in the Union. I am very clearly of opinion that the New Congress could not admit of such an adoption having no discretionary Power, and the Constitution being in the nature of a Compact it must operate equally with all. The last Propositions made last Fryday by Mr Smith<sup>2</sup> tho they appear & are much nearer an adoption than the others are still subject to the objection of a Condition which I think will be fatal (to wit) the Liberty of withdrawing from the Union within a Certain Time, if certain Things on the Part of the States is not done. If this should not be considered by the New Congress as an Adoption many & great will be the disadvantages besides calling a New Convention and Altho the present Congress may not be competent to determine the Question they will give their sense upon it by determining another Question to wit the meeting of the New Congress, and I have every Reason to beleive that this will not be deemed to be such an adoption as the Constitution makes necessary. If there is a Majority in favor of this States being in the Union I do not see the Difficulty in wording the

resolutions in such manner, as may put it past doubt, and at the same Time fully express their sense & wishes respecting the alterations or amendments to be made in the Constitution. I will say no more on this subject. You who are daily conversant in the business no doubt experience & see many Difficulties that do not occur to me in fixing so great a Question.

You may be assured that since the Adoption by New Hampshire & Virginia a great Change in Sentiment has taken Place with those who were before opposed to the Constitution & I beleive there are but few if any in this City who do not think it expedient for this State under the present Circumstances to become part of the Union & as far as I am informed this Sentiment is general in the southern part of the state.

We hear that Mr Jones is for adopting the Constitution,<sup>3</sup> by the Information I have had from Queens County his Conduct in that particular will be approved of by his Constituents, it is here, by those who have been opposed as well as those who have approved.

If your Convention should finally ratify [ratify] the Constitution, it will be a very happy Circumstance that the Majority of the Convention before the adoption by so many States were opposed to the adoption. I say a happy Circumstance because it will be a means of quieting the Minds of all & settling the state down in Peace & putting an End to Parties & Dissentions which are so destructive to the Peace, wellfare & Happiness of a People. Great preparations are making here for Re-joicing on Wednesday next, as no doubt you have heard; and however premature this Business may be I am Happy in having Reason to Beleive that the Business of the Day will be conducted with prudence with out insulting any one by word or Action or doing any thing by which the feelings of any one at Home or abroad may be hurt. I have wrote in a great hurry. You will therefore excuse Incorrectness & not expose it, as I have not time to look over it.

You know I have no intention to dictate or influence. May that Being who ruleth over all the Kingdoms of the Earth so direct your Counsels in determining this great national Question that this State may long enjoy Peace & Happiness.

With Regards to all friends I am, sir, Your most Obedt & very Humb  
Servt.,  
Ezra L Hommedieu

RC (NHi: Miscellaneous Manuscripts, John Smith of Mastic). Addressed: "Col. Smith."

<sup>1</sup> John Smith (1752–1816) of Mastic, Long Island, a New York assemblyman, was a Suffolk County delegate to the New York ratifying convention. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*

<sup>2</sup> That is, Melancton Smith.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Samuel Jones, a New York assemblyman from Queen's County, and antifederalist delegate to the New York ratifying convention. Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:90, 178, 190–91, 246n.1.

## James Madison to Alexander Hamilton

My dear Sir

N. York Sunday Evening [July 20, 1788]

Yours of yesterday is this instant come to hand<sup>1</sup> & I have but a few minutes to answer it. I am sorry that your situation obliges you to listen to propositions of the nature you describe. My opinion is that a reservation of a right to withdraw if amendments be not decided on under the form of the Constitution within a certain time, is a conditional ratification, that it does not make N. York a member of the New Union, and consequently that she could not be received on that plan. Compacts must be reciprocal, this principle would not in such a case be preserved. The Constitution requires an adoption in toto, and forever. It has been so adopted by the other States. An adoption for a limited time would be as defective as an adoption of some of the articles only. In short any condition whatever must viciate the ratification. What the New Congress by virtue of the power to admit new States, may be able & disposed to do in such case, I do not enquire as I suppose that is not the material point at present. I have not a moment to add more than my fervent wishes for your success & happiness.

Js. Madison

[P.S.] This idea of reserving right to withdraw was started at Richmd. & considered as a conditional ratification which was itself considered as worse than a rejection.

RC (DLC: Hamilton Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:189.

<sup>1</sup> See Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:177–78.

## William Bingham to Tench Coxe

Dear Sir,

New York. July 21. 1788

I Should [*not*] have Suffered your favor of the 9th Inst to have remained So long unreplied to, if I had not been in daily expectation of communicating Some pleasing Intelligence concerning the subject of that Letter.

But from various Circumstances the Question has been delayed, & I cannot Say with Certainty when it will be determined.

A Competition from different Quarters has arisen, which divides the Suffrages into as many Parties—but however they may vibrate from one side to the other, they must at last come to rest in the Centre, which is Pennsylvania. Our rising Importance in the political Scale has caused great Jealousy, & is one reason of our not uniting all the

Votes of Congress in our favor, for in every Sense, we have the fittest place to assemble the new Congress in, & it is generally acknowledged. I wish little may be Said on this subject, for in proportion as we make Exertions to establish our Pretensions, there are envious Characters, that will endeavor to oppose them.

The Convention of New York is Still in Session. There are faint hopes entertained of an unconditional Ratification, or an Adjournment which will be tantamount.

I am with much regard, Dr Sir, Your obed hble serv,  
Wm Bingham

RC (PHi: Coxé Papers).

## William Irvine to Samuel Meredith

Dear Sir

New York July 21st 1788

I can not with certainty yet inform you whether your attendance here will be indispensably necessary.<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Reid & Bingham are here; Reid talks of going to Philadelphia the latter end of this week. Armstrong tis said will be here this day or tomorrow whether he means to attend any time I know not, but if any, or so many are likely to go off as not to have a compleat representation I will give you the earliest notice. The papers will furnish you with the state of things in New York Convention. The ordinance or Resolutions for putting the new government in motion, is partly gone through; the place for the new Congress to meet is where a full halt is made, it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what place will be fixed on—there is great anxiety in the minds of the people of this place on the subject, and they are exerting themselves.

If the Philadelphians could be persuaded to write & talk less on this subject, I think their purpose could be equal if not better answered. I have not time now but will hereafter explain to you my reasons for thinking so.

The Delegates of Penna. will certainly do all in their power on this occasion.

I am Dr Sir, Your Most Obedt. Servt.,  
Wm. Irvine

RC (DSOC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> Meredith took his seat in Congress on Tuesday, July 29. *JCC*, 34:367. According to his accounts, he was paid £119.11.0 September 25 “for his attendance as a Member of Congress from July 25th until the fourteenth day of September 1788 inclusively and his mileage.” Gratz Collection, PHi.



## James Madison to George Washington

Dear Sir

N. York July 21. 1788.

I have deferred writing since my arrival here in the hourly hope of being enabled to communicate the final news from Poughkeepsie. By a letter from Hamilton dated the day before yesterday<sup>1</sup> I find that it is equally uncertain when the business will be closed, and what will be its definitive form. The inclosed gazettes state the form which the depending proposition bears. It is not a little strange that the Antifederal party should be reduced to such an expedient, and yet be able to keep their members together in the opposition. Nor is it less strange that the other party, as appears to be the case, should hesitate in deciding that the expedient as effectually keeps the State for the present out of the New Union as the most unqualified rejection could do. The intelligent Citizens here see clearly that this would be its operation and are agitated by the double motives of fœderalism, and a zeal to give this City a fair chance for the first meeting of the new Government.

Congress have deliberated in part on the arrangements for putting the new Machine into operation, but have concluded on nothing but the times for chusing electors &c. Those who wish to make N. York the place of meeting studiously promote delay. Others who are not swayed by this consideration do not urge despatch. They think it would be well to let as many States as possible have an opportunity of deciding on the Constitution: and what is of more consequence, they wish to give opportunities where they can take place for as many elections of State Legislatures as can precede a reasonable time for making the appointments and arrangements referred to them. If there be too great an interval between the acts of Congress on this Subject and the next election or next meeting of a State Legislature, it may afford a pretext for an intermediate summoning of the existing members, who are every where less federal than their successors hereafter to be elected will probably be. This is particularly the case in Maryland, where the antifederal temper of the Executive would render an immediate and extraordinary meeting of the Assembly of that State the more likely to be called. On my way thro' Maryland I found such an event to be much feared by the friends and wished by the adversaries of the Constitution. We have no late news from Europe: nor any thing from N. Carolina. With every sentiment of esteem & attachment, I remain Dr. Sir Your Obedt. & Affete. servt. Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:190–91.

<sup>1</sup> See Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:177–78.

## Charles Thomson to Edmund Randolph

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, July 21st. 1788.

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed An Act passed the 17th by the United States in Congress Assembled, touching locations and surveys for the Virginia troops upon continental establishment, between the Scioto & Miami Rivers in the north west side of the Ohio, and requesting the Executive of Virginia to inform them whether there has been any deficiency of good lands reserved by the laws of that State on the south east side of the Ohio for the said troops &c.<sup>1</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellencys Most Obedient & Most humble servant, Cha Thomson

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governour of Virginia."

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed resolve, see *JCC*, 34:334; and Thomson to Thomas Hutchins, July 18, note 3.

## Paine Wingate to Hannah Wingate

My dear friend New York July 21. 1788.

I have received your *pretty* & *short* letter of the 2d Instant, and dont know when such a *little triffling* matter has given me more pleasure. I am very glad to find that you was then at Polly's, who I know is very fond of your non *sence*, as well as somebody else. I suppose that the conciseness of your letter is a hint for me, & shall endeavor to conform to your example in making mine as short. I have no objection to this, only I am very frugal always in improving all my paper. It gives me much satisfaction to hear that you are *pretty* well. I hope you will remain so until I shall return. For it is such a rarity as I never yet saw. I cannot but admire the good spirits which you have discovered in all your letters, and wish that you could communicate some to my wife who seems to be rather disconsolate. You may depend upon it that it is my present expectation & purpose to set out for home the beginning of Sept. or perhaps sooner. I shall write to my wife before that time & let her know when to expect me. I hope it will be as agreeable to her, as it will be to you, thô I do not wish that it might keep either of you awake, unless it is at church where I suppose you both will need it these long hot days. I know that you are very much of a libertine lady & dont wonder that you are tickled up with the new Constitution. I suppose that you fancy it will make you young again, & that it will have

as good an effect upon you as inoculation. For my part I am tired with reading the pompous accounts of the processions in every part of the country, and have been expecting to see the account of the Stratham procession & toasts to add to the catalogue. I should now write as much more if I had not promised to be short.

With love to the Dr. & Hanny & all friends, I am with great complaisance yours &c  
P Wingate

P.S. As I have finished the foregoing short letter according to my promise, I hope that you will consider it as no violation of my word if I should add by way of postscript as much more. When I looked over your letter after I had finished mine, I found there were some things which I had passed unnoticed. You speak of having much work to do; that I am exceeding glad to hear, & would never have you omit it for the sake of writing or reading letters in which I am concerned. As to the horse block, I never know how much to believe of what you say. But if you should ever happen to be at my house I hope I shall not be wanting in proper attention to *assist* you in getting *away* again. If Amos has accommodated you with a block I suppose it was that he might not have the trouble of lifting you on to the horse himself. The footstool I can tell nothing about for I have almost forgot whether a lady has a foot. The fashion here is to have very small feet if any, the Ladies appear to be chiefly rumps and heads. I conclude you have received your letter which you expected from me, but when it was wrote or what was in it I cannot recollect. This with all my letters to you I expect my wife will see, & as I believe I shall not write to her by this Post, she will consider this as a token of that constant affection and remembrance I have of her. I wish that she & you may enjoy days of ease and nights of pleasure & that I shall soon have an agreeable interview with all my friends. Next Wednesday is the day appointed for a pompous procession in this City & I hope it will be the last I shall see or hear of this year. The house flies are a perfect plague here, and I shall be disposed to leave this city if it was only to be out of the way of them. I hope you will send on to head quarters your muster roll soon which you was about when Mr. Adams wrote to me. I shall enclose to you some poetical lines for diversion & some visiting cards for Sally, My love to my wife & children and compliments to every body else. The Episcopal Bishop last Sunday at St. Pauls Church manufactured two priests according to the american fashion. I have room to say no more adieu.  
PW to Miss Hannah

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My Dear Sir

New York July 22. [1788]

The inclosed papers will give you a view of the business in the Convention at Poughkepsie. It is not as yet certain that the ratification will take any final shape that can make New York *immediately* a member of the new Union. The opponents can not come to that point without yielding a compleat victory to the federalists, which must be a severe sacrifice of their pride. It is supposed too that *some* of them, would not be displeased at seeing a bar to the pretensions of this City to the first meeting of the New Government. On the other side, the zeal for an unconditional ratification is not a little increased by contrary wishes.

There have been no late arrivals from Europe: nor any news from any other Quarter.

Don't omit sending me the papers containing the series of letters announced in a late one.<sup>1</sup> Yr. Affecte friend, Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:191.

<sup>1</sup> For the letters of the "Republican" announced in the July 9 *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, see *ibid.*, pp. 192n, 231; and *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 10:1710, 1754–56.

## Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker

My dear St. George

New York July 22d. 1788. In Congress.

I thank you for your several kind Favors to the 30th June, the particular Dates of which are not at present before me. Your Poem I receiv'd & perused with pleasure.<sup>1</sup> I observe that there are several Alterations made since I formerly read it, which appear to me to be for the better. I am sorry to agree with you that those Sentiments of equal Liberty which make the Ground work as well as Spirit of your whole poem, are getting so much out of Fashion, & at this very early Period after so heavy a Sacrifice to Principle which we are but too much inclined to abandon. The Adoption of the Constitution by your State has given it a firm Foundation, & will be the means of bringing in the State of New York which otherwise wou'd certainly have rejected it; and I suppose N. Carolina woud have follow'd the Example. The enclosed paper will shew you the present State of the Business in Poughkeepsie. A temporary Adoption, to be conditionally perpetual seems to be most likely to take place. In what Light this may be consider'd, I know not. Some will deem it a valid Adoption; others will probably



think that it is inadmissible & amounts to a Rejection. It gives me infinite pain to find that your Opinion respecting our dear Brother<sup>2</sup> corresponds so much with my own first Alarms. I cou'd wish to reconcile the Circumstances to a different Explanation.

July 28th. We have receiv'd Accounts of the unconditional Adoption of the Constitution by this State, which has occasion'd a great & rather intemperate Joy in the Citizens here.<sup>3</sup> We are now upon the Business of the preparatory Arrangements, & I will not detain this to make observations on this or any other Subject. From Mr. Madison I had reason to expect you here before this day, which is the reason I have not been anxious to write to you. I directed a Letter to you from the Boys this day. They are well & I hope, going on properly in their Studies. With respect to their Expences I wish to have more particularly your Sentiments. The Disbursements for them already amount to about 60£ this Curry. I cannot add, for we are at this moment on a very interesting point. God bless you.

Yrs. most sincerely & affectionately,

Tho. Tud. Tucker

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For St. George Tucker's *Liberty, a Poem; On the Independence of America* (Richmond: A. Davis, 1788), see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,508.

<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly Nathaniel, for whom see Tucker to Tucker (1st letter), April 17. Their brother Henry, a Bermuda lawyer and merchant, did not figure significantly in their 1788 correspondence.

<sup>3</sup> The New York ratifying convention adopted the Constitution on July 26 by the margin of 30 to 27.

## Abraham Clark to Thomas Sinnickson

Sir,

New York July 23d. 1788.

I am favoured with yours of the 12th instant by Major Story which I recd yesterday—his Journey I find has been unsuccessful.<sup>1</sup>

As to my sentiments respecting the New System of Government, altho' you do not ask, yet, as I find by your Letter it will be Acceptable, I think it not amiss to give them. They have at no time been concealed. I never liked the System in all its parts. I considered it from the first, more a Consolidated government than a federal, a government too expensive, and unnecessarily Oppressive in its Operation; Creating a Judiciary undefined and unbounded. With all those imperfections about it, I nevertheless wished it to go to the States from Congress just as it did, without any Censure or Commendation, hoping that in Case of a general Adoption, the Wisdom of the States would soon amend it in the exceptionable parts; Strong fears however remained upon my mind untill I found the Custom of recommending

amendments with the Adoptions began to prevail. This set my mind at ease. It became clear in my opinion from the Oppositions, and the general concurrence in proposing amendmts. that the present plan must undergo some alterations to make it more agreeable to the minds of the great Numbers who dislike it in its present form. The Amendments I wish are not numerous; many proposed by the different Conventions appear of but little Consequence, yet some are important and must be Acceded to if ever the Government sits easy. From this State of the matter, wishing amendmts. as I do, you will readily conclude I anxiously wish every state may come into the adoption in order to effect a measure with me so desireable; in which case, from the general current of amendments proposed, we shall retain all the important parts in which New Jersey is interested.

To your quere about our paper money, I dare not venture a Conjecture what effect the new Government will have upon it. I suppose, however, no interference will be had in that or any Law now in force so far as respects Citizens of the same State. In Continental affairs, and between Citizens of different States I Suppose the case will be otherwise. Our paper probably will not then be received in the Treasury of the United States, or in our State by Citizens of another State, in which Cases it will cease to be a legal tender.

As to the Arrears of Taxes payable to the Continental receiver, I believe our paper will readily be received. The difficulty of obtaining money from the exhausted state of our finances makes our money, notwithstanding the loss sustained upon it, eagerly sought after. I know public Creditors are anxious to Obtain orders on our Loan officer when they can hear he hath any of our paper on hand; large orders have been given upon him which the holders Accepted in expectation of receiving paper only. As to Specie they know at present none is expected.

If any remedy is applied to our paper money it must come through our Legislature. I believe it would have a good effect if the Interest and such of the principle as may be paid in was destroyed, and the amount of the Interest raised by taxes.

It is said the Speaker is about calling our Legislature on account of the Adoption of the New Constitution; this is altogether unnecessary as the New Congress will not be convened before February, the Situation of several States require such a distant time; the Usual time of meeting in October will be soon enough to make the necessary provision for appointing officers &c.

We have been some time in Suspense about the event of the New Constitution in this State. The Accounts of last evening were that the Convention had Adjourned to a future day, if that is the Case they mean at next meeting to adopt it. Before I seal this I may likely hear whether the above report is true or not.

Sir, Your Obedt. Humble servt.,

Abra. Clark

P.S. I cannot find that the Acct. of the Conventions Adjourning is Supported by any good Authority.

RC (PHi: Conarroe Collection). Addressed: "Thomas Sinnickson Esquire, Salem, New Jersey." Endorsed: "The Post Master at Philada. is desired to forward this to Mr. Sinnickson."

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the failure of John Story's three memorials to Congress to this point, a committee appointed March 12 and renewed July 28 reported a recommendation in his favor on September 5 for his pay as commissioner of accounts for Pennsylvania, which Congress adopted the same day. See PCC, item 41, 9:219-22, 293-322; and JCC, 24:160, 183-84, 28:46n, 47n, 313-14, 434, 31:514n, 34:16-18, 91n, 107-8, 366n, 500.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York 24. July 1788

Your two last unacknowledged favors were of Decr. 20 and Feby. 6.<sup>1</sup> They were received in Virginia, and no opportunity till the present precarious one by the way of Holland, has enabled me to thank you for them.

I returned here about ten days ago from Richmond which I left a day or two after the dissolution of the Convention. The final question on the new plan of Government was put on the 25th of June.<sup>2</sup> It was twofold 1. whether previous amendments should be made a condition of ratification. 2. directly on the Constitution in the form it bore. On the first the decision was in the negative, 88 being no, 80 only ay. On the second & definitive question, the ratification was affirmed by 89 ays agst. 79 noes. A number of alterations were then recommended to be considered in the mode pointed out in the Constitution itself. The meeting was remarkably full; Two members only being absent and those known to be on the opposite sides of the question.<sup>3</sup> The debates also were conducted on the whole with a very laudable moderation and decorum, and continued untill both sides declared themselves ready for the question. And it may be safely concluded that no irregular opposition to the System will follow in that State, at least with the countenance of the leaders on that side. What local eruptions may be occasioned by ill-timed or rigorous executions of the Treaty of peace against British debtors, I will not pretend to say. But altho' the leaders, particularly H—y — & M—s—n<sup>4</sup>, will give no countenance to popular violences it is not to be inferred that they are reconciled to the event, or will give it a positive support. On the contrary both of them declared they could not go that length, and an attempt was made under their auspices to induce the minority to sign an address to the people which if it had not been defeated by the general moderation of the party, would probably have done mischief.



Among a variety of expedients employed by the opponents to gain proselytes, Mr. {Henry first and after him Col. Mason introduced}<sup>5</sup> the {opinions expressed in a letter from a correspondent [Mr. Donald or Skipwith I believe]<sup>6</sup>} and endeavored to turn the influence of your {name even against parts of which I knew you approved}. In this {situation I thought it due to truth} as well as that it would be most agreeable to {yourself} and {accordingly took the liberty to state some of your opinions on the favorable side}. I am informed that copies of extracts of a letter {from you were handed about at the Maryland convention with a like view of impeding the ratification}.<sup>7</sup>

N. Hampshire ratified the Constitution on the 21st Ult. and made the ninth State. The votes stood 57 for and 46 agst. the measure. S. Carolina had previously ratified by a very great majority. The Convention of N. Carolina is now sitting. At one moment the sense of that State was considered as strongly opposed to the system. It is now said that the tide has been for some time turning, which with the example of other States and particularly, of Virginia prognosticates a ratification there also. The Convention of N. York has been in Session ever since the 17th Ult. without having yet arrived at any final vote. Two thirds of the members assembled with a determination to reject the Constitution, and are still opposed to it in their hearts. The local situation of N. York, the number of ratifying States and the hope of retaining the federal Government in this City afford however powerful arguments to such men as Jay, Hamilton, the Chancellor[,] Duane and several others; and it is not improbable that some form of ratification will yet be devised by which the dislike of the opposition may be gratified, and the State notwithstanding made a member of the new Union.

At Fredericksburg on my way hither I found the box with Cork Acorns, Sulla & peas, addressed to me.<sup>8</sup> I immediately had it forwarded to Orange from whence the Contents will be disposed of according to your order. I fear the advanced season will defeat the experiments. The few seeds taken out here by the President at my request & sown in his garden have not come up. I left directions in Virginia for obtaining acorns of the Willow Oak this fall, which shall be sent you as soon as possible. Col. Carrington tells me your request as to the Philosophical Transactions was complied with in part only, the 1st volume being not to be had.<sup>9</sup> I have enquired of a Delegate here from Rhode Island for further information concerning W. S. Brown, but can learn nothing precise. I shall continue my enquiries, and let you know hereafter the result.

July 26. We just hear that the Convention of this State have determined by a small majority to exclude from the ratification every thing involving a condition & to content themselves with recommending the alterations wished for.



As this will go by way of Holland I consider its reaching you as extremely uncertain. I forbear therefore to enter further into our public affairs at this time. If the packets should not be discontinued, which is surmised by some, I shall soon have an opportunity of writing again. In the mean time I remain with the sincerest affection, Your friend & Servt.,  
Js. Madison Jr.

P.S. Crops in Virginia of all sorts were very promising when I left the State. This was the case also generally throught. the States I passed thro', with local exceptions produced in the Wheat fields by a destructive insect which goes under the name of the Hessian fly. It made its first appearance several years ago on Long Island, from which it has spread over half this State, and a great part of New-Jersey; and seems to be making an annual progress in every direction.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:196–98.

<sup>1</sup> See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:438–42, 568–70.

<sup>2</sup> For the June 25 proceedings of the Virginia ratifying convention, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 10:1515–43.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Notley Conn and Thomas Pierce, for whom see *ibid.*, p. 1676n.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick Henry and George Mason.

<sup>5</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in cipher.

<sup>6</sup> Brackets supplied by Madison. For Henry's reference in a June 9 speech to Jefferson's February 7 letter to Henrico County delegate Alexander Donald, see *ibid.*, 9:1088n.7. For the text of the letter itself, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:570–72.

<sup>7</sup> In his December 31 letter to Uriah Forrest of Maryland, Jefferson had enclosed an extract from his December 20 letter to Madison giving his opinion on the Constitution. Although he gave Forrest permission to reveal the content of the extract, Forrest was to do so "without quoting it's author." See *ibid.*, pp. 475–79. See also Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:66n.4.

<sup>8</sup> This box was sent with Jefferson's letter of February 6, for which see note 1 above.

<sup>9</sup> See Edward Carrington to Jefferson, May 14, note 5.

## Virginia Delegates to Edmund Randolph

Sir,

New York July 25. 1788

We do ourselves the honor to inclose to your Excellency a paper which was put into our hands a few days ago by the Minister of France at a conference he had with us at his own request upon the Case of Capt. Ferrier, the subject of a late Resolution of Congress.<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency must have Observed from that Resolution that Congress was careful to avoid a decision as to the Authority to which Capt. Ferrier might be amenable, having gone no further than to determine that he ought to be apprehended.

The Minister mentions the Consular Convention entered into in the year 1784 by Doctor Franklin & the Count Vergennes, as being considered a Valid Act by the King of France; it is therefore proper for

us to inform your Excellency that it has not been Ratified by Congress. The Ratification has been delayed on account of some objectionable points, upon which Mr. Jefferson is now charged with negotiations.<sup>2</sup> The business is, however, in a delicate situation, and it is the wish of Congress that the affair of Capt. Ferrier may be so treated as to produce no discussion that can possibly be avoided.

We have the Honor to be, with the greatest respect, Your Excellencies Mo. Obt. Servts.,

Js. Madison Jr.

Ed. Carrington

Cyrus Griffin

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Carrington and signed by Carrington, Griffin, and Madison.

<sup>1</sup> The "paper" given to the Virginia delegates by the comte de Moustier was his protest against Virginia's conduct in the case of Capt. Joseph Marie Anne Ferrier, who had been seized by the French consul in Virginia for maritime crimes but was released by a local sheriff under Virginia law. It is in the Continental Congress Papers, Vi, and has been printed with a condensed translation in Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:199–201. For the context of the adoption of the "late Resolution of Congress" June 13, see Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston, May 30, note 2. Governor Randolph's August 2 reply and other documents pertaining to the case are in *ibid.*, 11:192–94, 216–18.

<sup>2</sup> For Thomas Jefferson's involvement in this case and its significance to the negotiation of the Franco-American consular convention signed in Paris in November 1788, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:228, 249, 251, 14:82–84, 86.

## Edward Carrington to William Short

My dear Sir,

New York July 26. 1788

Since the Sailing of the French Packet in June no opportunity of writing has offered except by way of the British Post Office, which, as well on account of the expence, as hazards, I thought an ineligible mode. This goes by way of Holland, and although a private hand is the bearer so far, yet it is probable it may be forwarded by post to Paris. I shall therefore make it as little bulky as possible, and will beg the favor of you to make my apology to Mr. Jefferson, to whom Mr. Madison is writing pretty fully by the same conveyance; this will, at the same time, incur expence enough, and supercede the necessity of my writing to him.

By the June Packet I did myself the pleasure to inform Mr. Jefferson of the adoption of the Constitution in South Carolina as the eighth State<sup>1</sup>—Since that N. Hampshire, & Virginia have also acceded by Small Majorities, the Minorities however have acquiesced. Mr. Madison will inclose papers per whence you will be informed of the characters for and against in Virginia. New York & North Carolina are now in session—the latter convened so lately that we have received no intelli-

gence from her; she must doubtless follow Virginia implicitly. N. York has been sitting about 6 weeks at Poughkepsi, 80 Miles from the City. A very great Majority have all along been decidedly in the opposition, but the situation of the business, from the adoption of so great a Number of States, has been embarrassing to them. They have wished to reject, but knew not how to do it—a conditional adoption has been brought forward in a variety of Shapes, but all have even displeased the party projecting them after a little consideration. Thus has the time of this assembly been spent; but it is expected that in a very few days; their deliberations will issue in an absolute adoption, attended with recommendatory amendments, nearly such as Virginia have agreed to. Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Jay and Chancellor Livingston have Conducted the federalists. Governor Clinton, a Mr. Lansing & a Mr. Smith have conducted the Antifederalists. These have become established terms throughout the United States, to distinguish the supporters, and opponents of the constitution.

We may now contemplate this Fabrick as erected, and permit me my dear Friend to congratulate you upon the event. So thorough a revolution was never before effected by Voluntary Convention, and it will stand as a lasting monument of a wisdom and congeniality peculiar to America. The system yet requires much to make it perfect, and I hope experience will be our guide in taking from or adding to it. There is however some reason to fear that alterations will be precipitated, so as to prevent some of the benefits which might result from trial. The exponents have acquiesced so far as to attempt nothing unconstitutionally, but, I apprehend it will now be their drift, to get into the Congress men who will promote the measure of a General convention at too early a period. I am persuaded that could the Government operate uninterrupted, for a few years; many of the visionary dangers which have been apprehended, would vanish, and in that time the real defects would be discovered & the remedies suggested.

Congress are now about to put the Government in Train to Commence proceedings—perhaps it will assemble somewhere about February or March next.

I am My dr sir, yr. Affet. Friend & Hl St.,                      Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: Short Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Carrington to Jefferson, June 9.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear Sir

New York 26th July 1788

You may be assured that the delegates from North Carolina have not been inattentive to the Respect they owe the State whatever may

be their private Sentiments respecting the new Constitution. When a Committee had reported and the Question was taken up for putting the new govt. into motion and a Time was proposed for chusing Electors and Representatives & for the Members entering on Business we stated fully the Situation of our State and it was immediately agreed that the Time should be put off as far as we should alledge was absolutely necessary. But no final Question is yet taken & we believe that we shall be able to obtain such Delay that N Carolina may in the interim take her Measures. Every thing on this Head is at present stationary.<sup>1</sup>

Some days ago there was a large Procession here on 10 States having confederated and Congress were invited to dine with the Company some thousands of them under a particular Pavilion in the Fields. The other States attended but the N Carolina Delegates staid at Home. We conceived it was a Respect we owed the State not to celebrate an Event in our public Characters which the State we represent has not hitherto sanctioned by her approbation.

Hitherto the State of N York in Convention has not taken its Measures. It is thought they will be curious and a species of Delphic Oracle, neither an Adoption nor Rejection or both as parties may be disposed to construe it.

I am Dr Sir Your obedt servt,

Hu Williamson

RC (NcD: Iredell Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> See John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear sir

New York 26th July 1788

We give bad proofs of our Knowledge whatever we may give of our Candour while we go on making mistakes & confessing that we have made them. After the inclosed was written the information contained in the inclosed Paper came to Hand by which it would seem that the New York Ratification is not like to prove a Hermaphrodite as had been apprehended. Such have been the Effects of the weighty reasoning of the minority and other very *weighty* considerations. By the Way the antifeds were conscious that they have in many Cases carried their Elections by imposing false Representations on their Constituents and propagating impudent Lyes. We take for granted that N Carolina will not be the only associate of Rhode Island.

I am Dr sir, Your obedt servt,

Hu Williamson

RC (NN: Emmet Collection, no. 9509).



## Paine Wingate to John Langdon

Sir

New York July 26. 1788

I shall do myself the honor of addressing this letter to your Excellency, conceiving it proper at all times to give such information, as I shall suppose your Excellency would wish to receive, or may concern the interests of the State. The Secretary of Congress, no doubt, regularly and seasonably transmits to New Hampshire such acts and resolves of that body as may particularly concern them. Among those acts is one, prolonging the time for lodging the claims of the several states against the united States with the proper commissioner.<sup>1</sup> These claims will comprehend such as any state shall judge to be founded in equity, altho' they are not sanctioned by resolves of Congress or supported by the usual vouchers. And after they are stated, three commissioners hereafter to be appointed will have full power to examine into & admit or reject those of this description as they shall think right and just. This is a most important trust, in which all the states are interested, and some very deeply. Virginia, it is said, have claims of this kind to a very great amount, and Massachusetts not inconsiderable. Among the rest is the Penobscot expedition. I do not know how New Hampshire is circumstanced; but being apprised of the measure it is proper to endeavor to be on an equitable footing with the other states. We had some concern in the Penobscot affair, and very probably the state incurred other expences for the common defence and welfare, which ought to be adjusted conformably to the general principles established for the other states.

Among other transactions of Congress your Excellency will observe the ratifying of the loan of a million of Guilders made last spring by Mr. Adams in Holland. The state of our finances in this country have hitherto been such, that there was no possibility of making payment in Europe for the interest of our loans, or for such parts of the capital as by installment become due there. It was of importance, especially at this juncture, to preserve our credit by a punctual fulfilment of our engagements. The new government must require some time to form the regulations & bring forth the expected resources. Many disadvantages would attend a repeated application to the money lenders for smaller sums and when pressed with immediate necessity. From these and other good considerations Mr. Adams & Mr. Jefferson were both of opinion that it would be much for the interest of the united states to secure this needed resource to enable us to pay the demands upon us in Europe to the year 1790 inclusively by which time it is hoped that our internal resources will be sufficient to supply our wants without the burden of foreign loans. Besides, altho' the contract is made for a certain sum, yet it is not likely that the loans will be filled up any faster than the monies shall become due there, so that in effect it will

be no more than to put upon Interest again that interest and those Instalments which shall from time to time become due and paying some other necessary expences which arise in Europe. I confess that I am extremely averse to the increase of our foreign loans, and nothing but necessity and our peculiar situation at this time would have induced me to consent thereto. So fully impressed was Congress with a sense of the present expediency that there was but one dissenting voice.<sup>2</sup>

Congress have omitted making the necessary arrangements for putting the new Government into effect, out of delicacy to the situation of New York, whose decision upon the proposed constitution has been expected dayly for some time. I have now the pleasure of congratulating your Excellency upon their adoption which we have just received the news of. The particulars are not yet come to hand, only that there was a majority of five in favor of an unconditional ratification. The new congress cannot meet so early as most expected and many wished for owing to the situation of some of the Southern states. I hope however that there will be no necessity of Congress meeting under the present confederation after November next. We have now all the states represented in Congress and considerable business which requires the attention of that body, but expect that as soon as the principal matters are dispatched the delegates will many of them return home. Among that number I shall be glad to be one, provided that nothing special should require my continuance here and my return shall have your Excellency consent. I have the honor to be your Excellencys most obedient & humble Servant.

Paine Wingate

RC (Nh–Ar: State Papers, Revolutionary Correspondence).

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Thomson to the States, June 24.

<sup>2</sup> For this ratification vote July 2, 1788, see *JCC*, 34:281–83.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

Sunday Evening, 27th. July NYork.

My charming Alida<sup>1</sup> will indulge me in telling her, that this moment has closd a journey made almost intollerable by bad roads, wretched stages, and the reflexion, that every step I took was a step farther from the person whose interests most affect, and whose society only delights me. Indeed the truth is, that I had scarcely reachd the gate at the lane's end, 'till I wishd the poor Baron other friends, or less need of any; and with this wish would have dismiss'd him and his fortunes for ever, had I thought it as easy to justify such conduct to you, as I found it so, to reconcile it to myself. Can a Mistress be pleas'd with any Species of infidelity in a lover? Can that lover be

faithfull to his Mistress who deserts his friend? I felt how you would answer these questions, and the recollection of your Morality reviv'd a sense of my own. This is one specimen of your influence—but dare I tell you the farther secret, that I find myself insensibly trying everything by the same rule, and making your approbation the test of propriety? Be this communication right or wrong, of this at least I am certain, that where I don't mistake your opinions mine will always be the better of them.

I have yet but heard that Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Mary are well.<sup>2</sup> The moment I close this scrawl (which post-office hours will make very suddenly necessary) I shall set out to see that they are so. I have yet learn'd nothing that can enable me to say when the Baron's affair will be brought to issue.<sup>3</sup> The public Councils, like the public mind, seem to be engross'd by the contemplation of the New Gover[n]ment—its organization & time & place of meeting. The last is I find very interesting to the good people of this city & I know not whether a Pennsylv. delegate can mingle in any society without a risque of either insult or seduction. Don't be astonish'd that the fair should be made the instruments of both & (if report says true) that when the tongue (their natural weapon) fails, they resort to the hand, & even box & pull hair. By the next post I hope to be able to tell you that this fever has subsided—that the streets may be walk'd in safety—that the New Congress meets at Philada.—that the Baron's business is decided and that I am again at liberty to exchange the bustle of the City for the quiet of Clermont, and the clamors of faction and Cabal, for the small sweet voice of love & friendship.

Shall I have one line in answer to this, if it be but to tell me you are well?

Make my love to your Mama—persuade all your amiable sisters to accept it—and for yourself, my dear Alida, receive the most sincere, the most affectionate wishes of,  
J Armstrong jr.

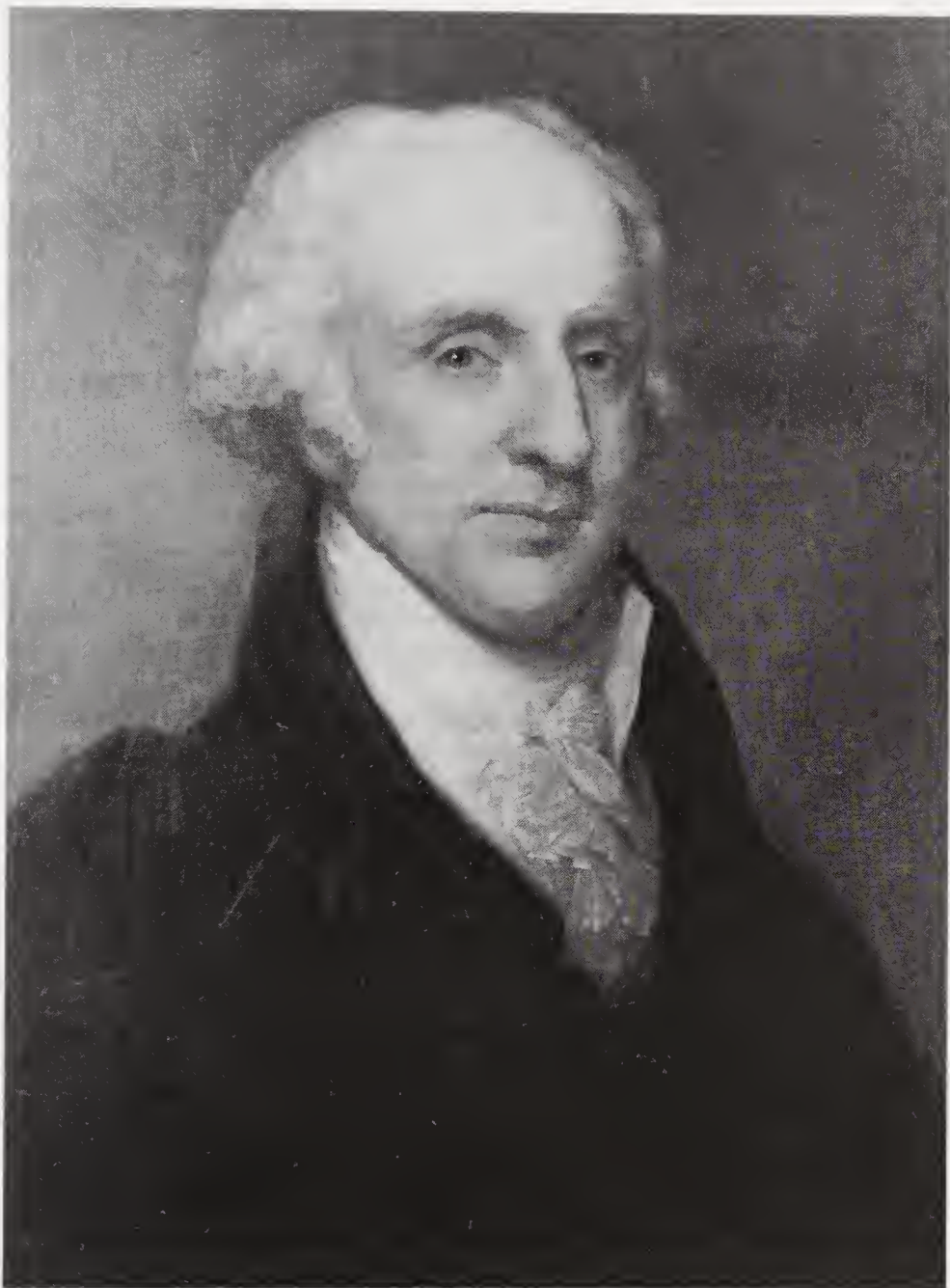
RC (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> Alida Livingston (1761–1822), the daughter of Robert R. (1718–75) and Margaret Beekman Livingston, and sister of Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813), of the Clermont estate. Armstrong had apparently begun his courtship with Alida the preceding winter when the Livingstons were wintering in New York. He had just recently been their guest at Clermont. He and Alida were married there January 19, 1789. See Skeen, *John Armstrong*, pp. 28–30. For Alida's family, see the genealogical chart at George Dangerfield, *Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York, 1746–1813* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960), pp. 516–17.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Alida's sister Gertrude, wife of Morgan Lewis, and her sister-in-law Mary McEvers Livingston, wife of her brother Edward. *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> That is, baron Steuben, whose claim for a pension and settlement of his Continental accounts had long been before Congress. He and Armstrong had been living at the same boarding house in New York. Skeen, *John Armstrong*, p. 28.





John Armstrong, Jr.



## James Madison to James Madison, Sr.

Hond Sir,

New York July 27. 1788.

Since my arrival here I have been perfectly free from my bilious symptoms, and enjoy at present my usual share of health. John continues to be sick and is in very low plight indeed. Altho' he walks about, I think his thorough recovery extremely doubtful. He was so ill in Philada and my stay there so short that these circumstances added to my own indisposition at the time, prevented my taking any steps with regard to Anthony.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps some other opportunity may offer for making the trial you suggested. I think however there is little ground to count on much success in the case.

After a very tedious discussion, the Constitution has been ratified by the Convention of this State. It was carried by a majority of 5, the ays being 30, the noes 25. Amendments in general similar to those of Virga. are recommended, and a confidence expressed in the act of adoption that they will be incorporated in the Constitution. The Convention of N. Carolina has not been heard from since it met. Congress are at present making the arrangements for putting the Government into operation.

Remember me affectly to the family and be assured that I remain with every filial sentiment, Your Obedt son & servt.,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:208.

<sup>1</sup> For Madison's slave John and the family's runaway slave Anthony, see *ibid.*, 9:155n.1, 10:118, 11:208n.1.

## North Carolina Delegates to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir

New York 27th July 1788.

By Express last Night from Pokepsie we learn that on Friday 25th a Motion was made for adopting the new Constitution as recommended by the general Convention on Sepr. last, this Motion was carryed by a majority of Five. A previous Question had been taken for adopting the Constitution for a limited Time &c. [This] was lost by a majority of four. The Papers [we] shall forward may contain more particulars. The Inhabitants of this City since the arrival of the above Intelligence have hardly been moderate in their Expressions of Joy. The State of New York had so many Arguments of private Interest that seemed to tempt her to adhere to the old form of Government that we confess the Act mentioned was rather unexpected at so early a Period. This Event is of such Importance that we conceive ourselves bound to give

you Notice of the same by the first Conveyance. Captn. Chr. Clarke who was to sail early on this morning is charged with this Intelligence which probably will be forwarded from Edenton by Express but as Water Passages are more uncertain we shall forward this by Post and request of some Gentleman in Petersburg to give it furtherance.

Congress are extremely desirous to fix the Time and Place where and when Proceedings shall commence under the new Government; Hitherto they have been restrained, partly as we conceive, from Regard to the feelings of our State; we flatter ourselves however that no Time will be lost in [let]ting us know the Result after our Convention shall have taken its Resolution.

We have the Honour to be with the utmost Consideration, Dear sir,  
Your most obedient and very humble Servants,

Hu Williamson

[John] Swann

RC (DLC: Peter Force Collection, North Carolina Convention). Written by Williamson and signed by Williamson and Swann.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to John Chaloner

Dear Sir

New York July 27 1788

I find a report of Mr Millegans in the Board of Treasury<sup>1</sup> which is intended to criminate me & you as my agent for not delivering the Acctt of supplies made the French Navy in Season. I want from you such facts respecting the business as are in your power to furnish. I suppose we were quite in season with our Accts. but the Issueing department delayed—but Mr Millegan with his usual candor has placed the whole to my account & Yours. I think you must have derived some information from your late employment to settle those accounts of M & H besides what your Books & Papers give you. Let me hear from You on this subject as soon as possible.

Mr Colt informs me that Mr. Morris's overseer has a fine Breed of English Hogs. I wish you could get me a Sow & Boar *pig* and send them in a Coop by some of our Coasters.

My love to Mrs. Chaloner & the Children. I hope you will be able to furnish me soon with money for Mr Church as the Packet Sails on the 7th of August. I am dear Sir, Yours,

J Wadsworth

RC (PHi: Chaloner and White Collection).

<sup>1</sup> No record of this report survives in the papers or journals of Congress. James Milligan had been comptroller of the Continental treasury until the office was abolished November 1, 1787. *JCC*, 33:510.

## William Irvine to William Alexander

Dear Major<sup>1</sup>

New York July 28th. 1788

I confess I do not very well understand the inclosed Ordinance,<sup>2</sup> if you do it is no matter; how, or whether you will like the arrangement in this matter I can not say, but this much I will assure you that we did for the best all matters considered, I mean now more particularly the appointments. My letter to James contains facts,<sup>3</sup> and every thing I ever said on the subject except the conversation with yourself, I have left my letter open that you may peruse it and afterwards forward to him together with what ever you may Judge proper to say to him on the subject. I hope you will take him by the hand, or rather under your wing, in this business—what I have said to him will shew you my Ideas I need not th[e]refore now repeat them, indeed I have not time at this Post. Mr. Hutchins<sup>4</sup> will set out in a few days for the West, he says he will be detained ten or twelve days in Philadelphia—he does not speak with certainty but thinks it probable he will take Carlisle in his way. York town is his usual rout. I will however ask him to drop you a line before he leaves Philadelphia, in case he should not go through Carlisle.

There is nothing new here, except that N York has at last adopted the new Government, by a Majority of five only, so great was the majority against it, til the last moment, that it is evident—no other consideration but a fear of being left out of the Union induced them to accede—they were not convinced, of the propriety, but the necessity. Congress have granted the aid of the Union to Penna. on her requisition, to quell the Wyoming Insurgents, so far as 100 Men for two weeks will do it.<sup>5</sup> These are Recruits on the march to the Ohio.

I am Dear Major, Your friend &amp; Servt.,

Wm. Irvine

NB. I beleive it will be best to send James's packet by a private hand, if it goes by Post it will go on to Fort Pitt where it might lie for months—unless the Post Rider will undertake to leave it at some particular place that you may desire. Hannas town will be best unless carried directly to him.

RC (PHi: Dreer Collection). Addressed: "Major Alexander."

<sup>1</sup> Alexander was formerly a lieutenant and captain in Irvine's Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion, and major of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. See Heitman, *Historical Register*, p. 60; and John B. B. Trussell, *The Pennsylvania Line: Regimental Organization and Operations, 1776–1783* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1977), pp. 56, 58, 93–94.

<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly the "supplement" to the western land ordinance adopted by Congress July 9. See *JCC*, 34:305–10.

<sup>3</sup> See the following entry.

<sup>4</sup> That is, Thomas Hutchins, the geographer of the United States.

<sup>5</sup> See Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin, this date.

## William Irvine to James Irvine

Dear James

New York July 28th 1788

You will receive herewith a Commission, Instructions And the Ordinance of Congress under which the Geographer Genl. has his Authority for Appointing You. Major Alexander is also Appointed to a District on the Wabash.<sup>1</sup> When I saw you I did not expect more than the upper district between you, and my desire was that the Major should be the person named to the Appointment and you to aid him in the Business, But having named You the last year to Mr. Hutchins for Employment when the Major was in Ireland he put you on his list as the first. When I arrived here last I found the Ordinance had passed and waited on him for an Appointment for Majr. Alexander Agreeable to a promise he made me in his Behalf this Spring, he told me he could not deviate with propriety from a rule he had Establish'd to employ in regular order those he had first promised. But on my pressing him he Agreed to give the Major the Second District so instead of one Between you You will each have one. If therefor one would have been an Object for both the two will be greater.

I think it would be best for you and the Major to Act in Consert first finish one district, you can do the More Laborious part while he can do the draughting and more Nicer parts. Whether it will be worth Acceptance or not I cannot say—this will depend on many Circumstances.

Be this as it may we could not procure any thing better at this time for Either of you. I think it might be well for you and the Major to have a meeting as soon as Convenient when You can determin on What Answer to give Mr. Hutchens as well as fix other matters—as the price of Surveying is to be fixed by the Governor & Judges who are now at Muskingom, the Majr. will probably proceed there immediatly as it will be Necessary to ascertain this before you or he can probably give an Answer to the Geogrr. whither you Accept or not—should he take this method he will doubtless call on you in his way. He can Accomplish this Object best being personally acquainted with the Gentlemen. Mr. Hutchens will soon proceed to Muskingom where he can be servicable in fixing the fees, if the Major can Attend him down it will answer the double purpose of accomplishing this Object and give him an Answer as to the Acceptance. I take for granted you will be governed in a great degree by the Majors Advise and Opinion respecting this Business. I will forward your Commission &c. to the Majors care. I suppose he will write you by the same Conveyance. I shall leave this Letter open for his perusal as I have not time to write him at large. I shall only add for the present, that you will not need to be in much hurry About your Answer to the Geogrr. as the Secretary at war thinks he cannot Arange matters in less than three or four Months for



begining to Issue the Warrants—So that I take for granted you will not be able to survey any before next Spring, in this case you will have the whole of this fall and next winter to prepare. I do not mean by this that so good an oppertunity as the present should be let slip of seeing Governor St. Clair at the Muskingom as it is probable whenever the treaty is over he will go to Post St Vincent. This part of the business as I said before will most probably be left to the major—should [*it*] be inconvenient for him to go there now the Governor will probably visit his family in the fall or winter. Write me as soon as you can.

In the mean time, I am Dr. James, Affectionately Yrs.,  
Copy signd. Wm. Irvine

Tr (InHi: Mitten Collection—Northwest Territory). Addressed: "Mr. James Irvine."

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin

Sir, New York 28th July 1788.

We had the honor to offer for the consideration of Congress two applications from the honourable the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania for a detachment of the Troops of the Union, one dated the 18th and the other the 22d Instant,<sup>1</sup> we took the earliest opportunity in our power to effect a speedy determination, the result of which we herewith transmit<sup>2</sup> and have the honor to be, With very great regard, Your Excellency's Most Obedt & Huml Servants

Wm. Irvine Wm Bingham

John Armstrong jr James R. Reid

PS We will move for, and hope to obtain the troops as long as the State may require them.<sup>3</sup>

RC (NN: Emmet Collection, no. 890). Written by Reid, and signed by Armstrong, Bingham, Irvine, and Reid.

<sup>1</sup> The Pennsylvania Council had instructed its congressional delegates to seek the use of Continental troops to quell the recent "disturbances" in Luzerne County's Wyoming Valley, a request they submitted to Congress on July 22. Their motion was referred to a committee consisting of Abraham Clark, Pierpont Edwards, and William Irvine, which reported July 24. As a detachment of troops destined for the Ohio Valley was already rendezvousing at Easton, Pa., the committee recommended that they be made available to Pennsylvania, provided they "not be delayed in the march to the Ohio more than two weeks," a recommendation Congress adopted July 25. See *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:342, 350; and *JCC*, 34:350–51, 354–56. For the Wyoming Valley unrest at this time, see also Paine Wingate to John Pickering, July 17, note.

<sup>2</sup> The enclosed congressional "determination" was officially transmitted to Franklin this day with the following letter from Secretary Charles Thomson. "I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed An Act of the United States in Congress Assembled, which was passed in consequence of a Motion made by the Delegates to

Pensylvania, pursuant to Instructions from the supreme executive Council." RG 27, PHarH.

<sup>3</sup> The Pennsylvania Council subsequently responded—to a now missing August 4 letter from James Reid "respecting the Continental troops now at Easton"—"that from the intelligence we have from Luzerne county, the Continental troops will not be wanted by this State." *Pa. Council Minutes*, 15:505.

## Paine Wingate to Samuel Lane

Dear Sir

New York July 29. 1788

For the sake of giving you the earliest intelligence I can, I shall now give you a short letter in great hurry. I congratulate you on the favorable and unexpected determination of New York respecting the new Constitution; an account of which I will enclose. This was a most desirable event especially to the Eastern states. North Carolina [Conve]ntion is now in Session & we expect to he[ar] of their adoption within a fortni't. Rhode Island yet remain antifederal. All the states are now represented in Congress, but I expect the members will many of them return home as soon as some necessary business shall be dispatched. I wish to tarry no longer than necessity shall require, out of principle of Oeconomy to the state, as well as a fondness for home. I therefore purpose to return as soon as the other members are scattering, which probably may be in about a month. My wife can inform you of some news respecting her brother Timo. Pickering which I cannot here relate.<sup>1</sup> It is said that the insurgents have put him into the hands of some Indians to keep in the woods, lest he should be retaken by the force sent to apprehend the rioters. But Mr. Pickering has desired that government would make no dishonorable concessions to those people for his sake. Thô I do not think that Mr. Pickering will be injured personally further than by the hardship of his [impri]sonment, yet I desire not the above [cir]cumstance should be mentioned to my wife. I expected this day to have been able to inform you of the place in which the new Congress will meet. But the President was so unwell that he could not attend & the business was postponed. Congress have agreed that the Electors of President shall be appointed on the first Wednesday of Janr., the President be chosen the first Wednesday of Feb. & Congress assemble the first Wednesday of March next.<sup>2</sup> Those periods may be thôt by some to be very late but earlier dates could not suit the situation of some of the Southern States. I believe notwithstanding the meeting of the new Congress is so late there will not be necessity of another Congress under the present Confederation after Novr. next. There are great struggles between Philadelphia & New York which shall be the place of Congress. I think the former most likely to prevail but this is only mere conjec-

ture. I thank you for your information in your last letter & shall be good to receive communications from you whenever it is convenient. [Will] you please give my compliments to Colo Simon Wiggin & let him know the contents of this, which I think he will be very glad to receive notice of.

I am your affectionate friend & humble servant,  
Paine Wingate

RC (MH-H: Wingate Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Wingate to John Pickering, July 17, note.

<sup>2</sup> For progress on the July 8 committee report for establishing the new government, see John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

## James Madison to Tench Coxe

Dear Sir

N. York July 30. 1788

I have been much obliged by your favor of the 23 instant,<sup>1</sup> which I have delayed to answer, in the daily prospect of being able to include the decision of Congress on the place for the first meeting of the New Government. This point continues however unfixed. Perhaps it may be brought to an issue to day. From the result of the first question taken on it, the pretensions of Philada. bade fair for success; and it is very possible may in the end obtain it. Some circumstances which have intervened with the vicisitudes to which such a question in such an assembly as Congress are liable, are notwithstanding very proper grounds for doubtful if not adverse calculations.

The observations addressed to your Western inhabitants are in my opinion as well timed as they are judicious. They will be republished here.<sup>2</sup> The conspiracy agst. direct taxes is more extensive & formidable than some gentlemen suspect. It is clearly seen by the enemies to the Constitution that an abolition of that power will re-establish the supremacy of the State Legislatures, the real object of all their zeal in opposing the system.

From the few enquiries I had an opportunity of making on the subject of Cotton, I found that it enters as far into the culture of the present year in Virginia, as seed could be got for the purpose. I communicated your observations to a friend who patronizes with fervor every plan of public utility, and who will give all the effect he can to your ideas.

The very freindly & flattering sentiments with which your letter concludes lay me under fresh obligations to subscribe myself with great sincerity and respect, your obedient friend & servt.,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:210.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 194–96.



<sup>2</sup> Coxe's address "To the Inhabitants of the Western Counties of Pennsylvania," which had been published under the pseudonym "A Friend of Society and Liberty" in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 23, was reprinted in the *New York Daily Advertiser* on August 5 and 6.

## Paine Wingate to John Pickering

Dear Sir:

New York, July 31, 1788.

I have received no further news from your brother since I wrote last.<sup>1</sup> It is said that he had particularly desired that Franklin may not be released for his sake; that he had rather remain in confinement himself than that event should take place to the dishonor of government, and further that he has not received any personal abuse beside that of confinement. I think you need not make yourself uneasy, and do not doubt but Mr. Pickering will be set at liberty soon. Congress have agreed that the Executive of Pennsylvania might have the direction of ninety Continental troops, if needed, to suppress the rioters, for a limited time. These troops were raised and ready to march to the western country, and I suppose are now going that way. As soon as I shall have any intelligence further from your brother I will send you an account of it.

We have been this week much engaged in the dispute where the new Congress shall meet. The question is not determined and it is so uncertain that I will not give you a conjecture. We have now the fullest Congress that has been since the present Confederation. All the states are present, consisting of thirty-eight members. To accommodate some of the southern states it has been agreed that the Electors of President shall be chosen the first Wednesday of January, and the President be voted for on the first Wednesday of February, and Congress meet on the first Wednesday of March. These periods may be thought by some to be too late, but it was judged necessary, all things considered. The ratification of New York I think a very favorable event and very unexpected. It was brought about by some persons and circumstances little thought of some time ago. I cannot now give you any further account of our affairs for we are mighty busy. I wrote at this time for the sake of forwarding the enclosed letter which is just come to hand. I am very well, and as soon as Congress shall thin off and some particular matters be over I hope, perhaps within one month from this time, to be on my return home. This I begin to be very desirous of, when I hope to see you and all our friends well.

I am, with much esteem and affection, your friend and brother,

Paine Wingate.

MS not found; reprinted from Wingate, *Life and Letters*, 1:240–41.

<sup>1</sup> For the plight of Timothy Pickering at this time, see Wingate to John Pickering, July 17, note.



## Benjamin Contee to Levi Hollingsworth

Dr Sr<sup>1</sup>

New-York 1st August [17]88

I was favd. with yrs by last post—the important blank yet remains to be filled up with a place for meetg of the new Congress.

Phila was tryed on Monday.

N. York is at present the place in nomination.<sup>2</sup> The subject is just called up.

Although Phila. was lost, if N. Y. fails also—Phila. may again be proposed—the debates are beginning—adieu! Yr very [obt?] servt.

Ben Contee

RC (PHi: Hollingsworth Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Levi Hollingsworth (1739–1824), a Philadelphia merchant and associate of Robert Morris, was active in Pennsylvania politics and later became a leader in the Federalist Party. Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 2:95n.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 34:358–60, 367–68. See also John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

## Theodore Sedgwick to Benjamin Lincoln

My dear Sir,

New York 1. Augt. 1788.

As I know you must have wrote me on the subject on which we conversed the last time I had the pleasure to see you, I wish you would be pleased to let me know by whom you sent your letter, for I have never reced it.

Congress have now before them the report of a committee for the organization of the new Government.<sup>1</sup> The gentlemen from the southward were urgent to postpone the Assembling of the Administration untill March. From a principle of concileation the northern members have acceded to it, but the same temper doth not prevail with regard to the place. The southern members excepting those of S. Carolina are anxious to Assemble at Philadelphia. To this measure I feel myself greatly opposed, because in the first place I beleive should congress there assemble that that city will thence become permanently the seat of Government, and in the next place I consider it as the most improper of any great town on the continent, because, it is the greatest commercial place in America, & because it is generally beleived that there exists in that town the undue influence inimical to the general good. Now whether this idea is well or ill founded the effect on the public mind will be precisely the same. Besides should the members of the legislature in that state be men of tolerable discernment they will be able to dictate in all the matters of national concern.



Theodore Sedgwick

Certainly the government ought not to be permanently established in any great town, nor in any place accessible by water.

I probably shall not continue in this place more than one month.

Please to make my Compts. acceptable to the two Mrs. Lincolns.

I will still continue to address you in the language of friendship which is the language of my heart, you will therefore permit me to assure you, that my feelings towards you are precisely the same they were before the people in justice to your merits placed you in an exalted station.<sup>2</sup> The feelings of my heart were then towards you the dictates of pure & disinterested affection.

You will be pleased to pardon the slovenly manner in which this letter is wrote, I was desirous of writing by General Knox, & I could have opportunity of doing it only during a very interesting debate in congress.

I am with great regard, My dear Sir, Your most obed. Servt.,  
Theodore Sedgwick<sup>3</sup>

RC (MHi: Lincoln Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Lincoln had recently been elected lieutenant governor of Massachusetts.

<sup>3</sup> Sedgwick also wrote a five-page letter to Lincoln on August 15, from which the following extract was taken when it was advertised for sale in 1927 as "An Interesting Historical Letter. On the adoption of the Constitution; the preferred candidates for Vice President, etc." "It was owing to the situation in the Southern States. . . that the meeting of the new Government was so long deferred. . . The rejection of the Constitution by North Carolina creates a gloom among the Southern members. . . Hancock . . . will be most agreeable. Should he decline, Mr. J. Adams will undoubtedly be most generally voted for." *Bernet J. Beyer Catalog* no. 12 (1927), item 333.

## Charles Thomson to Henry Knox

Sir,

August 1st. 1788.

I have the Honor to inform you that your letter of this day, has been laid before Congress, & to enclose their Order,<sup>1</sup> granting you leave of absence, agreeably to your request. I wish you a prosperous and pleasant Journey.

I am &c &c

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "The Honorable the Secretary at War."

<sup>1</sup> For this order granting Knox leave, see *JCC*, 34:381. Knox's August 1 letter requesting leave "to be absent a few weeks" on private business in Massachusetts, during which time he also proposed "to examine the Ordnance and Military Stores of the Union both at Providence and Springfield," is in PCC, item 150, 2:431-34.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

N. York July [August] 2d. 1788

Some of the letters herewith inclosed have been here for some time without my knowing it. The others came to hand yesterday. I have also in hand for you the Marquis Condorcet's *essai* on the probability of decisions resulting from plurality of voices,<sup>1</sup> which I understand from Mazzei is a gift from the Author. I shall forward it by the first conveyance.

There are public letters just arrived from Jefferson. The contents are not yet known.<sup>2</sup> His private letters to me & others refer to his public for political news. I find that he is becoming more & more a friend to the new Constitution,<sup>3</sup> his objections being gradually dispelled by his own further reflections on the subject. He particularly renounces his opinion concerning the expediency of a ratification by 9 & a refusal by 4 States, considering the mode pursued by Massts. as the only rational one, but disapproving some of the alterations recommended by that State. He will see still more room for disapprobation in the recommendations of other States. The defects of the Constitution which he continues to criticize are the omission of a bill of rights, and of the principle of rotation at least in the Ex. Departmt.

Congress have been some days on the question where the first meeting of the New Congs. shall be placed. Philada. failed by a single voice from Delaware which ultimately aimed at that place, but wished to bring Wilmington into view. In that vote N. Hampshire & Connecticut both concurred. N. York is now in nomination and if those States accede which I think probable, and Rhode Island which has as yet refused to sit in the Question can be prevailed on to vote which I also think probable, the point will be carried. In this event a great handle I fear will be given to those who have opposed the new Govt. on account of the Eastern preponderancy in the fœderal system.

Yrs. Affely.

Js. Madison Jr

[P.S.] I inclose a copy of the ratification<sup>4</sup> of N. York. What think you of some of the expository articles?

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:214–15.

<sup>1</sup> That is, his *Essai sur l'application de l'analyse à la probabilité des décisions rendues à la pluralité des voix* (Paris, 1785).

<sup>2</sup> For Thomas Jefferson's letters of May 4, 23, and 30, which John Jay had submitted to Congress on August 1, see *JCC*, 34:382–83; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 13:133–36, 188–98, 222.

<sup>3</sup> See especially Jefferson's May 27 letter to Edward Carrington in *ibid.*, pp. 208–9.



<sup>4</sup> Madison later inserted an asterisk at this point and wrote at the bottom of the page "as *prepared*, probably." New York's July 26 ratification had appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* of July 31, but since he had misdated this letter, Madison evidently assumed later that he had enclosed a draft version of the ratification before the New York convention had officially adopted the Constitution.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

New York Sunday 3d. August. [17]88.

The hope express'd in my hasty letter, of this day week<sup>1</sup> has not been gratified. The calls of private want are seldom heard, or heard but faintly, amidst the louder cries of contending States & Cities—and the Baron<sup>2</sup> may beg or want untill the competition between N. York & Philad. be decided. I thought I saw an end to this in the debates of the last week, but I then spoke my wishes rather than my experience, & forgot for a moment, that in deliberative assemblies, delay decides more questions than argument. I care much less about the effects of this policy upon the question, than upon myself for if it left me at liberty to see my Alida, I would play the generous game, and even join my voice to Hamilton's in preaching up it's propriety & necessity—But as it is, you will not, I'm sure, blame me, for blaming it. I did & I propos'd—and the moment I had clos'd my Conversation with you, I went to begin another with your two sweet sisters. I found them at Edward's—well & happy in hearing you were so. I have since seen them as often within the week, as public business & private engagements would let me. Mary, Edward & Eliza are now on Long Island—they went over on Friday, & return to-morrow. Apropos of That modern Barbara Allen and her swain—my visit was the means of bringing them together for the first time since they parted at Poughkeepsie. Anxious to see me, John came to Edwards, even at the risque of seeing his Barbara. His passion is I find much more lively than his hopes—tho' the latter are yet far from being extinguish'd. I wish he may not eventually find it her pleasure to give pain.

The 2d of August has come & gone & Jones is not here—this is no otherways interesting to me than as a disappointment in not hearing from you. I had a thousand Questions to ask—and as many to answer. I regarded it as a kind of Assignment—Wish'd it with impatience, kept it with punctuality & so far gave myself up to fancy, as to blame you for what, if it were a fault, could only be ascribed to Jones. You will I'm sure make but one inference from this—and that is the pleasure you will give in letting me hear from you once a week at least. The post will be a safe & a speedy conveyance (When others do not present them-

selves)—& your delicacy be entirely preserv'd by either varying your own hand, or employing that of another in writing the direction. If I thought this at all improper, remember, that I would be the last person in the world to advise my Alida to do it.

I am oblig'd to shorten this letter by a call to attend the funeral of a servant of Congress & a brother of the Cincinnati—a Mr. Pierce<sup>3</sup> whom you may know from the circumstance of his having married a Miss Bard.

The poor knights go off very fast—he is the 3d within a fort-night & so impatient was one of them to be gone, that (tho' wasted to a skeleton by disease & within a day or two of dying in a natural way) he determin'd to shorten the thread, & hang'd himself. He was a Capt. Pemberton.<sup>4</sup>

I have many Compliments to make to your Mama & Sisters—make them for me—and believe me to be my dearest girl entirely & forever  
Your Most Affectionate,  
J Armstrong jr.

[P.S.] Make my apology to your Mama for my daring to put this Under a blank Cover—but The dead will claim a few moments from the living.

RC (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> See Armstrong to Alida, July 27.

<sup>2</sup> That is, baron Steuben.

<sup>3</sup> That is, former commissioner of army accounts and paymaster general John Pierce. See *JCC*, 34:392.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently Robert Pemberton, a former assistant adjutant general in the Continental Army in 1781. See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 22:385.

## Charles Thomson to Arthur St. Clair

Sir, Office of Secy of Congress, Aug. 4th. 1788

I have the honor of transmitting to you herewith enclosed an act of the United States in Congress, by which, for the reasons therein stated, the Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the northern district is continued in service two months from and after the 14 of the present month.<sup>1</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Yr Most obedt & most  
h S C

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "The honble. A St. Clair, Govr of the Western terr[itor]y."

<sup>1</sup> For this August 1 resolve, see *JCC*, 34:382.

## John Brown to James Breckinridge

Dear Breckinridge

New York August 5th. 1788

I have had the pleasure to receive your favors of the 8th & 20th Ultio. They would have been answer'd sooner had not they reached this place during my absence on a tour to New Hampshire from which I only returned two day ago.<sup>1</sup> Your expressions of friendship are truly flattering to me as I am persuaded that they are dictated by disinterested principles which from my own feelings I am convinced are mutual. With you I equally regret that interruption which our Correspondence to me so agreeable must shortly suffer—this I fear is the last I shall be able to write you untill my arrival in Kentucky. I expect to set out in a few days & shall go by the way of F Pitt unless I shall hear that the River is too low to permit my passage, in that case I shall pass through Winchester & either through Greenbrier or Holston as may appear most advisable. From that Country (should I arrive in Safety) you shall hear from me as soon as possible.

Your fears respecting N York are obviated, the agreeable News of their adoption must have reached you before this time. We daily expect good News from N Carolina. Rhode Island have not yet taken any measures since their partial rejection but think they shortly will be convinced of the Necessity of adopting. Your sentiments relative to Kentucky are rather alarming—but I hope there is too much good Sense in that Country to let any ill founded prejudices lead them into intemperate Measures. My wish is that they may not fall into confusion by divided Councils & like Frankland experience the banefull effects of irritated Factions & Civil War. Upon a review of their Situation I am inclined to think they will find it necessary to assume their Independence & to organize their internal Govt. This Step appears to me to be advisable & necessary to secure unanimity & prevent licentiousness & cannot have any effect to prevent their application for admission into the Union under the New Govt. which must require a considerable length of time to bring it about in a Constitutional way. A Connection with foreign powers is certainly liable to many of the objections you mention & ought never to be thought of if to be avoided without a Sacrifice of Right. If the Western people can be put into possession of their Rights & secured in the enjoyment of them under the influence of the Genl. Government reason & gratitude & Justice dicta[te th]at their Allegiance should continue inviolate. But on the other hand if that Govt. is unable or unwilling to secure to them equal protection, Rights & Benifits, Reason points out the propriety of seeking these wherever they are to be found. My Journey to the Eastward was partly to gratify my Curiosity but more to discover the real Sentiments of the Eastern States relative to the Western Country, particularly respecting the Mississipi—from my observations I do not think

we have any reason to fear a Sacrifice of that Right but I see no probability that any measures will be taken to put us in possession of it in any short time. The Spanish Ports are now open (by Curtesy) for their Fish. Were any attempt made to wrest the Mississippi out of their hands this advantage which is great would immediatly be denied & can we expect that those who attempted to sacrifice that Right for this advantage will now sacrifice this advantage by asserting that Right? We must place our dependence upon other measures which time & prud[ence] will dictate.

Congress is now engaged in aranging the new Government. Electors are to be appointed the 1 Wedensday in Jany., to elect President 1st Wedensday in Feby & New Congress to meet 1st Wedensday in March. Where is yet uncertain—it was determined at Baltimore, [...]t vote reconsider'd & tis doubtful whether this [...] or at this place. Great [...] upon this question & I fear may produce consequences unfavorable to the New Constitution by exerting disgust in some part of the Union.

I enjoy my usual health & have been very happy; had a most agreeable trip to the eastward was treated with every mark of attention & hosp[i]tality & formed an acquaintance with the Principle Characters.

Adieu be content & happy,

J Brown

RC (ViU: Breckinridge Papers in the collections of the Albemarle County Historical Society).

<sup>1</sup> Brown had apparently been absent on his “tour to New Hampshire” from July 10 to August 3. See *JCC*, 34:306, 385; and Brown to John Smith, July 9.

## William Bingham's Draft Resolution

[August 6? 1788]<sup>1</sup>

Whereas by the recommendation of the federal Convention assembled at Philadelphia, Congress are desired (inter alia) to fix the Place, where Proceedings are to commence under the federal Constitution, 1st *⟨And whereas, the States which have parted with all those Powers, which regulated their national & aggregate Interests, & which they have vested in the federal Government, have been fully persuaded, that in so doing they have consulted their mutual advantage, by their consolidating & Strengthening the Powers of the Union,⟩*

2 *⟨And whereas, it is essentially necessary to the Peace, Prosperity & Preservation of the Union, that in all the Arrangements made by Congress, the respective Interests & Accommodation of the States be impartially attended to,⟩*

*⟨And Whereas, the Dangers that the Union has most to apprehend, arise from the unequal Portion of Strength, possessed by the Northern & Southern States, which involves the Necessity of taking Care that the Ambition of the*



*powerful Members, should not be accompanied by the Means, of degrading the Weak, & rendering them Subordinate & Dependent, which might tend to dissolve the Confederacy, as has happened with other political Leagues constituted on dissimilar Terms,)*

And whereas, the Power of regulating Commerce which may confine & monopolize the carrying Trade, and Establishing such high Duties on the Importation of foreign Articles of Consumption (in order to encourage the domestic Manufactures of the Country) as may operate as a Prohibition, may be exercised by the Seven navigating & manufacturing States alone, & which may be made the Engines of Severe oppression to the Southern States, & which renders it their Interest to guard against the Effects of such a Combination.

3 And whereas, the Southern States have been more Seriously alarmed on these, than on any other Points, & have Selected them, as inducing the strongest Objections to the federal Constitution; should therefore the Seat of Government be placed amongst the navigating & manufacturing States, it must evidently discompose the Harmony of the Union, by creating strong Apprehensions of an Influence & Cooperation of Interests, which would engender Commercial & Fiscal Regulations, exceedingly oppressive & injurious to them; the government would consequently commence in Distrust, proceed with jealousy, & possibly terminate in Discord; for if Influence, by facilitating the Means, gives the Opportunity, & a distinct & Separate Interest forms the Impulse, to concert & carry into Effect Schemes of Oppression, for any part of the Union, there is Nothing to depend upon, as an adequate Controul, to check the Inducements, that will exist to Sacrifice the weaker Party. That a Conjecture concerning the Extent of Influence is well founded, we need only recollect, that most of the Officers who will grow out of the Necessities of Revenue, & are an Appendage to that System, most of the Appointments of the federal Judiciary, on whose Decision will depend the great Controversies, in which States both foreign & domestic will be Parties, as well as those betwixt Citizens of the different states; most of the Officers in the military Establishment of the Union, most of those, Superior & Subordinate, in the great Departments, will probably be chosen from the Inhabitants of the Surrounding District, as they will possess the Advantage of Soliciting & Supporting their Pretensions, by personal Application & Address,

And whereas, there is great Cause of Alarm in the Facility with which a combined Force in the federal Legislature, if connected with the adjacent States, may be assembled, whenever any great Question to which they were attached, was to be agitated, or any great Point determined in which it was necessary to outnumber their Opponents, & accomplish the Secret Wishes of an interested Majority.

It becomes an Object, therefore, deeply affecting the Interests of the Union, to determine, where the federal Government shall be

placed, to Satisfy the general Wishes, & consult the mutual Convenience of the Union; where, it will be the best Situated, to preserve the Confederacy by Suppressing Faction, guarding internal Tranquillity, & repelling external Invasion, for, if its Influence will be great in the first Years of its Establishment, by the Creation of numerous offices & the Enjoyment of a most extensive Patronage, Congress should so place it, that the first Fruits of its Benefits may circulate as equally as possible, & that it may equally diffuse its animating Effects. To answer this salutary purpose it must be placed in the Centre of the Union, from whence its Operation may diverge, & be proportionally felt throughout the whole Extent of the United States. If it is placed at a Distance from this central Point, its Foundation will be laid in extreme Partiality, & a View to local Aggrandizement & particular Interests, which Spirit, if too much cultivated in one part of the Union, must beget so unequal a Division of Strength, as must terminate, when aided by ambitious Views, in the Extinction of the Confederacy, or the Degredation of a considerable Portion of it.

And whereas, it has been contended by very respectable Authority, that this Government was on too extended a scale, & that its Movements could not be sufficiently energetic to reach to, & controul the Extremities, & that the Reins of Government would consequently be relaxed at a Distance from the Seat of Empire. Now, to obviate this Objection as far as possible, & to satisfy every part of the Union, that there is an equal Attention paid to its Interests & Convenience, its Position should be fixed in the Midst of the Population of the Country, where, by strengthening the Centre, the Extremities are fortified; where, the collective resources of the Confederacy may be drawn into a Point, & administered with the greatest Facility; where, the speediest Intelligence of hostile Preparations & Movements may be obtained, & a military Force to oppose them, directed with the greatest Dispatch.

By being thus Situated, the more Southern States, which are in the Neighbourhood of continual Danger from their Contiguity to the settlements of foreign Nations, as well as to hostile Tribes of Indians, will feel a Confidence, by knowing that the Government, to which they look up for Protection, is placed as near them, as the general Interests of the Country will permit. Besides, the frequent & necessary Communications betwixt the Members of the federal Legislature & their Constituents, will be thereby facilitated, as well as those, betwixt the Officers of the great Departments, & their respective Dependencies in the different states.

And whereas, the Place where Congress resides should be free from Danger, & not exposed to the predatory naval Incursions of an Enemy, for without Such security the Functions of Government must be Suspended during an Alarm of War, untill a Place of Refuge can be found where the Deliberations of Congress could be free from Apprehension, & where its Records could be deposited in unmolested Security.

And whereas, the Objects that will press most on the Attention of the first Congress will be those of Commerce & Revenue; the Regulation of the former & Establishment of the latter, require the Government to be Situated in a maritime, opulent, & populous Country, as well to promote the success of the great operations of Finance, which essentially depend on the Confidence of the monied Interest, as to profit by the Institution of a Bank, which is an Engine of powerfull Effect to aid the fiscal Administration, by anticipating the Revenues of the Country, & facilitating the requisite Supplies to the Treasury.

And whereas, Pennsylvania is not only the middle State that Separates the Union into equal Divisions, but is Situated in the very Centre of the national Population as must appear evident from the equal Number of senators and Representatives that the respective States in the Northward & Southward Districts, are, by the Constitution, entitled to Send to the federal Legislature, And whereas, by being thus critically placed in the Midst of the Union, it fortunately happens, that Pennsylvania is a State of great Resource & Vigor, inhabited by a frugal & industrious People, & is calculated to afford a respectable Weight to aid the Government, in counterposing the undue Preponderance of either the Northern or Southern Scale, as well as to furnish Assistance, by a well trained Militia, to any Part of the Union that may require it; altho these Circumstances which under the old Confederation, might beget a political Jealousy in other states, must under the federal Constitution become a Cause of Congratulation, as by the Consolidated System of Union, all the States are melted down into one great Mass of common undivided Interest, & the Benefits to be produced by the Exertions & local Advantages of one State, are proportionally participated of by all the others, more particularly, as the most productive Branches of Revenue are exclusively appropriated by the general Government,

And whereas, from the general Expectation throughout the United States, that Pennsylvania would be the state where Proceedings under the new Constitution would commence, which opinion was founded not only on its various Advantages, both local & political, its central & secure situation, but from its having been the Place, where the united voice of America fixed the first Congress, and where the United Voice of America assembled the federal Convention, the Convention of the State of Pennsylvania have voted for the Accommodation of Congress untill it has fixed a permanent Residence, the Use of all their public Buildings, Situate in Philadelphia, with an elegant Garden as an Appendage, occupying an entire Square, which Buildings, are Sufficiently extensive to Supply large & commodious Rooms for two deliberative Assemblies, as well as Offices for the Secretaries & the different departments.



<sup>1</sup> The committee appointed July 2 to report an act for implementing the new government under the Constitution submitted a report July 8 that was debated on July 14, 28, and 30. Discussion of the report was initially constrained by the absence of information on the results of the ratifying convention of Virginia and New York, which was received on July 14 and 30, respectively, but from the outset the debate turned on reaching agreement on the location of the new capital. By the end of July it was clear that the outcome would hinge on the support that could be mustered for either New York or Philadelphia, but already motions offered by the partisans of each site had been rejected. The debate was resumed August 4 to 7, and continued on August 13, 26, and September 2 to 4, before agreement for New York was finally reached on September 12. See John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

Among the most concerned participants in this debate was William Bingham of Philadelphia, who labored throughout the period to build support for relocating the federal capital in his home city. The arguments marshalled in the present document are the fullest by a delegate that survive. They appear to have been drafted early before the full range of arguments in behalf of Philadelphia had been articulated, but after the setback suffered July 28, before which there would have been less motive for such an extended amplification of the issue. It has been conjectured that they were not submitted in Congress because of the similar resolution offered by Hugh Williamson on August 6, for which see *Doc. Hist. of the First Federal Elections*, 1:72–75; and *JCC*, 34:397–99.

For Bingham's efforts to build support for Philadelphia's aspirations, see also Bingham to Benjamin Rush, August 19.

## Benjamin Contee to Levi Hollingsworth

Dr Sr

New-york 6th August [17]88

Major Brooks informed me he had left some Bills with you for sale—if you have not yet sent forward all of the amt to Maryland—please inclose bank notes or an order at sight on this City for £50 Cy. I have been disappointed as yet in rec—g that sum from yr City—if I get it I can return the money you send.

The *place* is not yet fixed. Baltimore as yet stands in the important blank—but it will depend much on the delegation of yr state—what will yet be the plan—doubtless they will press Phila. if it can be had—but I apprehend if the alternative shd be N.Y. or B[altimore] they will easily make their election.<sup>1</sup>

I shall be glad to hear from you by next post—& have the honor to be,  
Dr sr, Yr Obt Serv, B. Contee

RC (PHi: Hollingsworth Collection).

<sup>1</sup> This letter was clearly written before the congressional debate of August 6. For the debates of August 4 and 5, see *JCC*, 34:383–88, 392–94.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

My dear Allida

New York [August 7? 1788]<sup>1</sup>

I was this day sitting in a crowd of angry contending demagouges &



partaking but too much of the spirit which govern'd them when your charming letter of the 3d was presented to me. I had but barely time to run it over till the debate took a turn which brought with it a necessity for me to speak—conjecture its effects. For the first time in my whole public life, I was able to subject my temper entirely to my understanding, to abstract the subject from everything personal, and to triumph over myself if not over my opponents. How great the obligation my dear Alida, and how strong the reason that you should write often, since you write with such effect. 'Tis true this may in one sense may be consider'd as accidental; as exactly such a concurrence of circumstances may not happen again; but others as important, and in which the exercise of good humor may be as necessary to success & Expectations as the exercise of good sense, turn up so frequently in the course of even every-day business, that a mind but moderately impress'd with the truth and importance of the remark, cannot wish for too many motives to gentleness and forbearance, nor too many guards against an opposite disposition. Accept then my dear Girl another Duty, and not only shape my opinions, but fashion my temper—make it like your own, and I shall then become a permanent example of moderation to even deliberative Assemblies. But why question your ability to discharge the office I before assign'd you—or why suppose that greater intimacy can dissolve a charm founded in qualities which it is the effect of Time to strengthen and extend? No Alida I have neither mistaken you nor myself—those qualities you possess, and 'tis human nature to love and admire in proportion as we approach and enjoy them.

“I have already experienc'd (you say) that we cannot journey thro' this life without making some sacrifices and the sooner we accustom ourselves to consider them as duties the more willingly shall we perform them. And (you add) do you not already discover the effect of my imaginary influence.” And let me ask in turn whether it is by writing maxims of so much wisdom & elegance as this that you mean to prove that your real influence either will or ought to be less? however you may have intended it—it is evidence eno' to me that it will, as it should, be greater. Yes my fair philosopher “the web of this life is of mingled yarn, good & ill together,” and we must sacrifice as well as enjoy. Yet conscious as I am of the truth of the fact, I know not when I have been more unwilling to submit to it's necessity.

With every wish to be at Clermont I must yet be here, and here for the miserable purpose of pleading a State Interest, and carrying a City point. For strip the question that has so much warm'd and agitated us for 10 days past, of local interests and personal views—'tis a Meer Bagatelle whether the new Congress be conven'd at Philada. or N York. Tis such incidents that so much disgust me with the political walk, and make me so often enquire whether upon the whole “the

post of honor is not a private Station." On this point however I will only add, that wretched as the subject of our debates is, it is not yet exhausted, and after determining on Baltimore one day and New York the next,<sup>2</sup> all is again afloat, and as much uncertainty prevailing when we shall end or where we shall settle as at the first moment the discussion began.

I hope my second letter (of Sunday last)<sup>3</sup> has not been so tardy in its passage to you as the first. I have often heard complaints of the post-office—and should this instance be repeated, I shall begin to add mine to the number. The delay was there. But did you really resort to Job for instruction? Could I separate the idea of pain from impatience or could I believe that it were possible for you to have felt the one without suffering some degree of the Other I am almost wicked eno' to wish it as ineffectual as advice usually is. Does not this illustrate some one of Rochefocault's maxims? 'Tis certainly somewhat tinctur'd with the selfish principle of his erroneous creed, and I retract it.

I dined with Mary & Edward today. They are well tho' a good deal scorch'd & fatigued by their Rhode Island Trip.

John has been very unwell for some days past, a slight fever & swell'd face—not love—have been his complaints.

I this moment parted from Mrs. Lewis & her little daughter at Mrs. Jay's—& shall pass such part of to-morrow wt. her as I shall be able to steal from public engagements, Affecty. yours, J.A.

RC (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> Date conjectured from Armstrong's references to the congressional debates on the selection of the site of the new federal government and to his "second letter" to Alida, for which see the following notes.

<sup>2</sup> For these debates of August 5 and 6, see *JCC*, 34:392–94, 396–401.

<sup>3</sup> See Armstrong to Alida, August 3.

## William Bingham to Thomas Willing

My dear sir,

New York August 7 1788

My last Letter<sup>1</sup> informed you that the Town of Baltimore had been fixed on by Congress as the Place for commencing Proceedings under the new Government. As this was a Southern Position, uniting the Suffrages of the Seven southern states, it was expected that it would have been retained, untill the Eastern States made overtures to accommodate, by offering Philadelphia as an alternative, in which they would concur. But our Expectations were defeated by the Defection of So Carolina, which State, on a Motion to Strike out Baltimore & insert New York, gave an unreserved Concurrence, from an Idea Suggested that Baltimore was only a circuitous Route to Philadelphia. So violent are their Antipathies to this latter Place.<sup>2</sup>

The Delegates of Rhode Island, who are Strong Antifederalists, & whose state has formally rejected the Constitution, were Seduced into a Vote, (which was requisite to compleat the Stipulated Number to insure Success) to put a Government in Motion, highly inimical to their Views. The Indecency of Such Conduct Struck even their own Partisans with Astonishment.

But a determination on the Place, is only one part of the Ordinance; the Periods, on which the Electors & the President are to be chosen &c, constitute very essential Objects, which they absolutely declined having any Agency in determining. It becomes necessary after the various Parts of the Ordinance have been individually deliberated on, & assented to, that a Question Should be taken on the whole, which has no Authenticity untill it receives the sanction of Seven States. A Sense of the Striking Impropriety of concurring in an Act of this Nature, has determined the Delegates of the State of Rhode Island not to vote on this Question, more especially as it is clearly evident that they have no right—they have made this Declaration in Congress. The Consequence will be that Seven States will not be found, who will concur in the Ordinance, whilst New York continues the destined Place for assembling the new Congress. This must Stagger the Minds of the Eastern Delegates, who are convinced that the present Arrangement is an Act of Partiality & Oppression to the Southern States, & has a View to local Aggrandizement at the Expence of a considerable Part of the Union.

Thus Stand Affairs at present—What will be the result—Time will discover—the various Vicissitudes that have already occurred in the progress of this Business, leave no Room for probable Conjecture. At any rate, there is an Appearance of a longer Detention, which for Several reasons, has become very inconvenient.

With my affectionate remembrance to all the Family, I am my dear sir, Your &c

Wm Bingham

PS. Please to communicate this Letter to Dr Rush & Mr T Coxe, who have wrote to me on this subject, as I have not Time to answer their Letters.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> For these debates of August 4, 5, 6, and 7, see *JCC*, 34:383–88, 392, 404. See also John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

## Benjamin Contee to Levi Hollingsworth

Dr Sr

N. York 8th August [17]88<sup>1</sup>

I wrote you by last post<sup>2</sup>—the ground, with respect to Balto is



greatly changed since—it is now uncertain what plan may succeed.<sup>3</sup> N. York is now in the vote of the House—but it is doubtful whether she must not give way to some p[lace] more south. I almost give Phil[a] up in this question—but no Opp[ortunit]y will be spared.

Col. Howard, if you happen to See him can explain to you the cause of Balto being struck out.

I wish to hear from [...] the s[...] of] my last [...]

Congress is ab[out. . .]

Adieu! Sir, yr Obt Servt.,

Ben. Contee<sup>4</sup>

RC (PHi: Hollingsworth Collection).

<sup>1</sup> This day also Connecticut delegate Pierpont Edwards wrote the following brief business letter to Jacob Cuyler at Albany. “Yours of the 10th of last Month is now before me never having come to Hand till Yesterday. You write to me to remit you ‘the bond.’ I have repeatedly written you, requesting that the Bond might be sent to me, in order to take out Execution against Few, but have never received any Answer to my Request. I am now here where I shall continue for about six Weeks.” Emmet Collection, no. 598, NN.

<sup>2</sup> August 6.

<sup>3</sup> For the debate of August 6, see *JCC*, 34:395–402.

<sup>4</sup> Contee also wrote to Hollingsworth on the 10th, observing that “Mr Bingham goes off to Day & expects to reach Phila Tomorrow,” and directing Hollingsworth to sell some bills of exchange—either for cash or for “notes . . . if you can have a certainty of converting them into cash in the course of the week.” Hollingsworth Collection, PHi.

Contee himself apparently left New York on or shortly after August 13, returning to Congress by October 6. See *JCC*, 34:421, 596.

## Abraham Yates’ Declaration

[August 8, 1788]

Being Confident that the Constitution for the general government in its present form will be destructive to the liberties of the People and as such by every means to be avoided as one of the greatest of all Evils: And that the convention of New York in adopting it without express conditional amendments have been mistaken Both in their expectations and apprehensions: I intended upon the ordinance to organize the same to preserve to myself the evidence of a Dissent on the final question.

But being now called upon by my Collegues and informed, that Messrs. Lehommdieu and Benson Must leave this place on Wednesday next to meet the six nations, That it is not likely that Mr Gansevoort, Altho Wrote for, will then be down, that in the mean time the vote of the state may be Called for, and if so, cannot be Carried without me; That <as> the Convention have adopted the Constitution, my vote cannot be attended with any other inconsistency or inconveniency than that of acting against My private Judgment, When the Loss of the vote



of the state, might be attended with the Removal of Congress to a place less Convenient to the Citizens of this State, and less promising to obtain the amendments which the convention have Looked upon indispensibly necessary for the Security of the Liberty and freedom of the People.

In this Situation if the question should be put, and as often as the vote of the State cannot be carried without me I shall Join in the vote to Compleat the Ordinance; Being Assured that should the vote be put before Messrs. Lehommedieu & Benson go of[f] or after Mr Gansevoort is arrived they will Assist me in giting my dissent entered or to avoid voteing in a manner most decent and proper.

Done on Friday 8 Augt 1788

Abm. Yates

We do certify that Mr Yates has delivered to us a Paper subscribed by him (of which the proceeding is a Copy) as declaritive of the Principles on which he will vote in Congress in the affirmative on the final Question on the Ordinance for putting the new Constitution for the United States into Operation.<sup>1</sup>

Ezra LHommedieu

Egbt. Benson

Alexander Hamilton

MS (NN: Yates Papers). In the hand of Abraham Yates. Certification added and signed by Ezra L'Hommedieu; additional signatures by Egbert Benson and Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> When the "final Question" was taken on the resolution for putting the government under the new Constitution into operation, only Alexander Hamilton and Leonard Gansevoort were in attendance to cast New York's vote. See *JCC*, 34:522–23.

## William Irvine to Gustavus de Rosenthal

My Dear Sir,

New York, August 9th 1788.

The last letter which I had the pleasure to receive from you is dated the 23d of October, 1785, now almost three years—a long time indeed, so much so, that I begin to be apprehensive some untoward accident has befallen. What most naturally strikes me is, that probably the channel at Hamburg, through which by your desire I have always directed to you, is interrupted by death or otherwise or that I have mistaken the address.

I wrote to you in September last year,<sup>1</sup> enclosed your Diploma for the Cincinnati, & a proposed plan of our new Government. I also informed you pretty minutely what quantity of the Certificates you transmitted to me came to hand—the depreciation certificate never arrived.

A number of the most respectable officers of the New England line have actually gone to Settle at Muskingum, have laid out a city, & are

busy surveying their lands. I mentioned to you my having invested most of your property in that company. I believe your share will amount to near 2,000 acres—a city lot, & an out-lot of 8 acres; also 80 acres at the Falls of the Hockhocking. I much fear the progress of that Colony will be interrupted if not totally checked for a time—tho' the Indians have been already repeatedly treated with; and at their own request, one was to have been held this month at Muskingum, as they expressed themselves, to clear up and finally adjust all matters in dispute; yet they commit daily murders—& have been so extremely audacious as to attack the guard that was carrying provision to feed them at the Treaty; it is, therefore, at this moment doubtful whether any treaty will take place. But if they will not treat & be peaceable too, they are hastening their fate—*Delenda Est Carthago*. Two Campaigns well conducted will drive them *over the Mississippi*.

There are two tracts of land set apart to satisfy the Bountys for the late army—I mean the Continental—of a million acres each—one taking in the forks of Muskingum, & the other at the mouth of the Wabash. They will be laid out, I expect, next year, so that you still have one chance left that your lot may fall at *Mohickon John's Town*. If a general Indian War should take place, it will procrastinate the whole of this business.

Our new plan of Government is acceded to by all the states except N. Carolina & Rhode Island: The Convention of the former is now sitting, & an account of their adoption is hourly looked for.

The new Congress will meet next March—where, is not yet fixed—perhaps in this city—perhaps Philadelphia—& not improbably Lancaster, but Either is only meant as temporary: a permanent India City is hereafter to be laid out, which, in my opinion, will be on the bank of the Susquehanna or Potomac—possibly Carlisle. My time in Congress will expire the 1st of November next. We have established a regular post to Fort Pitt, so that should you write, address me in Carlisle in Pennsylvania—no matter what Post Office it first reaches.

*Kentucky* has increased so rapidly that the State of Virginia has joined them in an application to Congress to be erected into an Independent State.

I am well persuaded that unless the Indian war puts a stop to emigration, one or more States will be set upon the Ohio in less than ten years.

I wrote you last May<sup>2</sup> a short note by Mr. Paradise, bound to France, who promised to forward it to Hamburgh; my letter of last year was by the Chevalier Paul Jones: This goes by London, which is a reason for not being so particular as I could venture to be through another channel—indeed, my chief object at present is, to try in what channel there is most certainty of reaching you.

I am dear sir, your very sincere friend,

Wm. Irvine

P.S. Should our new plan of Government succeed, which I have little doubt of, it is not unlikely that something may be done in the mercantile plan you hinted at, in your letter of October, 1785; but I think it will be more probable that my son Callender will help to carry it into execution than myself: He is now at College, is 14 years old, & I hope will be graduated in three years. More of this when I shall again have the happiness of a line from you.

Tr (WHi: Draper Collection—Pittsburgh & Northwestern Virginia Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Irvine to Rosenthal, September 1, 1787.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

## John Brown to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York August 10th. 1788

Your favor of the 28th May<sup>1</sup> came to hand a few days ago for which accept my warmest Acknowledgements.

I am well convinced of the Justness of your remarks respecting the importance of strengthening & maintaining the connection between the District of Kentucky & the Maritime States. During my residence in that Country it was my constant care to cultivate that Idea But I am sorry to inform you that from the present complection of affairs there is reason to apprehend that the Connection will not be of long duration. Congress have rejected their application to be admitted into the Union as an Independent State notwithstanding it was acknowledged to be reasonable—thinking it inexpedient in the present State of the Confederacy & that the admission of a New State might affect the Balance of power unless Vermont could be brought forward at the same time. This will be considered by the people of that Country as a great disappointment inasmuch as they have been more than three years in bringing forward this application & as they are now refered to the new Government, to be admitted under which in a Constitutional Mode must necessarily be attended with considerable delay. Their vast increase in population (amounting to at least one hundred thousand souls in that District alone) added to the great danger & difficulty attending a communication with the Seat of Government renders their connection with Virginia so burdensom that there is every reason to expect that immediately on hearing that Congress have refused to receive them they will assume their Independence. Should they take this Step I think it very problematical whether or not they will apply for admission into the new Confederacy; especially as they are generally opposed to the new Constitution apprehending much inconvenience & danger from the Judicial System & fearing that the Powers vested in



the General Government may enable to carry into effect the proposed Treaty with Spain relative to the Navigation of the Mississippi. Indeed the ill advised attempt to cede the navigation of that River has laid the foundation for the dismemberment of the American Empire by destroying the confidence of the people in the Western Country in the Justice of the Union & by inducing them to despair of obtaining possession of that Right by means of any other exertions than their own. However as we are informed by the Governour of the Western Territory that there is great reason to apprehend a general Indian War, I hope that Kentucky will see the danger & impropriety of breaking off from the Union at this time & that it may still be in the power of Congress to conciliate their minds & to secure their attachment to the Confederacy.

I inclose you two Gazettes containing the Ratifications of the New Constitution by Virginia & New York.<sup>2</sup> The Convention of N Carolina has been for some time past in Session & we daily expect to hear that she has adopted it. Rhode Island it is expected will shortly see the propriety of acceding, as yet there is a majority in that State opposed. Those who were opposed in those States which have ratified appear generally to acquiesc. Congress has been for some time past engaged in giving it operation. Electors are to be appointed on the first Wednesday in January, to chuse a President on the first Wednesday in February & the New Congress to meet on the first Wednesday in March next but the place where has been the subject of much warmth & is not yet agreed upon—tho I think it probable that it will be at Philadelphia.

I expect to sit out in a few days for the Western Country<sup>3</sup> shall take pleasure in communicating to you the News of that Country by every opportunity. Should you be so good as to honor me with a letter it will find a ready conveyance from New York to me by Post.

Before I conclude this letter I must in Justice to my feelings express my gratitude for the many favors I have recd. from you; be assured that they have made a lasting impression upon my mind, & that it is in a great measure to your friendship & Instruction that I am indebted for my Success in life.

Believe me that with the greatest respect, I am Sir, Yo. Mo. Hble.  
Servt.,  
John Brown

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 13:211–13.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the *New-York Journal and Weekly Register* for July 3 and August 7.

<sup>3</sup> Brown last voted in Congress on August 12, for which see *JCC*, 34:413, 417. In accounts submitted to the Virginia treasurer, he claimed continuous attendance from November 13, 1787, to August 13, 1788. Continental Congress Papers, Vi. Moreover, he submitted a final account for the period from August 13 to November 5, for which he was reimbursed £144 on August 26, despite the fact that he had returned to Kentucky by the Ohio River route, arriving in Lexington no later than September 13. For Brown's



role in promoting Kentucky statehood in Congress, advocating acceptance of the Constitution among his correspondents in Kentucky and those attending the Virginia ratifying convention in Richmond, and cultivation of the Spanish minister to gain advantages for Kentucky in navigation of the Mississippi, see Stuart S. Sprague, "Senator John Brown of Kentucky, 1757–1837: A Political Biography" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1972), pp. 72–104.

## Edward Carrington to Thomas Jefferson

My dear Sir,

New York Augt. 10. 1788

Having but a few Minutes notice of this opportunity by Mr. Tillier I can make but little more use of it, than to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 27th of May, and to send you the second Vol. of the *Fœderalist*. The first, I hope, you have received before this.<sup>1</sup> Virginia & New York have both adopted the Constitution, as you will be more particularly informed by Mr. Madison & Mr. Brown, who have written you. North Carolina commenced her session on the 17th Ult. and is probably the 12th Adopting State before this day. Rhode Island has taken no regular Step in the business as yet—a kind of informal reference of it was made to the people by the Legislature, which terminated something like a rejection. I suppose however that she must soon take measures for adopting. Perhaps no coercive measures would be pursued to compel her, but it is impossible she can continue to treat with contempt a measure which is so generally embraced by the other States.

The good fortune of the Chevalier Jones in the service of the Empress gives me much pleasure. Your hint respecting a similar promotion here, shall be attended if there shall appear, in the Course of the present session of Congress, a prospect of succeeding in an attempt to procure it.<sup>2</sup> I regret however that whilst foreign Nations are contending for eminence in conferring distinctions upon this officer, *This*, of which he professes himself a Citizen, should appear, scarcely, to remember the events which founded his Character.

I a few days ago did myself the pleasure to write to Mr Short<sup>3</sup> by way of Holland. Be pleased to present me to him and assure yourself that it is with much satisfaction that I have the Honor to be, Your affectionate Friend & very humble Servt.,

Ed. Carrington

RC (DLC: Jefferson Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Carrington to Jefferson, May 14, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> In his letter of May 4, which had been read in Congress on August 1, Jefferson had hinted that Congress' promotion of John Paul Jones to rear admiral might further improve his prospects with the Russian court, for which see *JCC*, 34:382n.3; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 13:134–35. For Congress' attention to Jones' case before he departed for Europe, see these *Letters*, 24:527, 547–48.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

## Henry Lee to Richard Henry Lee

My dear sir.

New York August 10th. [17]88.

We have the pleasure of having received just now your letter of the 20th July, but our joy is much diminished by the information it contains, relative to your own health. We hope sincerely that long since you have recovered from the severe fit under which you laboured when you wrote your letter, & that it has concluded this visit of the gout. Your account of the prospect of our crop is very pleasing but since the date of this intelligence, has happend the violent storm, whose effects I so much apprehended, & of which I have not yet heard. Whenever you see Carter pray press him to make ample provision of hay for winter use, & when you see Panton urge him to finish my house in due season for our return, which will be in October.

Congress are yet engaged concerning the temporary residence of the fœderal Govt. N York will probably succeed notwithstanding the ardent love which so many bear to Philada. & therefore Potomac will have a good chance for the permanent residence. At all events I think that the ten miles square may be to the south of the Susquehannah which will assist in its consequences very much the trade of the Chesapeake.

Mrs. Lee desires me to tell you expressly that she has undergone a change much for the better, that she feels the most grateful sense of your constant endeavors to restore her health, & that she hopes to be able to manifest for a length of years the love she bares to you, to her aunt & her other friends of Chantilly. Is Henry weaned.

Adieu, most truly yours,

H. Lee

11th August. Mrs. Lee is unwell this morning. The burning & tingling has returned.

RC (ViU: Lee Family Papers).

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York Augst. 10. 1788

Mr Warville<sup>1</sup> has just arrived here, and I seize an opportunity suddenly brought to my knowledge to thank you for your several favors, and particularly for the pedomiter. Answers to the letters must be put off for the next opportunity.

My last went off just as a vote was taken in the Convention of this State which foretold the ratification of the new Government. The latter act soon followed and is inclosed.<sup>2</sup> The form of it is remarkable. I inclose also a circular address to the other States on the subject of

amendments, from which mischeifs are apprehended.<sup>3</sup> The great danger in the present crisis is that if another Convention should be soon assembled, it would terminate in discord, or in alterations of the federal system which would throw back *essential* powers into the State Legislatures. The delay of a few years will assuage the jealousies which have been artificially created by designing men and will at the same time point out the faults which really call for amendment. At present the public mind is neither sufficiently cool nor sufficiently informed for so delicate an operation.

The Convention of North Carolina met on the 21st. Ult. Not a word has yet been heard from its deliberations. Rhode Island has not resumed the subject since it was referred to & rejected by the people in their several Towns.

Congress have been employed for several weeks on the arrangements of times & place for bringing the new Government into agency. The first have been agreed on though not definitively, & make it pretty certain that the first meeting will be held in the third week in March. The place has been a subject of much discussion, and continues to be uncertain. Philada. as least excentric of any place capable of affording due accomodations and a respectable outset to the Government was the first proposed. The affirmative votes were N. Hampshire, Connecticut, Pena., Maryd., Virga. and N. Carolina. Delaware was present & in favor of that place, but one of its delegates wishing to have a question on Wilmington previous to a final determination, divided that State and negatived the motion. N. York came next in view, to which was opposed first Lancaster which failed, and then Baltimore which to the surprize of every body was carried by seven States, S. Carolina which had preferred N. York to the two other more Southern positions, unexpectedly concurring in this. The vote however was soon rescinded, the State of S. Carolina receding from, the Eastern States remonstrating against, and few seriously urging the eligibility of Baltimore. At present the question lies as it was originally supposed to do between N. York & Philada. and nothing can be more uncertain than the event of it. Rhode Island which alone was disposed to give the casting vote to N. York has refused to give any final vote for arranging & carrying into effect a system to which that State is opposed, and both the Delegates have returned home.

Col. Carrington tells me he has sent you the first volume of the federalist, and adds the 2d by this conveyance. I believe I never have yet {mentioned to you that publication}.<sup>4</sup> It {was undertaken last fall by Jay, Hamilton and myself}. The {proposal came from the two former}. The {execution was thrown by the sickness of Jay mostly on the two others}. Though {carried in concert the writers are not mutually answerable} for {all the ideas of each other} there being {seldom time for even a perusal} of the {pieces by any but the writer before they were wanted at the press} and {sometimes hardly by the writer himself}.



I have not a moment for a line to Mazzei. Tell him I have recd his books & shall attempt to get them disposed of. I fear his calculations will not be fulfilled by the demand for them here in the French language. His affair with Dorhman stands as it did. Of his affair with Foster Webb, I can say nothing. I suspect it will turn out badly.

Yrs. Affecly.,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:225–27.

<sup>1</sup> Madison later interlined “[Brissot].” For a description of Madison by Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville, based upon an impression gained when Madison invited him to dinner soon after his arrival, see *ibid.*, p. 227n.1.

<sup>2</sup> The New York ratification, which included a declaration of 23 “explanatory” amendments or rights that were not to be “abridged or violated,” four specific restrictions on congressional power regarding militia, elections, taxation, and requisitions that would be lifted upon the meeting of a second convention to consider amendments, and a list of 32 “recommendatory” amendments proposed by members of the convention, is in Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, M338, DNA microfilm. It has been reprinted in Linda Grant De Pauw, *The Eleventh Pillar: New York and the Constitution* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), pp. 293–302.

<sup>3</sup> For the broadside copy of the New York Convention’s circular letter asking state executives to urge their legislatures to call a second convention to consider amendments to the Constitution, see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,312. It was prepared by John Jay, John Lansing, and Melancton Smith, but signed by Governor George Clinton as convention president.

<sup>4</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in cipher.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

N. York Augst. 11. [17]88

The length of the interval since my last has proceeded from a daily expectation of being able to communicate the arrangements for introducing the New Government. The times necessary to be fixt by Congress have been many days agreed on.<sup>1</sup> The place of meeting has undergone many vicisitudes and is still as uncertain as ever. Philada. was first named by a member from Connecticut, and was negatived by the voice of one from Delaware, who wished to make an experiment for Wilmington. New York came next into view. Lancaster was opposed to it & failed. Baltimore was next tried and to the surprise of every one had seven votes, S. Carolina joining the Southern States & Penna. in the question. It was not difficult to foresee that such a vote could not stand. Accordingly the next day, N. York carried it on a second trial, and at present fills the blank. Its success however was owing to Rhode Island whose delegates have refused to vote on the final question & have actually gone home. There are not at present seven States for any place, and the result must depend (Unless R. Island shd. return with instructions as is *given out*) on the comparative flexibility of the Northern & Southern Delegations. In ordinary cases this



would not augur well to the latter. In the existing one something may be hoped from the palpable unreasonableness of the pretensions of N. York, which has 17 Reps. & 8 Senators on one side agst. 42 Reps. & 16 Senators on the other; which is not more than three hundred miles from the Eastern Extreme Metropolis and not less than 4 times that distance from the Southern, and which has no reference at all to the accomodation of the Western Country. I am persuaded also that if the first position be taken here the second will not be taken on the Potowmac & that this consideration is among the motives of those who advocate N. York. Indeed I *know* the latter to be one of the motives.

The inclosed receipt is from the Commander of a Vessel bound to Richmd. who has charge of a Box for you containing 6 Copies of Mazzei's book,<sup>2</sup> 2 of which are for yourself, the other four for Wythe, Blair, Bellini & Oster, and 25 other Copies which he wishes to be disposed in Virginia. The price is not mentioned. You will therefore fix the price and put the books into the hands of some dealer in that article for Sale. I have on hand a hundred & odd copies besides to dispose of here in Philada., Boston & Charlestown. The box contains also Condorcet, and a book of Accounts sent you by Col. Carrington.

I have recd. your favor of the 27 Ult. I hope this will find you fully restored to health. The interruption of it which I did not know before accounts for that in the papers begun in defence of the Constitution.<sup>3</sup> I shall now look for [a] continuation. The papers published here under the n[ame] of Publius are not *additional* to those in the 2 Vol[ume] but a continuation of the Newspaper publication of the same.

Yours Always & most affetly,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:227–28.

<sup>1</sup> Since July 28, for which see *JCC*, 34:358–59.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Philip Mazzei's *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1788), which has been translated and edited by Constance D. Sherman, *Researches on the United States* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976).

<sup>3</sup> See Madison to Randolph, July 22, note.

## James Madison to George Washington

Dear Sir

New York Augst. 11. 1788

I have been duly favored with yours of the 3d instant.<sup>1</sup> The length of the interval since my last has proceeded from a daily expectation of being able to communicate the final arrangements for introducing the new Government. The place of meeting has undergone much dis-

cussion as you conjectured and still remains to be fixed. Philada. was first named, & negatived by a voice from Delaware. N. York came forward next. Lancaster was opposed to it & failed. Baltimore was next tried and to the surprise of every one had seven votes. It was easy to see that that ground had it been free from objections was not maintainable. Accordingly the next day N. York was inserted in the place of it with the aid of the vote of Rhode Island. Rhode Island however has refused to give a final vote in the business and has actually retired from Congress. The question will now be resumed between N. York & Philada. It was much to be wished that a fit place for a respectable out-set to the Govt. could be found more central than either. The former is inadmissible if any regard is to be had to the Southern or Western Country. It is so with me for another reason, that it tends to stop the final & permanent seat short of the Potowmac certainly, and probably in the State of N. Jersey. I *know* this to be one of the views of the Advocates for N. York. The only chance the Potowmac has is to get things in such a train that a coalition may take place between the Southern & Eastern States on the subject, and still more that the final seat may be undecided for two or three years, within which period the Western & S. Western population will enter more into the estimate. Wherever Congress may be, the choice if speedily made will not be sufficiently influenced by that consideration. In this point of view I am of opinion Baltimore would have been unfriendly to the true object. It would have retained Congress but a moment, so many States being North of it, and dissatisfied with it, and would have produced a coalition among those States, a precipitate election of the permanent seat & an intermediate removal to a more northern position.

You will have seen the circular letter from the Convention of this State.<sup>2</sup> It has a most pestilent tendency. If an Early General Convention cannot be parried, it is seriously to be feared that the system which has resisted so many direct attacks may be at last successfully undermined by its enemies. It is now perhaps to be wished that Rhode Island may not accede till this new crisis of danger be over. Some think it would have been better if even N. York had held out till the operation of the Government could have dissipated the fears which artifice had created and the attempts resulting from those fears & artifices. We hear nothing yet from N. Carolina more than comes by the way of Petersburg.

With the highest respect & attachment I remain Dr Sir, Your affecte. servt.,

Js. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Tr in Madison Papers, DLC, mistakenly dated August 15. Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:229–30.

<sup>1</sup> For which see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 30:32–33.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison to Thomas Jefferson, August 10, note 3.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to Peter Muhlenberg

Sir

New York Augt. 11th 1788

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, and will take the earliest opportunity of communicating the pleasing information it contains to Congress;<sup>1</sup> in the mean time we have informed the Secretary at War, who will immediately direct the Troops to proceed agreeably to their first destination.

We have the honor to be Sir, with great respect, Your most Obedient and Humble Servants,

Wm. Irvine

Saml. Meredith

John Armstrong jr.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Written by Irvine and signed by Irvine, Armstrong, and Meredith.

<sup>1</sup> Muhlenberg's letter, written in his capacity as vice president of the Pennsylvania Council, contained the news that Timothy Pickering had been released by his kidnappers, that the unrest in the Wyoming Valley had subsided, and that the Continental troops requested to suppress the "rioters" were no longer needed. See *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:364-65; and Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin, July 28.

## Alexander Hamilton to Jeremiah Olney

My Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

New York Aug 12. 1788

We have a question of very great importance depending in Congress, in which the vote of your state would be decisive. It relates to the place of meeting of the future Congress—Six states and a half prefer New York five and a half Philadelphia. When your delegates were here they voted with us on the intermediate questions; but when the final question came to be put Mr. Hazard's scruples prevailed over his inclination for New York.<sup>2</sup> He however gave me to hope he would return in a short time. Mr. Arnold would have made no difficulty whatever if his colleague would have gone with him; but he could not be prevailed upon to do it.

This is a matter of such moment not only to this state but to the Northern states in general that I have taken the liberty to address you on the subject, to request that every effort may be made to induce a representation of your state to come forward without loss of time. I am persuaded that the meeting of Congress here or at Philadelphia would make a difference on your politics and would facilitate or impede, as the one or the other place should obtain, the adoption of the Constitution in your state. The intimate intercourse between us and you makes us look up to you as to a natural ally in this matter.

A doubt might perhaps be raised about your right to a vote under the present circumstances.<sup>3</sup> There is not a member of Congress but one who has even *pretended* to call your right in question. 'Tis agreed generally that the power of organising the government is given by the ratifying states to the United States in Congress assembled, who are mere agents under a special authority and therefore the non adopting states stand on the same footing with the adopting. Nor can the exercise of that right operate in any manner upon your situation. If the United States should even be considered as a foreign power, you might have a choice in such a question.

Hazard I believe is softening, so that I should not think it politic to make any representation of his conduct which might irritate him. What is here said respecting him must therefore be received in confidence as indeed must be this whole letter.

If any difficulty about expence should arise I will with pleasure accept a draft on me. You will excuse this intimation which arises from my information that your state has not made provision for its delegates & from a knowlege that individuals have been torn to pieces by your tender laws &c.

With sincere esteem, I rema[i]n Yr. Obed Sr,      A Hamilton

RC (RHi); reprinted from Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:199–200.

<sup>1</sup> Jeremiah Olney (1749–1812), of Providence, R.I., a former lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army and member of the Rhode Island Assembly, 1785–86, was a prominent federalist who was appointed collector of customs at Providence in June 1790 after Rhode Island ratified the Constitution. Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 1:400n.

<sup>2</sup> Rhode Island's delegates Peleg Arnold and Jonathan Hazard had voted for New York and against Philadelphia during the August 6 debate on the location of the new federal capital, but had returned home after attending Congress the 7th, the last day Rhode Island was ever represented under the Articles of Confederation. See *JCC*, 34:397–405.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Rhode Island had already rejected the new Constitution in a statewide referendum held March 1, 1788, and would not ratify it until May 29, 1790.

## Charles Thomson to Arthur St. Clair

Sir,                                      Office of Secretary of Congress, Augt. 12th. 1788

I have the honor of transmitting to You herewith enclosed, an Act of the U.S in Congress Assembled, passed this day, after considering Your letters of July 13 & 16th.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor &

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Govr. St. Clair."

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed "Act" requested Pennsylvania and Virginia to prepare 500 and 1,000 militiamen, respectively, for an expedition against the Indians of the middle depart-



ment, and instructed the commissioners for negotiating the purchase of Indian lands in the region "to extend [*their purchases*] as far as to them shall appear for the advantage of the United States, upon considering all circumstances, any former instructions prescribing certain limits notwithstanding." *JCC*, 34:412–14.

These resolves were adopted upon the recommendation of a committee consisting of Edward Carrington, Abraham Baldwin, Alexander Hamilton, William Irvine, and Jeremiah Wadsworth, to which St. Clair's letters had been referred on August 8. These letters from the governor of the Northwest Territory, reporting from Fort Harmar, discussed the deterioration of relations with the western Indians and enclosed intelligence that he had recently received from superintendent Richard Butler concerning the Wyandots. See *JCC*, 34:406n; and *PCC*, item 150, 3:417–46.

Thomson also sent copies of the enclosed act to Pennsylvania President Benjamin Franklin and Virginia Governor Edmund Randolph on August 14. *PCC*, item 18B, fol. 160.

St. Clair's September 2 response to this letter is in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 2:151–52.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to Andrew Huntington

Sir,

New York August 12th 1788.

I received your favor of the 4th instant and have communicated it to Mr Huntington who is with me of the Opinion that every application to Congress for redress would be Vain, and it increases the ill will towards Connecticut already too great, to make applications that are rejected.

It is not difficult to know before hand by enquiry whether a Petition to Congress will be negatived or not. This enquiry I have before made respecting Your business, and will certainly present your Petition if I am not morally certain before hand that it will be Negatived—if you will have a Petition presented.<sup>1</sup> At any rate we will on your Signifying it present one.

Your most Hum se't,

Jere Wadsworth

Tr (DLC: Edmund C. Burnett Collection). Endorsed: "Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. W. R. Benjamin of New York (addressed 'To Mr. Andrew Huntington, Mercht, Norwich, Connecticut')."

<sup>1</sup> No 1788 petition from Andrew Huntington is in the *PCC*, but for a previous memorial submitted by him for compensation as a former agent for the Continental lottery, see *JCC*, 30:413.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to John Lawrence

Sir

New York August 12th 1788

Since I inclosed you the letter from the Treasury Board, I have frequently waited on them & urged a revision of your Account.<sup>1</sup> Yester-

day they desired me to write to you and know if you would wish to have it adjusted agreeably to their letter which I forwarded you and they will then give a Warrant on Imlay for the amount. Your answer will be necessary as soon as you can send it to Sir, your most obedient,  
 Humble Servant,  
 Jere Wadsworth<sup>2</sup>

RC (CtHi: Hoadley Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For Lawrence's Continental claim, see Wadsworth to Lawrence, July 15.

<sup>2</sup> Wadsworth also wrote to his wife Mehitable this day, as follows: "I am very well tho the late cool weather has given me several Slight colds. Mrs Barr is again so well as to come down stairs, the rest of the Family all well and desire to be remembered to you all. Mr Edwards is gone home for a fortnight when he returns I intend to come for a fortnight." He also wrote brief notes to his daughter Harriet and to Mehitable on August 5 and 6, respectively. And he wrote to his daughter Catherine on August 13, observing "I have made no Country excursions since I have been here—of more than a Mile or two. The Weather is cool & pleasant and I now enjoy good health." Wadsworth Papers, CtHi.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Washington

Sir

New York Aug 13. 1788

Capt Cochran of the British navy has requested my aid in recovering a family watch worn by his brother,<sup>1</sup> who fell at York Town, and now in the possession of ————. <sup>2</sup> In compliance with his request I have written the letter herewith to ————, <sup>3</sup> which I take the liberty to convey through you, in hope that if you see no impropriety in it, you would add your influence to the endeavour to gratify Capt Cochran. It is one of those things in which the affections are apt to be interested, beyond the value of the object; and in which one naturally feels an inclination to oblige.

I have delivered to Mr. Madison to be forwarded to you a sett of the papers under the signature of Publius,<sup>4</sup> neatly enough bound, to be honored with a place in your library. I presume you have understood that the writers of these Papers are chiefly Mr. Madison & myself with some aid from Mr. Jay.

I take it for granted, Sir, you have concluded to comply with what will no doubt be the general call of your country in relation to the new government. You will permit me to say that it is indispensable you should lend yourself to its first operations. It is to little purpose to have *introduced* a system, if the weightiest influence is not given to its firm *establishment*, in the outset.

I remain with the greatest esteem, Dr Sir, Yr. Obed & hum servant,  
 A Hamilton

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Capt. Alexander Forrester Inglis Cochrane, inquiring about his brother Maj. Charles Cochrane, aide-de-camp to Cornwallis who had been killed at Yorktown. See Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:202n, 206, 220, 230; and Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 1:25n.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Morgan, for which see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:220.

<sup>3</sup> Also Morgan, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> That is, the *Federalist*, which had been published in two volumes March 22 and May 28, 1788.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Sir

New York August 14th 1788

My present writing is not dictated by an eagerness to make unpleasant communications but by the united principles of duty and inclination to give your Excellency the earliest notice of every important occurrence.

From North Carolina we have no official accounts or authentic letters but the inclosed advertizer announces the very unexpected intelligence of a rejection of the new System by a large Majority of the Convention of that State.<sup>1</sup> This report may not be true, yet it becomes me to remark that the delegates in Congress from that State seem to entertain no doubts on the Subject. Mr. Williamson observes that the opposition are of those who are the Zealous advocates for a paper Currency, that has depreciated fifty per Cent, and who are determined to keep it up untill their debts are paid. This ungracious occurrence is therefore another striking instance of the baleful effects of that fluctuating medium.

The Ordinance for organizing the new government is not yet complete owing to the desertion of Rhode Island before the final Question was taken. I fear we shall not be able to induce the Southern States to meet earlier than the first of March. New York will probably be the place of meeting; but of this I cannot pronounce with Certainty.

Of foreign affairs—I have only to remark generally that the disposition for hostilities does not at all relax—and that a general war will ensue seems to be the prevailing opinion in France.

With the highest Respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellencys Most obedient and Most Humble Servant,

N. Gilman

RC (Capt. J. G. M. Stone, Annapolis, Md., 1973).

<sup>1</sup> The August 14 issue of Francis Childs' New York *Daily Advertiser* reported on the authority of the postmaster at Richmond writing to the postmaster at Philadelphia "that the CONVENTION OF NORTH CAROLINA HAS REJECTED THE NEW CONSTITUTION BY A LARGE MAJORITY—For the adoption 76, Against it 176, Majority 100."

## Charles Thomson to Samuel Johnston

Sir, Aug 15. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to your Exy herewith enclosed an Act passed yesterday<sup>1</sup> in addition to the act of the 26 of Octr. 1787 which was in due time transmitted to your Exy & which you have acknowledged the receipt of. I have only to add for your Exys Information that the treaty is to commence on the 15th of Sept.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed resolve called upon North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to furnish "in equal sums" \$4,000 for the expenses of a southern Indian treaty that had been authorized October 26, 1787, for which see Thomson to Certain States, October 27, 1787. The resolve also explained that this \$4,000 was needed in addition to the \$6,000 called for from the same states by the original authorization and specified that their Continental specie quotas would be credited for any payments toward the \$10,000 received. The resolve was adopted on the recommendation of a committee consisting of Thomas Tudor Tucker, Jonathan Dayton, and Hugh Williamson, to which had been referred on August 4 a letter from the war office enclosing documents from the southern superintendent of Indian affairs, Richard Winn, explaining the obstacles he had encountered in preparing for the forthcoming treaty and revising upwards the costs it would entail. See *JCC*, 34:391, 424–25; and PCC, item 150, 3:449–72.

Thomson also sent the same information this day to the governors of South Carolina and Georgia under cover of the following brief letter—"I have the honor to transmit to your Exy herewith enclosed an Act of the United States in Congress Assembled, touching the treaty about to be held with the Southern Indians" (PCC, item 18B, fol. 160). To ensure its delivery he also sent the following letter of the same date to the postmaster of Philadelphia, James Bryson. "I have to request the favour of you to send the enclosed letters for the governors of S Carolina & Georgia by the first vessel for Charleston. I have sent duplicates to go on by the post but as it is of importance that they should get to hand as soon as possible & there is no vessel here bound for Charleston I take leave to trouble you with forwarding these by the first that sails from your port." *Ibid.*

## Charles Thomson to Walter Livingston

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, August 15. 1788.

I have the honor to inform you that your Letter of the 13th, was yesterday laid before Congress, & that thereupon they were pleased to pass an Order agreeable to your request,<sup>1</sup> a Copy of which is enclosed. I wish you a pleasant journey and am with much respect, Sir, Yours  
&c., CT



LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 34:423. Livingston, "one of the Commissioners of the board of treasury," had requested leave of absence "from the 18th Instant to the last of next Month." His letter is in PCC, item 78, 14:743–46.

## Alexander Hamilton to Samuel Broome

Dear Sir

New York, 16 August 1788

I have this moment received your letter of the thirteenth instant,<sup>1</sup> and am sorry that the rules of propriety in respect to my situation, as a member of Congress, will not permit my acting in the capacity you wish.<sup>2</sup>

My situation for some time past has prevented my acknowledging one or two of your favors, which have been duly handed to me. I recollect that one of them contains an inquiry concerning your son, to which you will naturally desire an answer. My public avocations for some time past, have put it out of my power to ascertain the progress he has made—though I expect when I shall be enough disengaged to examine, to find it a good one. It cannot fail to be so, if his diligence has been equal to his capacity. I shall shortly write you further on the subject.

With great esteem, I remain, Sir, Your obdt. Servt.

FC (DLC: Hamilton Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> For this letter from Broome, a former New York City merchant who had moved to New Haven, Conn., and formed the firm of Broome & Platt with Jeremiah Platt of that city, see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:200–201.

<sup>2</sup> The board of treasury had contracted with James Jarvis of New Haven to supply the United States with 300 tons of copper coin, but the terms of the contract and Jarvis' performance had been criticized and a committee of Congress reported a recommendation to void the contract. See *JCC*, 34:391n, 444n, 465, 535, 567; and James Madison to Edmund Pendleton, April 22, 1787, note 4. Broome had sought to employ Hamilton as Jarvis' attorney "should an action be Commenced against Mr Jarvis for damages."

## South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Pinckney

Sir

New York Augt. 16th. 1788

Having receiv'd your Excellency's Letter of the 18th July accompanied by Papers relating to the Negociation of Peace with the southern Indians, we laid the Subject before Congress without Delay & obtain'd a Resolution for continuing Genl. Winn in the Office of Superinten-

dant of Indian Affairs for 3 months after the 29th of August.<sup>1</sup> With respect to the other Objects connected with this Business & recommended by your Excellency to our Consideration, we have used our utmost Diligence, being fully sensible of it's high Importance to the Welfare of the Southern States. The Resolutions of Congress on the Subject we now enclose, & hope they will prove satisfactory & adequate to their Situation.<sup>2</sup> Having no Power to enforce Compliance from the State of North Carolina, we cou'd find no other Method of guarding against the evil Consequences of her Neglect, than that which is adopted in the last Resolution. Congress having before taken into serious Consideration the Continuance of Hostilities by the Creek Indians, did authorize the Superintendant to inform them, if necessary, that the Arms of the United States wou'd be employ'd to bring them to reasonable Terms of Accommodation.<sup>3</sup> The Secretary at War was at the same time required to report a plan for conducting the War, if it shou'd be inevitable.

The Application of the State of Virginia & District of Kentucky, on the Subject of erecting the latter into a separate State, having been consider'd by Congress, a Resolution was pass'd, approving the Measure & recommending the farther prosecution of it under the new Government, as being alone competent to it's actual Accomplishment.<sup>4</sup>

Congress having pass'd a Resolution to allow a farther Term of 3 months to the several States for delivering in their Claims upon the United States, a Copy of the same has been forwarded to your Excellency from the Secretary's Office.<sup>5</sup>

The Act of Cession of western Territory by the State of Georgia being clogg'd with Conditions which were not thought proper to be acceded to by Congress, it was determined not to accept it but on other specified Conditions which were deem'd more eligible.<sup>6</sup>

The Ratification of the new Constitution by the State of New Hampshire, making the 9th State, having been receiv'd, Congress immediately proceeded to the Consideration of the Measures recommended by the late general Convention as preparatory to the Meeting of the new Legislature. It is with regret that we find ourselves yet unable to communicate to your Excellency the final Result of the Deliberations on this Subject. After much Time spent in Debate on the several Periods to be fixt & the place for the first Meeting of the new Congress, a Set of Resolutions were at length compleated, which separately obtain'd the Approbation of the House, but on taking the Question upon the whole it unfortunately pass'd in the negative, so that the Business remains still undetermined. In the Resolutions alluded to, the first Wednesday in January next was fixt for the Appointment of

Electors, the first Wednesday in February for the Electors to assemble in the respective States & give their Votes for a President, the first Wednesday in March for the Meeting of the new Congress, & the City of New York for the place of Meeting. With respect to the Periods just mention'd, we flatter ourselves there will be no farther Debate, & we are the more inclined to wish so, as we had much Difficulty in getting the first (which is the most important) so well adapted to the Convenience of our State. It is indeed not intirely as we wou'd have had it, but it is much better than we had reason to expect, considering the Impossibility of avoiding Inconvenience to many of the States. Under this Arrangement our Legislature will be enabled to establish any Mode they may think proper for the Appointment of Electors, without the Necessity of either an extraordinary Meeting or a protracted Session. A Day somewhat later in the same Month wou'd probably have been more convenient, but that we were not able to obtain. The Difference of Opinion with regard to the place of Meeting, we apprehend, may still occasion some Trouble. On this Subject we have only to add, that since the Commencement of the proceedings thereon, Congress have receiv'd the Instruments of Ratification by the States of Virginia & New York.

A Resolution of Congress appointing Mr. Joseph Martin Agent with the Cherokee Indians to act in Conjunction with the Superintendant for the southern Department, has been transmitted to your Excellency from the Secretary's Office.<sup>7</sup>

We observe with much Concern that the latest Accounts from the Governor of the western Territory express much Doubt of the friendly Disposition of the Indian Tribes there & of the Success of the intended Negotiation with them. Such Irregularities have been committed, by some of them, that Congress has thought proper to direct preparations for repelling their Attacks, & to require the Cooperation of some of the Militia of Virginia & Pennsylvania, if eventually it shou'd become expedient to employ them.<sup>8</sup>

Measures having been taken by Congress to secure to the Officers & Soldiers of the late Army the Bounty Lands to which they are intitled,<sup>9</sup> it becomes our Duty to call the Attention of our Legislature to this Subject, that they may determine whether it is their Intention that the South Carolina Line to whom Bounty Lands have been granted by an Act of the State, shou'd also avail themselves of the Grants to be made by Authority of Congress. Shou'd this not be the Case, the Lands intended by Congress for the South Carolina Line, will become the property of the State, so far as the Act of the State has had Operation, & it will be necessary that some Steps be taken to establish their Claim. Shou'd we receive Instructions on this Subject, we shall immediately lay them before Congress, & endeavour to get the Business settled to the Satisfaction & Benefit of the State. Shou'd we not be in-



structed, we shall conclude that the Legislature is content that the Lands shou'd be granted to the Individuals agreeable to the Ordinance of Congress, which does not take into View the Provision made by our Law.

As every Question which involves in it a Construction of any of the constitutional Powers of Congress not clearly defined by the Articles of Confederation, is of Importance to the Legislatures of the several States, we find it incumbent on us to mention that in consequence of an Application from the Executive of Pennsylvania, Congress thought proper to order that a Detachment of Continental Troops in their March to the Westward shou'd so alter their Route as to pass into Luzerne County in that State & halt there for a limited time, with a View to assist, if it shou'd be necessary, in quieting the Commotions there. By a Letter since receiv'd, Congress are inform'd that this Measure is no longer deem'd necessary.<sup>10</sup>

We are with much Respect, Your Excellency's Most obedt. Servts.,

Dl. Huger

John Parker

Thos. Tud. Tucker

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Written by Tucker and signed by Tucker, Huger, and Parker.

<sup>1</sup> For this August 4 resolution, see *JCC*, 34:383.

<sup>2</sup> For these August 14 resolutions appropriating additional monies for conducting a southern Indian treaty, see Charles Thomson to Samuel Johnston, August 15, note.

<sup>3</sup> See Charles Thomson to George Handley, July 17, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Thomson to Samuel McDowell, July 3.

<sup>5</sup> See Thomson to the States, June 24.

<sup>6</sup> See Thomson to Handley, July 17, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> For Martin's appointment, see Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph, June 25, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> See Thomson to Arthur St. Clair, August 12.

<sup>9</sup> See Richard Henry Lee to William Lee, July 30, 1787, note 4.

<sup>10</sup> See Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin, July 28, note 3; and to Peter Muhlenberg, August 11, note.

## George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher

*City of New York, 17 August, 1788.* Discusses letters he has recently received from friends. "When I begun this Letter, I proposed to write but a moment, till my shoes were brought in, and then intended to set off & go to meeting; but I believe it is too late. I shall therefore charge this day to you—For I have no doubt I should have went to meeting, this forenoon, had it not been for writing this Letter—so I shall ex-



pect you to answer for my absence—And I think you may, since you are likely to recieve the effect of my tarrying at home.

“I forgot to tell you in a former Letter, that I did not take water passage, from New-Haven as I wrote you, from Hartford, I expected to.<sup>1</sup> When I arrived at New-Haven, I met Mr. & Mrs. King, waiting for the Stage, thinking from the conversation we had at Boston, that I should take passage with them. They said many things to induce me to sail with them; but my timidity of going on the water overcame their civility—And I kept in the Stage, which got to New York the next evening. But they did not get there till the morning after—they had an agreeable, pleasant time. They are well, Mrs. King frequently laments, that they could not go into our Country. I call on them almost every day—to see them & kiss their little child—’tis a sweet baby. I assure you I kiss the little creature with great pleasure. I make a sort of a substitute of it for the absence of our dear little Sally.

“Mr. Otis left us two days ago. He has gone home upon a very melancholly occasion—To take a last farewell of a Daughter he was dotingly fond of. He is a worthy, & amiable man—very fond of home and a Domestic Life. This turn of mind makes him less happy while he is here.

“I never discovered in you a disposition to meddle with politics, & if I had, I should not have cultivated it with any desire of making you a politician. Therefore I doubt whether you trouble yourself much about the new Constitution—whether it is adopted, or rejected. But as I have not time to write to our Honoured Father by this post—I must observe—that pretty certain news arrived from Hillsborough, in North Carolina, two days ago, of that State having rejected the Constitution, by a majority of 176, against 70. No official account has come to ha[n]d—but it is attended with so many circumstances of probability, as to leave no room for doubt.”

RC (MHi: Thatcher Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Thatcher had just returned to Congress August 6. See *JCC*, 34:394, 399.

## William Irvine to Samuel Holden Parsons

Dear Sir

New York Augt. 18th 17[88]

I should have acknowledged the receipt of your favor of the 22d of April immediately, but that I expected to get up to Pittsburgh before you left it, when I arrived there & found Mr. Duncan had gone down with you, as had authority to act for me with himself, & I did not wish to trouble you knowing you would be much engaged in the new scenes you had undertaken—add to this the fluctuating state of things in that quarter, particularly an apprehension that that there was some

doubt whether the attempt to treat with the Indians would be successful, of course too precarious to commence expensive operations. But as you will soon now be able to ascertain with more certainty what the result of the treaty will be and Mr. Duncan is still on the spot, and General Butler having examined the Water &c<sup>a</sup> you will probably be able to come to a conclusion before you separate, I will write to Mr. Duncan to make such advances as may be necessary on my part & his. I enquired at Genl. Butler what kind of public securities & the quantity, necessary to be procured, as I might probably do it most conveniently when here, but he could not inform me certainly—This therefore Mr. Duncan must also learn from you. [As the sta]tes except Rhode Island and North Carolina have adopted the new Government, accounts have Just arrived here that the latter have rejected by 100 of a majority in their Convention. Congress have been employed some time on an Ordinance for organizing the Government—which was all pretty easily gone through til the plan of meeting of the new Congress became a question, since which there has been a stagnation, many plans have been proposed & rejected, some agreed to then reconsidered, in short there has been on this subject hitherto little spirit of accommodation shewn—at present this business is suspended, in part occasioned by a kind of abdication of the Rhode Island Delegates, who did not think themselves at liberty to vote on the final question for organizing the Government, as their State had rejected, tho they did on the place of meeting—some say they are to return with instructions, but I hope without, a greater degree of harmony will prevail. Should this be the case it is not improbable I think that Lancaster in Penna. will be the place, but if violent voting is still adhered to, N York will be the place. I flatter myself that our next news from your Country will be more agreeable than what we have lately received, and that you will soon have more reason to be satisfied with the proceedings in this quarter. I beg the favor of you to present my respects to Genl. Varnum & Putnam, Major Sargent. I hope Genl. Tupper has got safe to Muskingum with his family & friends. I am Dear Sir, Your Most Obedt. Servt.,

W I

(a Copy)

Tr (PHi: Caryl Roberts Irvine Collection). In the hand of William Irvine.

## James Madison to James Madison, Sr.

Hond Sir

N. York Aug. 18. [17]88.

I have recd. your favor of the 9th<sup>1</sup> inclosing a paper from Mr. Triplet.<sup>2</sup> The case is stated so imperfectly that it is impossible for me to take any step for bringing it before Congress, if that should be

proper. Mr. R. Morris I am told will be here soon, and I shall endeavour then to supply the omitted circumstances. In the meantime Mr. Triplet may either make out a fuller statement & forward it, or wait till he hears from me on the subject.

I have had no opportunity of doing any thing as to Anthony, since my last. John continues to decline. I think he is in a consumption, and will not stand it very long.

No late news of consequence has come from Europe. The war appears to be going on between the two imperial Courts & the Turks. And the affairs of France portend a serious struggle between the royal authority & the spirit of liberty.

We just learn the fate of the Constitution in N. Carolina. Rho. Island is however her only associate in the opposition, and it will be hard indeed if those two States should endanger a system which has been ratified by the eleven others. Congress have not yet finally settled the arrangements for putting the new Government in operation. The place for its first meeting creates the difficulty. The Eastern States with N. York contend for this City. Most of the other States insist on a more central position.

Tell my brother Ambrose if you please that he must draw on Mr. Shepherd for the price of the Negro boy for the French Marchioness.<sup>3</sup> On a second & more accurate examination of my papers I have found your loan office certificates.

With affecte. regards to the family I remain, Yr. dutiful son,  
Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:235–36.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Francis Triplett, for whom see *ibid.*, p. 236n.1.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the marquise de Bréhan.

## Samuel Meredith to Margaret Meredith

My Dear Peggy<sup>1</sup>

N.Y. Augt. 18, 1788.

Your last made me very happy as there were no complaints of head Ach & sleepless nights. I hope the Exercise has done you good, & that you will continue to take it when you can, & be as often in Town & at the House as opportunity will admit.

By Mr Contee of Maryland I sent you a Canister of Snuff, he went away while I was in Congress therefore could not write, he promised to send it to Mr Clymer or Mr Fitzsimmons, & I make no doubt Mr Smith will receive it safe. Compts to him & Mrs. S.

Nothing done in Congress with Respect to the Ordinance, it lays still & may do so for some time, how things will turn is at present impossible even to form a guess of.

When did you hear from Mrs Dickinson. I hope she was better, are the Girls come down, & is Betsey well. I forget whether I mentioned my having seen Reinagle & his intensions of being at Philad. in October which I am pleased with. He says he has been solicited to stay here, but has refused. I believe he knows it will be to his advantage to Visit this place without settling altogether & loosing Philada. which appears to me to be more advantageous. Mr. Jay is well. Mrs. is out in the Country. How are Mr & Mrs Morris. Bingham said there was a flying Report of Reads arrival. Com'pts. to them.

With Love to the Children, Your Affectionate

S M

RC (PPL: Meredith Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Cadwalader Meredith, the daughter of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader of Philadelphia, had been married to Meredith since 1772, by whom she had seven children. *DAB*.

## Hugh Williamson to Josiah Collins

Dear sir<sup>1</sup>

New York 18th Augt 1788.

In yours of 28th June which did not come to Hand till on this Month you mention the Enquiries to be made concerning Bondfields Affairs. This I have don[e] to my own Satisfaction. I don't pretend to say that none of the Parties have received Payment, but having once claimed the Debt I think they are resolved uniformly to persevere in the Hope that there is no Proof to the contrary. Mr. Archd. Corrie having been at Edenton and recd Payment there admits the Payment and had he recd. the Paymt here it is at least possible that he would have ranked among the Creditors. Those Tories, for such the Creditors are every Hoof of them, seem to think that all Play is fair to recover by civil Process against those who worsted them by military Process or their Heirs. I need not put you in mind that there is a Statute of Limitation. This may occasionally save a man who would otherwise be defrauded by dormant Claims.

Inclosed is a news Paper which gives you a sample of the Remarks on the unfortunate State of NC.<sup>2</sup> We shall often have the comfort of seeing ourselves classed with the *honest & honourable* State of Rhode Island. But having chosen its Company the State cannot complain of the classmen. He who associates with Thieves must expect to be accounted dishonest.

I am Dr sir, Your obedt serv.,

Hu Williamson



RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1649.9). Addressed: "Jos. Collins Esqr."

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Josiah Collins (1735–1819), a wealthy Edenton, N.C., merchant and land speculator. Prominent politically, Collins previously served as judge of the admiralty court at Edenton, was a candidate for governor in 1788, attended the North Carolina ratifying convention at Hillsborough as a federalist delegate, July–August 1788, and was elected to the North Carolina council in 1795. *Dict. of N. C. Biography*, 1:404-5.

<sup>2</sup> For Williamson's enclosure, which was originally printed in the August 13 issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and reprinted in the New York *Independent Journal* on August 16 and the New York *Packet* on August 19, see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 18:400–401.

## Paine Wingate to Timothy Pickering

Dear Sir

New York Augt. 18. 1788.

I had the pleasure on the 12 of July ulto. of receiving your favor of the 26 of June; but while I was happy in the information I received from you, of your welfare & That of your family, my joy was allayed by the news which accompanied it from Major Hodgdon of your unexpected sufferings from the rioters in that country.<sup>1</sup> The account of your situation filled the minds of your friends with the greatest anxiety and very impatient were we until we heard of your release. I did not indeed think that, vile as those banditti were, they would venture to take your life or inflict direct injury on your person, further than by holding you in confinement; But considering your situation from the manner in which you was siezed, the hardships to which you must whilst in their savage power be exposed, & the painful a[n]xiety of your family at home, these & many other accidental circumstances must afflict you, & render your confinement extremely trying & painful. I have the great satisfaction now of writing to you and congratulating you on your safe return to your family & friends. We had an early rumour, of your being set at liberty, but no certain account until a letter from the Executive of Pennsylvania to their Delegates in Congress announced it. I had forwarded to your Brother at Salem such accounts as were favorable several times before I had the authentic news of your release, And last week I enclosed in a letter to your brother<sup>2</sup> one addressed to him I suppose from you & recommended to my care. I should have been much gratifyd by a letter from you at the same time, but have not a doubt it was for want of time & not inclination. I should have written to you before this time, & acknowledged the favor of your last, but was in doubt where I should find you. I shall now entrust this to the care of Major Hodgdon<sup>3</sup> and hope that it will find you in health, peace & happiness. I am not informed respecting your situation only that Mrs. Pickering is come to Philadelphia & is going to Salem. I hope that she will arrive safe, where she will be most endearingly welcomed by her numerous friends. I conclude that you are yet in the country with your Sister & at least some

of the children. I cannot tell & will not undertake to conjecture what will be your future plans but I know that it is the united & ardent wish of your friends that you was not so far seperated from them. You cannot be insensible how tenderly affectionate your sisters all are towards you & their husbands partake with them in the sentiments. And your brother tho he may not express his sentiments in the same language, yet I do not think it is from want of affection to you. You will be the best judge what may conduce to your own happiness, interest & usefulness & that of your family, & wisdom & prudence under various considerations brot into view will direct you, but if you should think it expedient to altar your past determinations & return to New England your friends would rejoyce at the Idea.

I do not expect to tarry here more than one month from this time;<sup>4</sup> should it be in your power to write to me within this time it will afford to me great satisfaction as well as to my wife who has been informed from me of you. I had a letter from her the last of July when she & the children were all well. I have not received any letter from your brother tho' I have written several to him & I also invited him to write to you thro my hand but have received none. He has considerable business that commands his attention & has so much writing which is necessary that he was willing to excuse himself from any more. I begin to be impatient to return home having been absent already seven months and I think that in a month more there will be nothing which will necessarily detain me here. We have lately had a very full Congress consisting of 40 members from the 13 States a greater number it is said than has been for 12 years past. There have been great disputes where the meeting of the first Congress should be under the new constitution. The question is not determined & I view it as uncertain but suppose the probab[il]ity is in favor of New York. Philadelphia & N York are in competition. There are many considerations of weight on both sides & I think nearly balanced. New Hampshire would have been content with Phila. & gave their ay for it, when that place was proposed but when 7 states were not agreed in that by means of some southern states dissenting, we had no objection to N York as being more convenient to the eastern states, and accordingly voted for that likewise when proposed. We have continual accounts from the western frontiers as far as Georgia of Indian hostilities & there appears considerable dangers of a general war of the Indians. I believe from the accounts the Whites are very much to blame & from their imprudences may involve the U.S. in very great expence as well as themselves in distresses. From the European news it appears that great preparations are making by most of the nations for war while they profess their designs for peace, but Mr. Jefferson in a late letter to Congress says nobody doubts of a general war soon.<sup>5</sup> France is yet in great convulsion & the issue of the struggle there is very doubtful. The enthusiasm for





Congress—for this purpose, I have hurried over a rough Piece, which I would wish inserted in Dunlap's Paper to Morrow.<sup>2</sup>

The signature does not involve an Expectation of much Attention to the Stile. It must be Kept an entire secret, that I am the Author. It is plain Argument, divested of personal reflections & can give no Offence.

Care Should be taken to have it inserted in Several Philada Papers, as well as to introduce it in Some of those of New York, which possibly can be accomplished thro' the Agency of the Printers.

It is impossible to determine as yet, what will be the Issue of this Business.

Adieu, in great Haste, Yours &c,

Wm Bingham

E N C L O S U R E

I am a plain unlettered man, but a good federalist, and strongly attached to the constitution and form of government established by the convention.

I belong to a club that meet every evening, where none but federal liquors are introduced, such as Hare's porter, Haines's beer, or Jones's cyder.

It is said that it requires some previous tuition to make a cobbler, but that every man thinks himself born a politician; this is literally the case with our club; But although we freely discuss all subjects of a public nature, we admit no crooked or eccentric paths in our politics, we endeavor to square our opinions by the straight lines of plain reason.

We have been lately much agitated with the question, concerning the place where the federal government is to be convened, which we think ought to have been determined as soon as nine states had ratified, but which we find is not as yet decided; this delay has given a great alarm, and has begun to create a very considerable clamor through the country.

Our first conjecture was, that an attempt was made to arrest the progress of this business, and that Congress was not willing to sign its own death warrant, or if it must die, like Macheath in the opera, it would die hard, and not part with its existence without a struggle—this was soon found to be an anti-federal report.

However, we have since been informed, that the contest in Congress is concerning the place where the new government is to be convened.

The dictates of common sense induced us to believe, that Philadelphia being the place where the first Congress was assembled, and where the Federal Convention was appointed to meet, would be preferred, until a permanent residence was fixed by Congress, more particularly, as we never heard that any state had expressed a dissatisfaction with this arrangement.

But we find that the city of New-York claims a preference over Philadelphia, Lancaster and Baltimore, which places, we understand,



have been successively in nomination. We have examined the pretensions of this city, and the causes that could lead its friends to advocate them.

Some of our club, Messrs. Printers, are mechanics, who are in the habit of rearing their superstructures on solid foundations; they therefore require that arguments addressed to them, must be well supported.

We began with an examination of the letter addressed to Congress, by the president of the convention, when the constitution was transmitted, in which he informs them that a spirit of amity and of mutual deference and concession alone induced so unanimous a concurrence to this plan of government, which the diversity of state interests seemed rather calculated to preclude. It was but a reasonable expectation, that the same spirit would actuate Congress, and that the first act of government would indicate a disposition to impart equal advantages and accommodations to every part of the union—that consequently the government would be assembled to commence proceedings in the place, nearest the center of national population.

The convention has furnished a rule by which the relative situation of each state, in this respect, may be determined, which is, by the number of representatives, that it is entitled to send to the federal legislature. We examined the pretensions of New York by this scale, and found that there were but 17 representatives from the states to the northward, and as many as forty-two from those to the southward, which calculated by 40,000 to each Representative makes 680,000 inhabitants on one side, and 1,980,000 on the other—we found likewise that the extreme part of the district from which the 168,000 are to come, amount to above 1,000 miles and on the opposite side to about 350 miles. Such an arrangement militates against every principle of republican government, and of the federal constitution, which was instituted for the purpose of promoting the general welfare, and of securing equal rights to the people. It must involve the southern states in the greatest inconvenience, from the number of persons that will have business to transact with the federal government, and the federal judiciary, who must travel such a great distance beyond the central point.

Besides, the more southern states, which are in the neighborhood of continual danger from their contiguity to hostile tribes of Indians, as well as to foreign nations, and which are so weak and defenseless, must complain at having the power of that government exercised at such a distance, whose protection alone can insure them tranquility; and in case of domestic insurrections, or external invasions, the necessary assistance must be delayed, in proportion to the time it will take in soliciting it—the essential communications betwixt the southern members of the federal legislature and their constituents will be greatly obstructed by placing Congress in such an eccentric position;

and these communications will be required with the greater solicitude, as the states, having resigned such considerable powers in favor of the federal government, will be impatient to know in what manner they will be affected by the exercise of them, in the organization of the new system. The great and complicated interests of the western country, where new settlements are forming that will soon rise into independent states, demand a pointed attention, and require Congress to be placed in a central situation.

We know, Messrs. Printers, that the southern and northern parts of the union have interests and pursuits essentially different—the former, consisting chiefly of planters and consumers, and the latter of agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing people.

We have been told, that the southern delegates in the convention, with great reluctance yielded to a bare majority the powers of regulating commerce, from an apprehension that a combination of states that had similar interests might be easily formed, which by partial operations of government, could greatly oppress the southern district of the union.

We find, that this has been the popular topic of declamation, to work on the passions of the people, in the southern conventions, and we discover that Virginia has founded one of her proposed amendments on her fears on this subject; we are likewise told, that Patrick Henry so much deprecated the pernicious effects that might arise to Virginia from the exercise of this power, that he concluded a most eloquent harangue, by saying, that he would narrowly watch its tendency, with the eye of an eagle, watching its prey.

If the strength and connection of the northern members of the confederacy have already created such great alarm in the southern states, why should it be increased by placing Congress in the midst of this district, thereby throwing all the influence of government in the scale that is already thought to be preponderant.

This local influence must be immense when it is considered that the numerous appointments of officers under government will be generally confined to the inhabitants of the surrounding district, they being on the spot to solicit, and by personal application and address to enforce their pretensions.

The revenues of the confederacy, drawn from all parts of the union, will be mostly expended in the adjacent country, to the great benefit and emolument of those states, which approach nearest to the seat of government; and in the discussion of great points which involve peculiar advantages to the northern parts of the union, the ease of obtaining a full representation of their members, so as to insure a decided majority, is certainly a cause of serious apprehension to the southern states.

I have been told, Messrs. Printers, that the kings of England have much increased the powers of the executive authority, since they have been compelled to exchange the stern voice of prerogative, for the more persuasive accents of influence; this influence must exist in every government, in proportion to the extent of its powers and of its revenue system; and its effects must be greatly felt in the districts which approach the place where the government is administered.

To prevent the appearances of local aggrandizement operating at the expense of public interests, it becomes absolutely necessary to place the government in the center of the union, that its benefits and advantages may be equally diffused.

I cannot expect, Messrs. Printers, that the sentiments of a plain man, like myself, can have any effect on the opinions of those great statesmen in Congress that hold the reins of government. But it certainly would be expedient at this critical period of our affairs, to sacrifice points of lesser magnitude, to preserve the Union.

How can the northern states expect a ready concurrence of the southern, in granting a monopoly of the carrying trade, in establishing high duties on the importation of such articles from Europe, as they manufacture and can supply the southern states with, in the attainment of great advantages in commercial treaties, when their first agency in an act of government that has a view to the new system involves partiality and injustice as it regards the southern states, and must create in them, a spirit of discord and disunion, instead of a temper of harmony and conciliation, and which must necessarily operate in the formation of the first acts of legislation.

It will be said that the delegates from a southern state, acquiesce in the obnoxious derangement; individuals may err—but the people can never be mistaken—for their language is always governed by their interests; and what the interests of that state are, viewing its local position, taking into consideration its surrender of powers to the general government, will not admit of a moment's hesitation to decide.

It is really time this important question was determined. Every federalist throughout the union laments and deprecates the consequences of delay. Every anti-federalist rejoices in it, as most conducive to the purposes of confusion.

It will not be surprising that New-York obstinately adheres to her pretensions; but it is to be expected that the other states, less interested in the event, will possess a more accommodating spirit, and put an end to a contest that has disgraced the councils of the nation, and must terminate, if longer pursued, in the most dreadful consequences to the Union.

A Member of the Federal Club

RC (PHi: Alexander Biddle Papers). Enclosure reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 22, 1788.

<sup>1</sup> Date conjectured from Bingham's enclosure, which was published in the August 22 (Friday) issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet*. Bingham had just returned to Congress, having



written the following letter from Philadelphia on August 15 to his colleague Samuel Meredith.

"I am much obliged to you for the Communications contained in your Letter of the 12th Inst. [*not found*]. I expected that the Ordinance would have been rejected, by being put to the Vote, which was the Policy intended to be pursued, when I left New York.

"I am at a Loss to determine what Effect the Accounts from No Carolina will have.

"If the Delegation from So Carolina, & Mr. Few from Georgia, are not too much warped by their Prejudices to Philadelphia, it might be expected that they would now concur in the removal further Southward, as these two weak & defenceless States must feel a greater Confidence by having the Government to which they are to look up for Protection, Situated as near them as possible.

"I Shall return to New York in a few Days." Clymer–Meredith–Read Papers, NN.

<sup>2</sup> Bingham's "rough Piece" appeared in the August 22 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet* printed by John Dunlap and David C. Claypoole. For Bingham's concern with "the Claims of New York" and his efforts to secure the removal of the federal capital to Philadelphia, see also William Bingham's Draft Resolution, August 6? 1788.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to Catherine Wadsworth

My dear Catherine

New York August 19 1788

This is the most Stormy day we have had Since I have been here. The Streets run with water & the Wind blows hard, the Houses Shake and the Hogs of which the Streets are full are squealing for Shelter. I am very well and intend to come home soon. The rain has delayed our business here—you will wonder how—but so it is. Uncle John Trumbull was well the 18 June & has written to Mr David Trumbull.

My love to all friends, Your most Affectionate friend & Father,

Jere Wadsworth<sup>1</sup>

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Wadsworth also wrote a brief note to his daughter Harriet this day. And to his wife Mehitable he wrote on August 26 the following letter of introduction for Nicholas Gilman. "This will be handed you by Mr Gilman a Member of Congress who is passing through Hartford. I wish you to shew him every mark of Attention & Civility as my friend & as a Man of meritt & respectability. I hope to be with you in all this Week." Wadsworth Papers, CtHi.

## James R. Reid to Tench Coxe

My dear Sir,

New York 20th Augt. 1788

On my arrival I made some enquiries into the relative views and strength of the parties on the question lately agitated with so much violent intemperance in Congress. I found them nearly as I had left them, with wounds still smarting and the sicatrice unformed. And indeed at present they have the appearance of two fortified Camps within view of each other, neither of whom wish to come out of their



stronghold. What will be the probable consequence is mere conjecture. The Eastern States seem more anxious (though not more interested) to give immediate operation to the New Government than the people of the South, the late rebellion in Massachusetts urges to an immediate transition from this to a better Government. The powerful antifederal influence in this state will not weaken by delays.

We can pretend that the Southern States will be very well accommodated if the new government shall [*not*] be put in motion until next fall coming a year and in a particular manner the state of Pennsylvania who can lay up a private purse out of her impost. Virginia is also a state of great internal resources and can better her funds by delay, what those arguments may produce depends upon the experiment. This my dear friend is a jesuitical policy which grows out of necessity, and is the only weapon with which we can combat an enemy with similar weapons and on similar ground. Honesty is certainly the best policy but it cannot always be brought fairly into view.

As soon as opinion takes any form I shall send it to you, if it has but one feature—at present there is no such thing by which we can judge of the event.

I delivered Your letters, and wish You a great deal of health & happiness.  
James R. Reid

RC (PHi: Coxé Papers).

## Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[August 20? 1788]

Augt. [ ]<sup>1</sup>transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs—

4 copies of printed Journal 1788 from page 1 to 98.

4 do to the Board of treasury do

1 do to the Secy at War do

NB—one copy returned from Office f. f. Affrs hertofore sent to Mr Adams.

20th. Transmitted to the States—

26 copies of printed Journal—1788—from Novr. 1787 to Augt 20th, 1788.

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, July 7–28, 1788.

<sup>1</sup> Blank in the LB, but Thomson probably transmitted copies of the journals to the foreign affairs, treasury, and war offices the same day that he sent them to the states, for which see the following entry.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secy of Congress, Aug. 20. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed two copies of the Journal of Congress from the commencement of the federal year to the 20th of the present month, One for the executive & the other for the legislative branch of government.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Your Exys Most obedt & M. h S

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

New York Aug. 22. [17]88.

I have your favor of the 13th.<sup>1</sup> The effect of Clintons circular letter<sup>2</sup> in Virga. does not surprize me. It is a signal of concord & hope to the enemies of the Constitution every where, and will I fear prove extremely dangerous. Notwithstanding your remarks on the subject I cannot but think that an *early* convention will be an unadvised measure. It will evidently be the offspring of party & passion, and will probably for that reason alone be the parent of error and public injury. It is pretty clear that a majority of the people of the Union are in favor of the Constitution as it stands, or at least are not dissatisfied with it in that form; or if this be not the case it is at least clear that a greater proportion unite in that system than are likely to unite in any other Theory. Should radical alterations take place therefore they will not result from the deliberate sense of the people, but will be obtained by management, or extorted by menaces, and will be a real sacrifice of the public will as well as of the public good, to the views of individuals & perhaps the ambition of the State legislatures.

Congress have come to no final decision as to the place for convening the new Governt. It is unfortunately become a question now between N. & South, and notwithstanding the palpable unreasonableness of the thing, an adherence to N. York in preference to any more central position seems to grow stronger & stronger, and upon grounds which tend to keep Congress here till a permanent seat be established. In this point of view I own the business has a serious aspect, considering the injustice & oppression to the S. Western & Western parts of the Union.

Yrs. Affecly.,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:237–38.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 231–32.

<sup>2</sup> For which, see Madison to Thomas Jefferson, August 10, note 3.

## Samuel Meredith to Margaret Meredith

My Dear Peggy

Friday 22d Augst 1788.

The Post to day being the only one till Next Monday, I thought I would not omit writing tho it was only to tell you that I am very well.

Our Country Woman Mrs. Montgomery with her Son, & a young Wife both ages making at 33 or 35 Years have arrived in the Packet, he appears to be a Genteel Young Man, his Wife I have not seen—*she* has the same Volubility she formerly had, but says she intends now settling in America without an intention of quitting it.

Mr Hamilton is now speaking on Baron Steubens case, which is a very interesting one, & which he does great Ju[s]tice to, how farr it may aid him, is doubtful. My private opinion is strongly in his favour. His Situation is distressing. This being the case, & my attention drawn to the Subject & the Posts Time of departure being in a few Minutes I have only to wish you & the Children Health & happiness.

SM

RC (PPL: Meredith Papers). Addressed: "Mrs Meredith, To the Care of George Clymer Esqr, Philadelphia."

## George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher

My dear,

City of New York 22 August 1788

Since my last<sup>1</sup> I have been thinking that, in the next I should write you, I would enquire how you like being a young woman again? You are now, & for some weeks have been, at your fathers house—with all your old friends, and acquaintances about you. The same objects that surrounded you, and courted your attention, from infancy, to the age of twenty four, you are now daily beholding, as in those early days. You have no children to cry after you, or husband to tease you—in all things you are your own mistress. Say then, my Love, are you at home? do you wish to return to the little habitation where we have been happy with each other, and our dear little children, or had you rather they should come to you, and your home should be hereafter at Weston? Do you feel as if you were on a visit, and, by & by, shall return home; or are you at home, and the Idea of going to Biddeford, in a week or fortnight, strikes like an intended visit? Your sensations

and reflections in your present situation will go far in determining whether your general Lot, in Life, is an happy one or not.

These questions you have already anticipated, & fully answered in yours of the seventeenth inst. which came to hand last evening. You declare you wish to return home to "*our blessed little family*." This is most agreeable news to me I assure you. I had began to be almost apprehensive that you would think of Biddeford & of Returning there, rather as going from, than to, home—That the infant impressions of situation & delights would arise in your mind and make it painfull to go from your fathers house.

This has been the case with many women I could mention to you. But I am made very happy in finding that you begin to be anxious to get back to the place where, 'tis probable, you & I shall spend the remainder of our days.

I have nothing particular to com[mu]nicate concerning myself. I am in good health—but more averse from walking than ever; I dont know what ails me but the bottoms of my feet feel always as if they were weary.

My Lodgings are a quarter of a Mile from the Hall; & when I return from thence my feet are as weary as they used to be, when I lived at Yarmouth, after walking to Barnstable & back again—which was equal to six or eight miles.

Your Letters have all reached me—And I have begun to put them together in the form of a Book—And as they are wrote on equal sized paper they will make a very neat volume.

I therefore desire you to request Mr. Lee to get you a Quire or two of the same kind of paper I left with you—for you will have none after you get home.

No politics, this packet—the place for the New Congress to convene at is not agreed upon.

I am, my dear, your most affectionate husband,

Geo. Thatcher

RC (MHi: Thatcher Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, of August 17.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York Augst. 23. 1788.

My last went via England in the hands of a Swiss gentleman who had married an American lady, and was returning with her to his own country. He proposed to take Paris in his way. By that opportunity I in-closed copies of the proceedings of this State on the subject of the



Constitution. North Carolina was then in Convention, and it was generally expected would in some form or other have fallen into the general stream. The event has disappointed us. It appears that a large majority has decided against the Constitution as it stands, and according to the information here received has made the alterations proposed by Virginia the conditions on which alone that State will unite with the others. Whether this be the precise state of the case I can not say. It seems at least certain that she has either rejected the Constitution, or annexed conditions precedent to her ratification. It cannot be doubted that this bold step is to be ascribed in part to the influence of the minority in Virginia which lies mostly in the Southern part of the State, and to the management of its leader. It is in part ascribed also by some to assurances transmitted from leading individuals here, that New York would set the example of rejection. The event, whatever may have been its cause, with the tendency of the circular letter from the Convention of N. York, has somewhat changed the aspect of things and has given fresh hopes and exertions to those who opposed the Constitution. The object with them now will be to effect an early Convention composed of men who will essentially mutilate the system, particularly in the article of taxation, without which in my opinion the system cannot answer the purposes for which it was intended. An early Convention is in every view to be dreaded in the present temper of America. A very short period of delay would produce the double advantage of diminishing the heat and increasing the light of all parties. A trial for one year will probably suggest more real amendments than all the antecedent speculations of our most sagacious politicians.

Congress have not yet decided on the arrangements for inaugurating the new Government. The place of its first meeting continues to divide the Northern & Southern members, though with a few exceptions to this general description of the parties. The departure of Rhode Island, and the refusal of N. Carolina in consequence of the late event there to vote in the question, threatens a disagreeable issue to the business, there being now an apparent impossibility of obtaining seven States for any one place. The three Eastern States & N. York, reinforced by S. Carolina, and as yet by N. Jersey, give a plurality of votes in favor of this City. The advocates for a more central position however though less numerous, seemed very determined not to yield to what they call a shameful partiality to one extremity of the Continent. It will be certainly of far more importance under the proposed than the present system that regard should be had to centrality whether we consider the number of members belonging to the Government, the diffusive manner in which they will be appointed, or the increased re-

sort of individuals having business with the Legislative, Executive & Judiciary departments. If the Western Country be taken into view, as it certainly ought, the reasoning is still further corroborated. There is good ground to believe that a very {jealous eye will be}<sup>1</sup> kept in that {quarter on in}attention {to it and particularly when} involving a {seeming advantage to the eastern states} which have been {rendered extremely suspicious} and {obnoxious by the Missisipi project}. There is {even good ground to believe that Spain is taking} advantage of {this disgust in Kentucky} and is {actually endeavoring} to {seduce them from the union holding out a darling object which will never be obtained by them as part of the union}. This is a {fact as certain as it is important but which I hint in strict confidence} and with {a request} that no suspicion may be excited of its being {known particularly thro the channel of me}.<sup>2</sup> I have this moment notice that I must send off my letter instantly, or lose the conveyance. I must consequently defer further communications till another opportunity.

In the meantime I am, Yrs. Affely.,

Js. Madison Jr.

[P.S.] Along with this you will receive a copy of the report you desired from Mr. Thomson,<sup>3</sup> and a copy of the *Federalist*, a publication mentioned in my last.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:238–39.

<sup>1</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in cipher.

<sup>2</sup> Madison had clearly learned before his colleague John Brown departed for Kentucky of Brown's conferences with Don Diego de Gardoqui regarding Spain's offer of a commercial treaty with an independent Kentucky, for which see Brown to George Muter, July 10, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> For the identity of this report "drawn by Governor Randolph on the navigation of the Missisipi," see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:37n.6.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear sir

New York [August] 23rd 1788

By Letters from sundry Correspondents it appears that North Carolina has at length thrown herself out of the Union, but she happily is not alone; The large upright and respectable State of Rhode Island is her associate. This circumstance however does not, I hope, render it necessary that the Delegates from NC should profess a particular affection for the Delegates from R.I. That State was some days ago represented by a Mr Arnold who keeps a little Tavern 10 miles out of Providence & a Mr Hazard the illiterate quondam Skipper of a small

Coasting Vessel & now the very leader of I Know Ye Justices who officiate at County Courts & receives small Fees not as a Lawyer but Agent for Suitors. These two respectable Delegates with the innate Desire of promoting a bad measure lately voted on several Questions respecting the Organisation of the new Govt. in order to fix it in New York, a Corner of the Union, but before the final Question was taken on the Ordinance they caused a Member to move in Congress for a Vote "That nothing which the Delegates from Rh Is. or NC had done or might do in voting on the Subject should be construed as in any measure affecting the Rights &c of their Constituents.["]"<sup>1</sup> This was to be a Bull or Absolution. On this Motion the Delegates from N.C. moved that the Word North Carolina should be struck out of the Vote of Absolutio, And thereon we called for the Yeas & Nays to prove that we did not wish to have NC associated in any Vote with Rh I, that we did not wish for Absolution being conscious of having pursued our Duty. That with Respect to the final Vote which was to be taken on the Ordinance we proposed never to assist in such Vote unless NC should confederate for we would not be guilty of paracide by throwing our State out of the Union. On this the Motion was withdrawn; the Rh. I. Gentlemen missed the promised Pleasure of doing wrong & on the next morning they set out Homeward.

I wrote the Governor a Letter<sup>2</sup> concerning the Conduct of some Members when the Business referred to was first moved in Congress and with my usual want of prudent Dissimulation I expressed an honest Indignation by calling Spade *a Spade*. This Letter it seems has been read in the Convention & a Correspondent up the Country writes me that he fears it has hurt me greatly. As I did not consider that Letter as official & one that should be communicated to a public Assembly I took no Copy of it and do not know what it contained, but as I am conscious that I never write in the most careless mood any thing but what I think and as I am also conscious that since I have been honoured with a commission from the State I have not in a single Instance preferred my private Interest to the Benefit of the State, that I never have through private Indulgence or inattention omitted a single opportunity of serving the State. Being conscious of no corrupt motive my zeal on a late occasion to serve the State has not been abated at an Hour when I had reason to suppose that the Action would not be popular. Had I supported what I conceive to be a dishonest measure in pursuit of Popularity I should for the first Time, as a public man, had occasion to condemn my self. Doing what I conceive to be the Dictate of Honesty & true Patriotism I mean to abide Consequences, my friends know that I do not depend for a Support on public favour.

The 22nd Amendment<sup>3</sup> so called was certainly a very important one for NC. If an East India Company or a Mediterranean Company should be erected it would greatly interfere with her Trade to those



Regions. What could have put foreign Troops into their Head? They should have excepted particularly against the Japanese who are Hea-then. The 12th Amendment I take for an Original.<sup>4</sup> Others have talked about a *Rebellion in a State* but the N Ca. Convention speaks of the *State being in Rebellion*. Are these the same thing according to the conceptions of Tom Person & Tim Bloodworth, not forgetting the learned Judge Spencer! Is it like the various Expression of *an old turned Hat* & a *turned old Hat*? Perhaps they conceived that the federal Congress might undertake to declare that a State out of the Union was in Rebellion. To obviate this it would have been safer to have required thirteen Elevenths. The other Amendments or Pejorations I fully understand but this one I do not.

Be pleased present my Respects to Mrs Iredell & believe me to be with great Regard, Dr sir, Your obedt servt, Hu Williamson

RC (NhD: Iredell Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> For this August 7 motion by Alexander Hamilton, see *JCC*, 34:403–4.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the 22d amendment proposed by the North Carolina ratifying convention August 1, “That Congress erect no company of merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce.” Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, M338, DNA microfilm; and *N.C. State Records*, 22:22.

<sup>4</sup> “That Congress shall not declare any state to be in rebellion without the consent of at least two-thirds of all the members present of both houses.” *Ibid.*, p. 21.

## James Madison to George Washington

Dear Sir

New York Augst. 24. 1788.

I was yesterday favored with yours of the 17th, 18th<sup>1</sup> under the same cover with the papers from Mr. Pleasants. The Circular letter from this State is certainly a matter of as much regret, as the *unanimity* with which it passed is matter of surprize. I find it is every where, and particularly in Virginia, laid hold of as the signal for united exertions in pursuit of *early* amendments. In Pennsylv. the antifederal leaders are I understand, soon to have a meeting at Harrisburg, in order to concert proper arrangements on the part of that State.<sup>2</sup> I begin now to accede to the opinion, which has been avowed for some time by many, that the circumstances involved in the ratification of New York will prove more injurious than a rejection would have done. The latter wd. have rather alarmed the well meaning antifederalists elsewhere, would have had no ill effect on the other party, would have excited the indignation of the neighbouring States, and would have been necessarily followed by a speedy reconsideration of the subject. I am not able to account for the concurrence of the federal part of the Convention in the circular address, on any other principle than the determination to



purchase an immediate ratification in any form and at any price, rather than disappoint this City of a chance for the new Congress. This solution is sufficiently justified by the eagerness displayed on this point, and the evident disposition to risk and sacrifice every thing to it. Unfortunately the disagreeable question continues to be undecided, and is now in a state more perplexing than ever. By the last vote taken, the whole arrangement was thrown out, and the departure of Rho. Island & the refusal of N. Carolina to participate further in the business, has left eleven States only to take it up anew. In this number there are not seven States for any place, and the disposition to relax, as usually happens, decreases with the progress of the contest. What and when the issue is to be is really more than I can foresee. It is truly mortifying that the outset of the new Government should be immediately preceded by such a display of locality, as portends the continuance of an evil which has dishonored the old, and gives countenance to some of the most popular arguments which have been inculcated by the Southern antifederalists.

New York has appeared to me extremely objectionable on the following grounds. It violates too palpably the simple and obvious principle that the seat of public business should be made as equally convenient to every part of the public, as the requisite accommodations for executing the business will permit. This consideration has the more weight, as well on account of the catholic spirit professed by the Constitution, as of the increased resort which it will require from every quarter of the Continent. It seems to be particularly essential that an eye should be had in all our public arrangements to the accommodation of the Western Country, which perhaps cannot be sufficiently gratified at any rate, but which might be furnished with new fuel to its jealousy by being summoned to the sea-shore & almost at one end of the Continent. There are reasons, but of too confidential a nature for any other than verbal communication, which make it of critical importance that neither cause, nor pretext should be given for distrusts in that quarter of the policy towards it in this. I have apprehended also that a preference so favorable to the Eastern States would be represented in the Southern as a decisive proof of the preponderance of that scale, and a justification of all the antifederal arguments drawn from that danger. Adding to all this the recollection that the first year or two will produce all the great arrangements under the new system, and which may fix its tone for a long time to come, it seems of real importance that the temporary residence of the new Congress, apart from its relation to the final residence, should not be thrown too much towards one extremity of the Union. It may perhaps be the more necessary to guard agst. suspicions of partiality in this case, as the early measures of the new Government, including a navigation act will of course be most favorable to this extremity.

But I own that I am much influenced by a view to the final residence, which I conceive more likely to be properly chosen in Philada. than in New York. The extreme excentricity of the latter will certainly in my opinion bring on a premature, and consequently an improper choice. This policy is avowed by some of the sticklers for this place, and is known to prevail with the bulk of them. People from the interior parts of Georgia, S.C., N.C., Va. & Kentucky will never patiently repeat their trips to this remote situation, especially as the legislative sessions will be held in the winter season. Should no other consequence take place than a frequent or early agitation of this contentious subject, it would form a strong objection agst. N. York.

Were there reason to fear a repugnance to the establishment of a final seat, or a choice of a commercial City for the purpose, I should be strongly tempted to shun Philada. at all events. But my only fear on the first head is of a precipitancy in carrying that part of the fœderal Constitution into effect, and on the second the public sentiment as well as other considerations is so fixedly opposed as to banish the danger from my apprehensions. Judging from my own experience on this subject, I conclude that from motives of one sort or another ten States at least (that is 5 from each end of the Union) to say nothing of the Western States will at any proper time be ready to remove from Philada. The only difficulty that can arise will be that of agreeing on the place to be finally removed to and it is from that difficulty alone, and the delay incident to it, that I derive my hope in favor of the banks of the Potowmac. There are some other combinations on this subject into which the discussion of it has led me, but I have already troubled you with more I fear than may deserve your attention.

The Newspapers herewith inclosed contain the European intelligence brought by the last packets from England.

With every sentiment of esteem & attachment I remain Dear Sir,  
Your Obedt. & Affecte. servt.,

Js. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:240–42.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 234–35.

<sup>2</sup> For the July–August summons for a meeting in Harrisburg on September 3 and the newspaper summary of its results, see John B. McMaster and Frederick D. Stone, eds., *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787–1788* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1888), pp. 552–64.

## William Bingham to Tench Coxe

Dear sir,

New York, August 25 1788

The Spirit which now exists in Congress is of Such a Nature, as to require Reasons more forcible than the Strength of personal or Party Views, to eradicate it.

Nothing can more effectually induce the Advocates for New York to abandon the Pretensions of this Place, than to find the public Mind agitated on the subject of the Delay, & the public Voice, clamorous for a more equitable & impartial Arrangement.

The only Method to answer this Purpose is to awaken the People in the Eastern States & in So Carolina, to a Sense of the unjust Views of their Delegates in Congress, & to the pernicious Consequences that may result to the Union, from the Pursuit of Such Measures.

You have an extensive Correspondence, & will have the Means of answering Such Views, without the Appearance of Design.

The Legislature of Jersey is to meet this Week. It is an essential Object to induce them to instruct their Delegates to vote in favor of a more central & southern Position; that they may no longer concur in the Support of a Measure, which has in View local Aggrandizement, at the Expence of general Interests.

From the Attachment that Exists in Jersey to the federal Constitution, much is expected from their Legislature. What they will decide on, will give the Ton[e] to the other states, whose Delegates have voted for New York, which renders it an Object of essential Consequence, to gain their Suffrages in our favor.

As Dunlaps Paper & Halls, have an extensive Circulation, it would be very politic to insert Paragraphs on this subject, which would be transposed into other Gazettes, & have an excellent Tendency. I have wrote a few,<sup>1</sup> which I inclose you for the purpose, & would recommend that whenever any thing of this Nature is published, the Papers Should be transmitted to all the States.

But these Arrangements must be Kept Secret, or they will lose their Effect.

I am with Sincere Esteem & Regard, D sir, Your obedt hble ser,  
Wm Bingham<sup>2</sup>

RC (PHi: Coxe Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Bingham to Benjamin Rush, August 19.

<sup>2</sup> This is the last letter Bingham wrote as a congressional delegate that has been found. He is last recorded as voting in Congress on September 4, and probably returned home the week-end of September 6–7. His continued immersion in public affairs, however, is reflected in the following letter he wrote to William Irvine from Philadelphia on September 10.

"I observe by the Letter you were So obliging as to favor me with [*not found*], that our Hopes will be defeated by the Arrival of the Rhode Island Delegation. I am not fully convinced that they will presume to vote. Tho' there is great reason to apprehend it.

"We are very anxious for the Ordinance; but if there was any prospect of gaining the Point by a little Delay, it would perhaps be adviseable.

"The present Session of Assembly will terminate about the End of the Month.

"I observe that Maryland has abandoned you, which I am fearfull will raise the Hopes of our Opponents. I shall be thankfull to you, for a detail of Occurrences in this & every other important Point.

"The Meeting at Harrisburgh has defeated the Expectations of the Antifederal Party; it having been attended but by a few Deputations from the Counties." Irvine Papers, PHi.



## Charles Thomson the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress. August 25. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed, a Requisition of the United States in Congress Assembled for the Year 1788;<sup>1</sup> for further illustration I must beg leave to refer you to the Letter which the Board of Treasury will write to you on this subject.

With great Respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most hum servt.,  
Cha Thomson

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governor of Rhode Island." LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> On June 9 Congress ordered the board of treasury to submit "an estimate of the sums necessary for the services of the year 1788 including the interest on the foreign and domestic debt and the amount of the capital of the foreign which will become due in the year 1789." The board's estimates were submitted July 9 and referred to a committee consisting of Abraham Clark, Abraham Baldwin, William Bingham, Nathan Dane, and Hugh Williamson, whose report was submitted on August 4, debated August 13, and adopted August 20. See *JCC*, 34:209, 305, 388-90, 419-21, 433-42. Thomson's enclosure was actually a broadside printing of the requisition, for which see *JCC*, 34:634 (item 611); and Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,516. See also South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Pinckney, September 6.

## Abraham Clark to William Livingston

Sir, New York August 26h 1788.

I am unable to say when the Act of Congress for putting the New Government into Operation will be agreed to:<sup>1</sup> The matter was taken up in Congress as soon as nine States had ratified, but the Convention of New York being then sitting, in which two thirds of the members were Opposed to the New Constitution, it was thought unadvisable to proceed in the business at the time further than agreeing upon the time to chuse Electors—the time for them to meet to Elect a president & Vice President—and the time of meeting of the New Congress: but the place of meeting was purposely delayed untill the New York Convention should come to some final determination. Two reasons induced Congress to this delay, first that New York could not be fixed upon as the place unless they ratified; secondly, to appoint any other place while they were deliberating would, in all probability insure a final rejection, to prevent which it was suffered to pass as a very probable event, if not as a matter of Certainty, that in Case they did Adopt, New York would be the place of meeting. This perhaps was one principle Cause of their adopting, and without their being led into this opinion I believe they would have rejected the Constitution. In this Business I feel no particular attachment in favour of N. York, nor as



they have adopted the New Constitution whereby all former grounds of Complaint are removed, ought I as a member from New Jersey to retain any resentment. I am influenced by other motives: for as it was a very important and desirable Object to have this State become a member of the New Government, so it is necessary for Congress to Act in such a manner as to avoid the Charge of deceiving the State in what I consider well grounded expectations: besides, all our public Offices are here and cannot be removed without a great expence which our Treasury cannot conveniently defray; and after all we might go to a place the New Congress might disapprove of as a temporary residence. New Jersey laying between New York and Philadelphia are equally contiguous to each and at this time in that point of view ought not to give a preference to either, such as a removal from one to the other. The same reason would hold good against removing to New York were Congress at Philadela.—to which I may add, that a removal to Philada. would be losing all Chance of having the permanent Seat of Government fixed near the falls of Delaware as formerly agreed to, which is an Object New Jersey ought not to lose sight of so long as a probable Chance remains. To go to Philada. before the future Seat of Government is fixed on, will be giving up all prospects of this kind, as there will not be a probability of Obtaining it to the Northward of the place Congress shall be in at the time—they may go from hence to the Delaware near Trenton, Pennsylvania may as formerly join in such a measure, but never will if Congress are at Philadela. These are reasons that induced me to give New York the preference. Should the Delegation of New Jersey join in favour of Philadela. it would be of no avail, it would only make an equal division of the States, there would in that case be five States and a half for New York, and the same number for Philadela.—as Eleven only Votes upon the Occasion, and no more can be expected unless Rhode Island comes forward in favour of New York as is expected, the Delegation of North Carolina will not vote on the question.

As there may be different Opinions in the Legislature respecting the Conduct of their Delegates on this question, I have taken the liberty to request your Excellency to Communicate to both Houses this Statement of the principle reasons that influenced my conduct which I trust will be satisfactory:<sup>2</sup> The several votes will appear in the Journals of Congress sent forward by the Secretary.

In order to Accommodate all the States we were obliged to place the times for Electing &c. at periods much more distant than were Necessary for New Jersey, some Legislatures could not be convened earlier than November, none except the present meeting in New Jersey, will be before some time in October; should the business be delayed some time longer in Congress (which it is wished may not be long) no inconvenience will happen, provided the same go to the States by the time they meet in October.

I have the honor to be with great regard, your Excellencys Most  
Obedt. and Humble Servt.,  
Abra. Clark<sup>3</sup>

RC (MHi: Livingston Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Clark's colleague Lambert Cadwalader laid out his views on this issue in the following letter to Pennsylvania delegate Samuel Meredith, dated "Trenton 10 Sept 1788." "I saw Bingham in his Way to Philadelphia—he informed that Matters relative to the fixing the Place where the new Legislature shall convene remained in Statu quo. I suppose the Troops are marshalled according to their several State Interests, whenever a Motion is preferred on this important Business. The Arguments are clearly and incontrovertibly in Favor of the Southern States and I have no Doubt they will stedfastly adhere to their Point. But if the Question stands connected with the Ordinance and it cannot be carried, what is to become of the Ordinance? This is a most serious Consideration and requires the particular attention of Congress.

"I observed by the Journals of Congress that on the 6th August it was determined on a Motion of Tucker seconded by H. Lee 'that the City of N York in the State of N York be the Place for commencing Proceedings under the sd. Constitution,' & that the Preamble to sd. Resolve was also agreed to. So, however, I apprehend it—this is quite new to me.

"I wish you would make the Proposition wh I recommended in my Letter to Bingham—for Princeton—rather than this Place or Burlington, which being situate on the Waters communicating with Philada., are more liable to Objections in the House—the other being more central may be more plausibly maintained and who knows but a Motion of the Kind wh carries with it the Appearance of Concession on your Part may meet the approbation of some of the Members who are now against you. It will certainly have this Effect at least that it must draw off N Jersey from the Northern Party and add their weight to yours." Clymer Collection, PPAmP.

<sup>3</sup> Clark's statement of his attendance at Congress for the congressional year 1787–88, which he submitted October 22, 1788, claimed compensation for the following periods: November 12–17 and December 10–19, 1787; December 27, 1787, to February 2, 1788; February 11 to April 18 (excepting March 10 and April 14); and April 30 to October 16, 1788 (excepting May 12–14 and 19, July 21, August 11–13 and 25, September 8, 22–23, and October 6). New Jersey State Papers, NJ.

## James R. Reid to Tench Coxe

My dear Sir, 5 o'Clock 26th [August] 1788

At 12 o'Clock this day the advocates for New York came into the field with many whereas's and took a question for the City of New York as the residence for the new Congress.<sup>1</sup> They lost it. They will lick their sores till tomorrow. We are firm and redoubtable, nor have we come out of our works.

I will write you more particularly tomorrow. The opposition seem very anxious to give immediate operation &c. J R Reid

RC (PHi: Coxe Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 34:455–57.

## Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker

My beloved Brother

New York Augt. 26. 1788

I have the pleasure to enclose to you a Letter receiv'd this day from our dear invaluable Parent, from which you will no doubt learn the very great Alarm all the Family have been under on Account of the severe & dangerous Illness of our Sister in St. George's. Happily, to their great Relief, it had pleased Heaven to give a favorable Turn to her Disorder, & they had reason to hope that she wou'd soon be restored to Health. We are both capable of feeling in it's fullest Force the Distress of our poor Brother, & must equally rejoice with him in the happy Change. I thank you heartily for your kind favor by your Son Richard who had a very short passage from Norfolk. He affords me infinite pleasure in the Accounts he gives of your Health & that of your dear Girls & Boys. May Heaven be in all things propitious to you & them. I am not a little disappointed & mortified at not seeing you. It wou'd have been a great Cordial to us both to have had a Meeting. Much I wish for a long Conversation with you, & on no Subject more than that of our dear Natty. I have not been able to read his Books, for my Eyes are often too weak to permit me to attend properly to necessary Business. I wish much to write to him, but know not what to write, & I fear he will take it unkind as he express'd great Solitude to hear from me speedily. I think he is under a kind of Fanaticism which does not amount to what you apprehend. I am the more inclined to hope this, as his practice has rather increased lately, & he seems somewhat guarded against the consequences of having his Sentiments made public to a prejudiced World. His Letters to me are exceedingly long & for the reason above mention'd I shall perhaps not be able to send you Copies as soon as I cou'd wish, for I do not choose to shew them to any person who might transcribe them. I cannot express how much I wish to converse with you on this Subject, for I am anxious to have some fixt Opinion of his Situation. He has indeed gone so far as to speak of extraordinary Appearances to himself. John has been very much indisposed lately, so that I have been obliged to take him from College to my Lodgings. He is now much better & I hope will soon be well. Theod. has also had several Attacks of Fever, but not severe. I shou'd be happy to pay you a Visit, but have no immediate prospect of being able to do it. I am in Appointment for as much of the next foederal Year as will run out the present Constitution, which probably will expire in the Beginning of March, for that is the Time which has long been agreed on in Congress for the Meeting of the new Legislature, but being very much divided concerning the Place no Act on the Subject has yet obtain'd final Approbation. The Contest at present seems to be betwixt this City & Philadelphia, & the parties are so tena-



cious that nothing can be done. I am for several Reasons averse to Philadelphia. I fear the aristocratical Influence of that City. May Heaven bless you, my dearest Brother, & all who are dear to you. Give my tenderest Love to your dear Children. Remember me with sincere regard to Maria, Miss Betty & other good Friends.

I am with every Sentiment of unalterable Friendship, Your most affect. Brother,  
Thos. Tud. Tucker

RC (ViW: Tucker–Coleman Papers).

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

Wednesday 27th. Augt. 1788.

It gives me much pain, my dear Girl, that your most obliging letter of the 17th with a note of the 20th should not have reachd me till this moment (8 OClock in the Evening). The cause however is very expli-cable; and least it might give you some uneasiness to know the fact, without knowing the cause, I must be indulg'd in employing the only moment I have in telling it. You must know then that on Friday last Mrs. L. & her whole houshold set out on their shooting party to the Island—where they have been 'till this afternoon. Now as Mrs. Deforest was the bearer of Mrs. Lewis's packet, (which enclosd missive did not arrive till Sunday Morning). It follows of course, that the obstruction it met with arose only from Mrs. L absence, & could only be cur'd by her return.

Accept a thousand thanks for it. Even its delay has enhanc'd its worth—and I receive it as an u[n]expected tribute of that attachment which in language, poetical but true, is at once “my highest glory & my greatest good.”

I am so much recover'd as to be again abroad. I made John (who is not well & to whom I owe a good deal in that way) a visit this morning. Let Mary's opinion be what it may & founded on what it will, I can now assure you, as I believe I did before, that Eliza is no longer his de-sease.<sup>1</sup> Jones has I hope by this time got to the Manor, be perfectly easy on the subject of your letters. No eye but my own has seen, or shall see them—tho' I confess that were I more vain (than I believe tis possible for me to be) on any subject, it would be on this. 'Twould be to hear your praise from others, as strongly as I feel your worth myself, 'Twould be to receive the envy of my enemies, & the gratulations of my friends.

But I risque the passage of my letter & of course the oppertunity of once more telling you, what in my heart & soul I am.

Your ever Affectionate

J Armstrong jr.



RC (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> Alida's brother Maj. John R. Livingston, a widower, married Eliza McEvers May 30, 1789.

## Alexander Hamilton to John Chaloner

Sir<sup>1</sup>

New York Aug 28. 1788.<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 20th of August with the paper inclosed.<sup>3</sup>

I have caused a search to be made in the secretary's office and am informed, that the deeds mentioned in the abstract are regularly recorded agreeably to the references; and the chain of title appears to be complete. As to the value of the land no estimate can well be formed but by a person acquainted with the spot. From the part of the country in which it lies I should conjecture it might be worth a dollar an acre; though sold in the gross it would not perhaps fetch half the money. As to incumbrances this would be a still more difficult inquiry. Recourse must be had to the records in Albany; and that done, there would still be a general source of apprehension from the known embarrassments of Croghan—there being judgments against him to a large amount, which it is perhaps not possible to ascertain whether satisfied or not or how far.

I have sent the abstract to Albany to pursue the inquiry, which will be done; unless you send me word it is unnecessary. Upon the whole I fear the matter will be after all a leap in the dark—But the circumstances may be such as to render it prudent to take it.

I remain with esteem, Yrs,

A Hamilton

RC (PHi: Chaloner & White Papers). Addressed: "Mr. John Chaloner, Merchant, Philadelphia."

<sup>1</sup> For Chaloner, see these *Letters*, 12:131, 196, 458, 547–48, 13:79, 572.

<sup>2</sup> This day also secretary for foreign affairs John Jay wrote the following letter to the governor of Massachusetts, John Hancock.

"In obedience to the orders of Congress I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency herewith enclosed a certified copy of their act of the 27th instant, together with the memorial mentioned in it." PCC, item 120, 3:428. For the enclosed memorial from Jesse Lawrence, see *JCC*, 34:454–55, 460–62; and PCC, item 78, 14:747–50, item 80, 3:557–58.

Lawrence, a Nova Scotian who had complained of trespasses against his property on Sable Island by citizens of Massachusetts, had appealed for relief from Continental rather than state officials. Jay's August 22 letter to Congress enclosing Lawrence's memorial was referred on August 25 to a committee consisting of Hugh Williamson, Nathan Dane, William Few, Nathaniel Mitchell, and Paine Wingate. The committee's recommendation, to refer Lawrence's memorial "to the executive of Massachusetts . . . [to] cause a fair and full enquiry to be made into the truth of the facts alledged . . . and that any expences which may be incurred . . . be chargeable against the United States," was adopted August 27. *JCC*, 34:462.

<sup>3</sup> For Chaloner's letter and the enclosed abstract of Jean Holker's "title to lands in N York State offered by him as a substitute to Mr [John B.] Church & others who have commenced suits against him for protested bills," see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:203.

## Alexander Hamilton to William Livingston

Dear Sir

Aug 29. 1788

The Baron De Steuben informs me that he expects to set out this day on a visit to your legislature to endeavour to procure some arrangement respecting the place at Hackensack some time since granted to him by your state upon certain conditions.<sup>1</sup> My anxiety for the Baron's situation induces me to take the liberty of asking your friendship to him as far as may consist with considerations of propriety. It is needless to say to you that he has been a most useful servant of the public. I imagine it is as little necessary to observe, that he is a man, the qualities of whose heart intitle him to the sympathy and good will of good men. I shall only add that he is in a condition, for a man of his Temper and habits, deplorable. He is as nearly as much in debt as all the property he has *would sell for*; and he is at the same time moneyless. Congress are now discussing his last application on the footing of a contract; but there are some circumstances which involve the transaction in obscurity; and there are individuals not disposed to overcome difficulties. I fear little is to be looked for. The question however is—Shall we permit a man, who has essentially served the American cause, either to starve or to go abroad begging?

We are informed here that there is some probability, that your legislature will instruct your delegates to vote for Philadelphia as the place of the meeting of the first Congress under the new Government. I presume this information can hardly be well founded, as upon my calculations, there is not a state in the Union so much interested in having the temporary residence at New York, as New Jersey—As between Philadelphia and New York. I am mistaken if a grater proportion of your state will not be benefitted by having the seat of the government at the latter than at the former place. If at the latter too, its exposed and exsentric position will necessitate the early establishment of a permanent seat; and in passing South it is highly probable the government would light upon the Delaware in New Jersey. The Northern states do not wish to increase Pensylvania by an accession of all the wealth and population of the Fœderal City. Pensylvania herself when not seduced by *immediate possession* will be glad to concur in a situation on the Jersey side of Delaware. Here are at once a Majority of the States. But place the government once down in Philadelphia, Pensylvania will of course hold fast. The State of Delaware will do the same.

All the states South looking forward to the time when the ballance of Population will enable them to carry the government farther South, (say to the Potowmack) and being accommodated in the mean time as well as they wish will concur in no change. The Government from the delay will take root in Philadelphia & Jersey will lose all prospect of the Fœderal city within her limits. These appear to me calculations so obvious, that I cannot persuade myself, New Jersey will so much oversee her interest as to fall in the present instance in the snare of Pensylvania.

With the sincerest respect & regard, I remain Dr Sir, Yr. Obed st,  
A Hamilton<sup>2</sup>

RC (MHi: Livingston Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the fitful efforts New Jersey had made to reward baron Steuben for his military services during the war, see Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 5:188–89, 259–60, 357n.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton also wrote a letter on August 31 to Stephen Lush, an Albany lawyer, asking if he could represent his client William Duer in a proceeding before the Albany court of chancery. "I am so cursedly immersed in public affairs," Hamilton complained, "that all my Clients suffer. I am obliged to attend Congress constantly to take care of the question respecting the place of meeting of the new government." Washburn Collection, MHi. See also Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:210.

## James Madison to John Brown

Dear Sir

New York Augst. 30. 1788.

The letter herewith inclosed<sup>1</sup> was brought by the last mail, and I forward it for that which is to leave Philada. on Wednesday next for Fort Pitt. I add some of the late gazettes from which you will gather the current intelligence; and copies of some Acts of Congress relating to matters in the Western Country.<sup>2</sup> I recollect no others subsequent to your departure which deserve communication. The provision for inaugurating the New Government is still to be made; no compromise having yet taken place on the contested point, and there being not sufficient force to bring it to the issue of an effective vote. The delay is become now a serious inconveniency both as it excites the public criticism, and may affect the time of putting the new system into operation. When and how it will be terminated I am not able positively to say. The major number of States are in favor of New York in preference to any other place; the minority on the other hand will agree to any other place less remote from the central point. The former contend that the latter ought to yield to the majority; the latter that the reasonableness of their demands outweighs the plea on the other side.

It will give me pleasure at all times to hear from you, and to assure you that I am Dear Sir with very sincere esteem & regard Your Obed hble servt.

Js. Madison Jr



RC (CtY); reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:244–45.

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> For these August 28–29 resolutions, see Charles Thomson to Arthur St. Clair, September 1.

## Charles Thomson to Joseph Howell

Sir Office of Secy of Congress, Aug. 30. 1788

I have the honor to send you herewith enclosed An Act of Congress, by which you will see that the United states in Congress assembled have been pleased to appoint you Commissioner of Army Accounts.<sup>1</sup> I beg leave to congratulate you on the appointment & am, Sr., Your obedt h S,

CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> The board of treasury's announcement of the death of the commissioner of army accounts John Pierce was received by Congress on August 5. A letter of the same date from Howell, the assistant commissioner, soliciting the appointment, was received the 8th. He was appointed to the post August 28, and he officially accepted the appointment September 1. See *JCC*, 34:392, 407n, 468, 481; and *PCC*, item 78, 12:465–69. See also Thomson to John Pierce, July 18.

## Paine Wingate to Hannah Wingate

My dear friend New York Augt. 30. 1788

I am going to write to you for the last time I suppose until I shall return home. This is a work of supererogation for I balanced my account with you in my last. But I am not very scrupulous about over paying you such a trifling matter as this letter. I have fixed the time of my return, which I do not think I shall exceed. Possibly I may set out a few days sooner. I hope I shall then have the great satisfaction of seeing you with all my other friends in health & good spirits. Betsey wrote me word that you had been unwell but was growing better. I conclude that my prescription, which so often had such a salutatory effect upon you arrived in a day or two after the date of her letter & hope it had the desired operation. I think Betsey is an excellent letterwriter and I would write her an a[n]swer if I did not intend to return so soon when I shall endeavor to make her a proper acknowledgement. I admire that short simple mode of telling news, which is peculiar to her letters. I must believe what she says is all true if she spoke her own mind & was not dictated by some body else. But when I recollect who has been instructing of her, I must be excused if I should scruple the veracity of some things. However I hope I shall never have reason to charge her with what I once did a friend of mine whom you know. I



promised to write to my wife every week until I set out, which will not be more than three. She has wrote to me so often that I shall not be out of debt to her. I will not now say any flattering things about her letters, lest it should excite your envey, only that they have been very agreeable to me. I have very sincerely said that of yours. My wife has mentioned to me the hair pins which I shall endeavor to procure. It will be my wish to bring home something that will be agreeable to both of you if it is only a pin, for each of you. If there is any thing else that either of you want that I can bring I hope to have the request as soon as possible. It is seven months this day since I left home and as my desire to return is strong so the expectation of it is the more satisfactory as I please myself that I shall be welcome to those parts. I have no female connections here whom it will be any mortification to me to part with, altho I have some of the other sex. The ladies here have such monstrous heads & rumps that I should not venture to approach either part. My &c has cost me so little that I shall have some money to bring home with me, which I believe will be as welcome as almost any thing. Mr. Poor is alive & well, in good business & likely to marry a rich wife. I can tell you more about him when I see you. He is not in the city. I have nothing else remarkable to tell you, and shall conclude this letter with some annecdotes of a female character which you will see some account of in the scraps of papers I shall enclose. Her name was Betsey Whitman of Connecticutt. She was the favorite child of a very worthy clergyman who is dead. Her mother was a fortune of very respectable family & lives to be distressed with her untimely end. She was a person of a most sprightly genius & uncommon literary improvements. She was handsome, amiable & polite. She was flattered, admired & caressed by a throng of sensible lovers. This in the day of her glory raised her vanity too high and made her difficult to be pleased with any one enô to be married. Among others Mr. Buckminster of Portmo. courted her & went expecting to marry her but she then refused him; as she had done with many other advantageous offers. At length she began to be neglected as a person too difficult to be pleased, and at last was seduced by a married man of mean character. By whom she proved with child & cost her her life; partly by mortification & partly by undue methods to conceal her guilt. I can add no more, but to assure you that I am

P Wingate<sup>1</sup>

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Wingate also wrote to his daughter Mary Wingate Wiggin on August 25, exhorting her to write and extolling the domestic virtues. "Four weeks from this day at furthest," he went on, "I intend to set out for home and hope then to have the pleasure of meeting you all in health. I want very much to see your habitation and know whether you make a good dairy wife. I please myself that I shall eat some of your butter and cheese soon and hope to find it equal to your mother's. Your chickens likewise will be an object of your attention and afford you amusement in raising. But the weightiest concern is to be a good mother and a good wife. I hope therein you will excell.

"Your mother observes to me that there are some things which you want for house-keeping which she has not been able to procure. I am sorry that you and she have been disappointed on this account. When I shall return I trust I shall have the money to procure the things wanted immediately and if they are wanted sooner I can venture to engage the money then in pay, as I expect to bring some with me. I have not found my expenses here equal to what I expected. And my age and frugality induce me not to go into many of the expensive pleasures of the young and gay.

"In such a city as this a man may easily spend money as he pleases and not make much difference in his appearance. I board at a very decent house. We keep a good table & wine and have the appearance of living as well as any other member of Congress. But our secret expenses are not much." Charles E. L. Wingate, *Paine Wingate's Letters to His Children* (Medford, Mass., 1934), pp. 13–14.

## Charles Thomson to Arthur St. Clair

Office of Secretary of Congress. Sept. 1st. 1788.

I have the honor to transmit to You herewith enclosed, An Act of the 20th of June last & one of the 28th of August on the same subject, also an Act passed the 29th of August by the United States in Congress Assembled, together with Instructions to You for carrying into effect certain measures which Congress have in view.<sup>1</sup>

To save the time of copying the Acts of the 22d of Oct. 1787, referred to in Your Instructions,<sup>2</sup> and that I may avail myself of the post which sets off tomorrow from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, I send You enclosed the printed Journal of last Year, & beg leave to inform You that one of the Acts of the 22d of Oct. 1787 You will find in the appendix page 27, 28. As You will doubtless be anxious to know the proceedings of Congress, I have also enclosed a copy of the Journal of the present Year as far as printed.<sup>3</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor [to be Sir] Your Most Obedient & Humble servant,

Cha Thomson

RC (O: St. Clair Papers).

<sup>1</sup> These three enclosed "Acts" concerned the French settlements on the Mississippi River near Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and other smaller sites, the extinguishment by treaty of Indian land titles east of the Mississippi, and the purchase of a large tract in the region by George Morgan and Associates. Congress had made provision in the June 20 act for protecting the rights of the French settlers and instructed the governor of the western territory, St. Clair, to examine their titles and confirm their possessions, and in the follow up August acts provided St. Clair more detailed instructions and authorized the board of treasury to proceed with a contract with the Morgan Associates. See *JCC*, 34:247–52, 466–68, 472–74; and Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 2:112–15, 144–46.

<sup>2</sup> For these October 22, 1787 acts, which were embodied in St. Clair's August 29 instructions, see *JCC*, 33:695–96.

<sup>3</sup> For St. Clair's November 6 response to this letter, see Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 2:163–64.

## Charles Thomson's Memorandum Book

[September 1–15, 1788]

- Sept. transmitted to Govr. St Clair—papers mentioned in letter  
Sept. 1st, 1788.<sup>1</sup>
- 4th transmitted to the War Office  
complete set of Journals for Genl. Harmar.  
to the Govr. North Carolina 1 copy of Act & 12 copies of  
proclamation of Sept. 1st<sup>2</sup> & extract from Col. Martins  
letter July 25th 1788  
& copy letter Geo. Maxwell July 9th do.  
& June 28th & July 11th from Thos. Hutchings.<sup>3</sup>
- 6th Transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs to be filed—  
Letters . . . May 4th, 23d & 30th 1788 from Mr Jefferson<sup>4</sup>  
Letter . . . March 23d & May 10th 1788 from Mr Dumas<sup>5</sup>  
Letter . . . Augt 11th 1788 from Count de Moustier<sup>6</sup>  
Letter . . . March 13th 1788 from Count de Grasse<sup>7</sup>  
Letter . . . March 13th & 16th 1788 from Mr Jefferson<sup>8</sup>  
NB these letters were transmitted May 30th, 1788,  
but being called for are here noted . . . being  
returned.
- transmitted to the States—statements of the representation in  
Congress for June, July & August, 1788—39 copies<sup>9</sup>
- 10th transmitted to the Office for foreign Affairs to be filed—  
letters enclosed in letter Augt. 12th, 1788 from Mr Jay<sup>10</sup>—viz  
Letter No. 1 Augt. 8th, 1788 from Mayor of NYork to Mr. Jay<sup>11</sup>  
Letter 2 from Mr Jay to Mr Van Berckel<sup>12</sup>  
Letter 3 from Mr Van Berckel to Mr Jay<sup>13</sup>  
translations—  
Memoire of Mr Van Berckel Augt. 25th, 1788  
Letter May 8th, 1788 from their High Mightinesses  
Letter Decr. 18th, 1787 from Mr Van Berckel to Mr Jay  
complaining of breach of privilege<sup>14</sup>—original
- 13th transmitted to the three Commissioners appointed under the  
Ordinance of May 7th, 1787, Letter 13th. Inst.<sup>15</sup>
- 15 to the Delegates of Virginia—copy of the report of the board of  
treasury on motion of sd Delegates—respecting the  
admission of Vouchers, in ascertaining the debt of the  
state against the U States. Agreeably to order Sept. 11th,  
1788.<sup>16</sup>

MS (DNA: PCC, item 187). In the hand of Roger Alden. A continuation of Thomson's Memorandum Book, August 20? 1788.

<sup>1</sup> See the following entry.

<sup>2</sup> See Thomson to Certain States, September 4, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., note 2.

<sup>4</sup> For these Thomas Jefferson letters to John Jay, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 13:133–37, 188–89, 222.

<sup>5</sup> These letters from Charles W. F. Dumas to Jay are in PCC, item 93, 4:51–55, 67–69.

<sup>6</sup> See PCC, item 96, fols. 474–78.

<sup>7</sup> PCC, item 59, 3:147–52.

<sup>8</sup> Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:661, 671–76.

<sup>9</sup> See Thomson to the States, September 6.

<sup>10</sup> For this letter from John Jay to the president of Congress, see *JCC*, 34:422; and PCC, item 80, 3:540–41.

<sup>11</sup> James Duane's August 8 letter to Jay is in PCC, item 80, 3:410–13; and *JCC*, 34:422.

<sup>12</sup> See PCC, item 120, 3:412.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 414–15.

<sup>14</sup> For these three documents, see *JCC*, 34:488–91; and PCC, item 59, 4:369–73, item 99, fols. 285–90, 301–5.

<sup>15</sup> See Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, September 13.

<sup>16</sup> For this September 10 report of the board of treasury and September 11 congressional order, see *JCC*, 34:443–44, 503–6.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Sir *public* New York 1st Sept. 1788.

The Delegates to represent the State in Congress from the first Monday in November next were chosen, I think, in the following Order, White, Ashe, Hawkins, Stokes, Williamson, McDowell.<sup>1</sup> The three first named have the Option, by general Order, of serving first, but I presume that Mr Ashe has resigned and it is said not to be probable that Mr Stokes will come to Congress on the next Winter. I am not informed whether Mr Hawkins proposes to come but you are probably informed by this Time whether any three of the four Gentlemen first named propose to attend in Congress from the first of Novr. next. If they have not given you Notice of such Intention it will become my Duty to attend, and being determined punctually to perform every Service that I owe the State I propose to hold myself in Readiness to attend in Congress accordingly. You will therefore be pleased to issue Warrants in my favour for the next six Months Salary as Delegate in Congress. If you are so good as [*to*] put the Warrants into the Hands of Mr Collins he will negotiate them for my Account.

By looking over the public Journal you will observe that many Things continue to engage the Attention of Congress which are of considerable national Importance—Questions which respect old Claims against the public and the calling Delinquents to Account and lowering the national Debt. Whether North Carolina shall be confederated or not she is equally interested with other States in those Measures. With whatever fidelity or abilities I may serve the State, the Journals will shew that I do not eat the Bread of Idleness.



I have the Honour to be, with the utmost Consideration, Sir, Your  
most obedient & very hble Servant, Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Governors' Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Williamson was correct. James White, John Baptiste Ashe, Benjamin Hawkins, John Stokes, and Williamson were named delegates to Congress by the North Carolina Assembly on December 17, 1787, and Joseph McDowell was selected on December 20. *Journal of the House of Commons at a General Assembly begun. . . on the nineteenth day of November* [1787], pp. 40, 48. DLC(ESR).

## Charles Thomson to Josiah Harmar

Sir, Office of Secy. of Congress, Sept. 2. 1788

I have rcd. yr letter of 2 July<sup>1</sup> & am much obliged to you for your care in forwarding the despatches to Kentucky. I communicated to Congress your desire to be furnished with a copy of the journal; and by their permission have the pleasure to transmit you herewith a compleat set down to the 20th of last Month.

I am, Sr, yr Obedt. hum St.

CT

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). RC (MiU-C: Harmar Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Harmar's letter, written from Fort Harmar, was actually dated July 23. See PCC, item 163, fols. 498-500; and *JCC*, 34:448n.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

New York 3d. Sept. [1788]

Sunday last bro't me *two* letters. The romans had their white days & so have I. Henceforward then I devote the 31st of August to smiles & good fortune.

I had pass'd the day abroad—'Twas night before I got home, when, little expecting the entertainment you had provided me, I withdrew to my room, and there meant to have talkd away an hour with some dead consign'd you & myself to heav'n, & then have gone quietly to bed; but the sight of your packet broke in upon the order of this Arrangement & so engag'd me in contemplation, that it was morning before I could bring myself to relinquish you even to Heav'n.

My reflections took a turn that was natural eno.' I w[ent] into a long and very minute examination of what I have b[een] & what I am—and made out two exact Accounts of Armstrong [. . .] & vacant, indifferent to all the World, and without a subject, but himself, for the exercise of either a hope or a fear; & Armstrong warm & occupied—touch'd & animated by everythg About him, and living not for him—

self, but for another. Need I tel[l] You the effect? 'Twas such as re-conectd me to myself, and delighted me with you. 'Twas such as made me look with Contempt upon the past, and with reverence upon the present. 'Twas such in short as persuaded me that the heart could be happy that wanted either exercise or object. Thus persuaded Alida, I resolv'd that mine should never want either. But what are resolutions that cannot execute themselves? 'Tis you alone who can fill and employ mine, and were I by any possible accident to loose you, *it* would again be idle & *I* would again be wretched—Most wretched, Alida, for I have now tasted pleasure, and know what it is to be happy.

"Every new Account of my feelings leads, (you say), to a new discovery of your own." Compare these then with yours—Judge of them together, and tell me if they resemble each other. This will again make you say "a great deal" but the confessions of lovers are never "monstrous" remember my theory of the heart—how poor in expression? how little eloquent? I think it; how often oblig'd to resort to signs for an utterance of what it feels? Why then stifle an exertion? Why suppress a syllable or a sigh?

I am pleas'd with your opinion of North & his wife for I am pleas'd with the fa[mily]. I like her for his sake, & him for his own. I wish them happy with all my heart—nor have I any difficulty in beleiving them to be so. 'Tis hardly possible to remain long insensi[ble] of a woman's fondness. It has so many ways of shewing itself & so graciously too, that it cannot fail to be felt & return'd. Even where sensibility is wanting it may not be entirely without Success. It will address itself to the understanding, and recommend itself at least to esteem, on calculations of Interest. But remember that I dont mean to apply this to my friend North.

And "there's no medium in the married State—Completely happy or completely wretched?" You did well to appeal to the little tremble rather than to the french maxim, for beleive me Alida it can do more in illustrating a point of that kind than all the french & Eng[lish] maxims put together. The head & heart are as much at variance on this subject, as on any other. The first will talk a great deal about the force of habit, the extent of politeness, the influence of este[em] & the convenience of appearances; & many other things so [that?] laws of this world have substituted for affection & will assure you that with these we may do very well; but app[ly] the heart & it denies them all. It neither feels nor employs [reason?] and declares, that without love, all these artificial props to matrimonial happiness, will crumble into nothing under a single gust of interest, or of passion—while love alone, will easily resist the combind assaults of Time, of Temper, & of Fortune. The head will then call all this rhapsody & nonsense, and endeavor to Shew that the marriage state is a more equal one than is generally imagin'd & abounds less in storm or sunshine than Poets & lovers & fabulists have describ'd: While the Heart as possitively as-

serts, & very soon demonstrates, that from the intimacy of the connexion it must consist of a great variety of offices, which indifference could not discharge, which must necessarily be done well or ill—Kindly or unkindly, & which involve of Course, the opinion with which we began. If this state of the argument be just “Tis prudent” as well “as enchanting” to listen to the heart, & adopt its conclusions. Be not afraid then my dear girl, “visit the paper tree,” “read the letters engrav’d upon its bark,” “gratify your affection,” “nor blush at the recital of it.”

But “I am not hereafter to hear from you more than once a week.” Why so Alida? Is the sacrifice of time too great? Can you deny me two hours in the week? If not Revoke your decree & make me twice as happy as you intended.

You are good eno’ to approve my not going to Philad. & think my motives such as would be satisfactory to any mind not too much tied down to the usages of the world. There is a great deal of good sense in the remark & you must allow me to admire it abstractedly from its application to the present Case. Those who mean to sacrifice but little to the customs & opinions of the many should early begin to undervalue them, & this will ever be the case with such as know them well. The source of nine tenths of them is either folly or meanness. On the subject which gives rise to these reflexions I find I have still some persecution to suffer; & Yesterdays post brought me the wishes of so many friends, express’d in so warm a manner, that it was with difficulty I could resist their invitation. My Physician’s opinion at length decided mine, & I resorted to my old expedient of pen & Ink. I expect however another attack—Whether I shall find fresh reasons to combat that, I know not—one that I feel most, I shall dare least to express, but this I leave you to conjecture.

I am extremely glad to hear that Mrs. Tillotson’s complaints have been lessen’d by her visit to Clermont. Dr. Bard has been prescribing (even at this distance) for her, & directs, that she should leave Rhinebeck & breathe the air of N. York for a Month or six weeks, but this advice Mrs. Lewis has I suppose communicated.

I will certainly attend to Mrs. Montgomery’s commission but the post office has now no letters for her—Jones when here got sev’ral from Europe some of which were I presume for her.

I saw Mrs. Lewis on Sunday Evening—but not since I received your letter. “Others have your good wishes” but why prohibit me from communicating them.

I find I have got to my sixth page and have not once thought of thanking that infinite goodness that could not deliberately inflict a disappointment. This was indeed good & I feel the obligation it confers. You know by this time the cause of *your* disappointment. Such or similar & equally unavoidable must ever be the cause of my disappointing the smallest hope or wish of my Allida.



Edward does not go till Saturday.

Remember me to your Mama—Mrs. Montgomery, Kitty & Joanna, & be assur'd that I am with all possible affection, Your

J Armstrong jr.<sup>1</sup>

RC (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> Armstrong also wrote a brief letter to Alida on Sunday, September 7, observing, "I write to-day only to inform you that I have written yesterday and the day preceeding [*not found*]," and reporting that he had recovered his health. Ibid.

## William Few to Unknown

Dear Sir

New York Sept. 4th 1788

Parson Boyd will this day sail from here for Georgia, and go immediately to Augusta, which is so direct an opportunity, that I cannot resist the propensity of dropping you a few lines, altho we have little news that is worth communicating.

Congress have not yet agreed on the place for the first meeting of the Legislature under the new Constitution. Several places have been proposed among which are Annapolis, Baltimore and Lancaster, but the competition at present lies between Philadelphia and New York, and on this question there is a diversity of opinion; it is said by the advocates for Philadelphia that it is more central and possess other advantages in an equal degree and ought therefore to be the place of residence of the National Government. To this it is objected and said that the National Legislature ought not to reside in a large Commercial City where the members would be subject to the undue influence of the local policy of the place, and that such large City would derive such advantages as would be injurious to the equal rights and privileges of the other members of the union, contrary to the genius and principles of Republican Government and will evidently tend to facilitate the growth of that Aristocracy or Monarchy, so hateful to Americans, and to which there is too much reason to apprehend the New government will have a tendency. That the place for the permanent Residence of the New Congress is an object of much importance, and highly interesting to those States which are so Situate as to stand in competition for that advantage and they will be induced by their own Interest to make advantageous offers to the United States to establish the federal Town in their respective limits, if Congress in the first instance does not give any partial advantage, and therefore they say the first Congress under the New Constitution ought to meet in New York where all the Officers and documents of Government are and from whence the new Legislature may with more impartiality determine where the permanent Residence of the National Legislature ought to be.



These considerations divide Congress on the question, and I cannot at present conjecture what may be the result.

For News I must refer you to the enclosed papers—and am with much Respect Dr Sir, Your most Obedt Servt, W Few

RC (NcD: Few Manuscripts).

## Charles Thomson to Certain States

Sir

Office of Secy of Congress, Sept. 4. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to your excellcy herewith enclosed a proclamation issued by the United States in Congress assembled & sundry resolutions passed by them touching intrusions upon the hunting grounds reserved by treaty to the Cherokees & the unprovoked outrages committed upon the said Indians;<sup>1</sup> I trust your excellency will, as far as depends on you, use your influence that the proclamation and measures taken by Congress may have the intended effect to restore peace and harmony between the citizens of the United States & the Cherokees & to prevent any further invasions of their respective rights & possessions.<sup>2</sup>

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). This letter was sent to the governors of Virginia, South Carolina, and North Carolina.

<sup>1</sup> This congressional effort to protect the rights of the Cherokee Indians originated in the receipt in July of intelligence of unlawful "intrusions" into Cherokee hunting grounds, and "unprovoked outrages" against the Indians committed by white settlers "in the vicinity of Chota" on the North Carolina frontier, "in open violation" of the Hopewell Treaty of November 1785. This intelligence, forwarded by Virginia governor Edmund Randolph, was read in Congress July 8 and referred to the secretary at war, whose July 18 report was in turn referred to a committee consisting of Nathan Dane, Egbert Benson, Abraham Clark, William Irvine, and James Madison. Dane's committee report was submitted to Congress July 30, but apparently was not taken up until September 1, by which time other evidence of Indian unrest provoked by additional frontier settler encroachments upon the Indians led to the adoption of its draft proclamation and recommendations for sending Continental troops from the Ohio to Chota. See *JCC*, 34:304, 342–44, 368–71, 476–79. For the intelligence from former Indian agent Joseph Martin submitted to Congress by Edmund Randolph July 8, see PCC, item 71, 2:615–25. See also Edward Carrington to Edmund Randolph, June 25, note 2; and Horsman, *American Indian Policy*, pp. 49–52.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson's letter to North Carolina governor Samuel Johnston contained the following additional paragraph.

"I also enclose copy of the papers which have been transmitted to Congress respecting hostilities alledged to have been committed by John Sevier & others on which you are earnestly requested to cause enquiry to be made and, if found true, to take measures for having the perpetrators thereof apprehended & punished."

For an account of the "hostilities alleged to have been committed by John Sevier & others," see Samuel C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1933), pp. 198-217.

Governor Johnston's September 29 response to Thomson is in *N.C. State Records*, 21:496.

Sir    Office of Secretary of Congress, Sepr. 4th. 1788.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most  
Obedient & Most humble servant, Cha Thomson

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed September 4 resolve completed Pennsylvania's quest for an extension of its boundary along Lake Erie, which had been launched in February, for which see Pennsylvania Delegates to Peter Muhlenberg, February 28, 1788. In June, Congress had authorized the geographer of the United States to undertake a survey of the area, and in July Pennsylvania had opened negotiations with the board of treasury over the details of a contract to effect the transfer. Pennsylvania delegate William Irvine had offered a motion for acceptance of the proposed contract that was referred on September 1 to a committee consisting of Nathan Dane, James Madison, and Theodore Sedgwick, whose September 2 report was adopted this day. See *JCC*, 34:480, 493, 499–500; Pennsylvania Delegates to Franklin, June 6; and Pennsylvania Delegates to the Board of Treasury, July 7, 1788.

See also Tench Coxe to Thomas Mifflin, January 26, 1789.

Sir, Office of Secy of Congress, Sept. 4. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to your excellency herewith enclosed an Act passed by the United states in Congress, in answer to your letter of the 4 of last month,<sup>1</sup> and am with the greatest respect, Your Excellency's Most obedient & Most humble Serv, Cha Thomson

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Addressed: "His excellency, The Govr of Virginia."

<sup>1</sup> By terms of the cession of its claims to the northwest territory, Virginia had reserved the right to locate military bounty claims north of the Ohio River if lands south of the river were found insufficient for the purpose. By an act of July 17, for which see Thomson to Thomas Hutchins, July 18, note 3, Congress had appeared to be infringing those terms of the Virginia cession, and Governor Randolph had protested the threat posed by that action. Randolph's August 4 letter was read in Congress August 14 and referred August 20 to a committee consisting of Nathan Dane, Abraham Clark, James Madison, Joshua Seney, and Hugh Williamson, which reported August 28. The committee's report, which conceded the point of Virginia's protest and declared that nothing in the act of July 17 was "to be interpreted as to infringe any stipulation in the cession made by Virginia to the United States," was adopted September 1. See *JCC*, 34:429, 444, 469, 475-76; and *PCC*, item 71, 2:647-54.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Sir

New York September 5th 1788

I have to acknowledge the honor of your Excellencys obliging favor of the 25th Ultimo, and it is with real regret that I am again constrained to inform you that the ordinance for the organization of the new government remains incomplete;<sup>1</sup> owing to the absence of the delegates of Rhode Island and to a want of that spirit of accommodation which has hitherto confessedly marked the conduct of New Hampshire on this subject. The ordinance has once been completed in all its parts and when the final question was about to be taken the delegates of Rhode Island left the Hall & the City.

The time for choosing electors, of their meeting and the assembling of the New Congress was fixed at later periods than could meet the wishes of the Eastern States in order to accommodate the southern.

The Question on the place for commencing proceedings under the new Government was first taken for Philadelphia—when the delegates of New Hampshire and Connecticut (conceiving it to be the wish of the Southern States, and being actuated by that spirit of accommodation & conciliation which it is their ardent desire to see operating in the general government of the States, and on which our national prosperity so greatly depends) gave their assent. But to their surprize the question was lost, by the negative of South Carolina and the division of Delaware and Georgia, among the southern States. The Question was afterwards taken for New York in a full representation of all the States and carried, South Carolina Voting in the affirmative & Georgia divided—but as the final question did not obtain, owing to the circumstance above related, an attempt has since been made to send out the ordinance without inserting the place leaving it for the new Congress to assemble where the old Congress should be setting at the time, but without success. Thus

has the business past on from day to day waiting the return of the delegates from Rhode Island.

As it seems to be the general opinion that New York or Philadelphia must be the place for the first Congress to assemble in and as seven States and an half are in favor of the former and half the Delegation of Delaware, in addition, pointedly opposed to the latter it appears to be the effect of unwarrantable obstinacy that the minority will not concede the point in question without further delay. I hope however that we shall be able to finish this business within a few days when I shall do myself the honor to give your Excellency the earliest notice.

With the highest Respect I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servant,  
N. Gilman

RC (Nh-Ar: State Papers, Revolutionary Correspondence).

<sup>1</sup> See John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

## Alexander Hamilton to Elbridge Gerry

Sir New York, Sept. 6. 1788

I am a member of a Committee, to whom the Baron De Steuben's application to Congress founded upon a certain statement supported among other testimonials by a certificate from you, has been referred.<sup>1</sup> Among the papers committed to us is the copy of a written report made by the Committee appointed to confer with the Baron at York Town.<sup>2</sup> As this report is of a nature to create difficulties in the case, I have thought proper to inclose it for your perusal and shall be obliged to you for any explanations which may serve to throw further light on the subject.<sup>3</sup>

I remain with esteem & regard Sir, Yr. Obed serv,  
Alex Hamilton<sup>4</sup>

RC (CtY); reprinted from Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:212–13.

<sup>1</sup> The committee appointed February 1, 1788, on Steuben's claim for compensation for military service had been renewed June 4 and reported July 7. The report was recommitted July 9, and a revised report was submitted July 25 and taken up and placed on the journals August 25. After debate it was committed, on a motion by Hamilton, to another committee, consisting of Hamilton, Edward Carrington, James Madison, Theodore Sedgwick, and Thomas Tudor Tucker, which reported on September 11. See *JCC*, 34:9n, 13, 202n, 300n, 315n, 357, 448–53, 507–12. For Gerry's "certificate" on behalf of Steuben, see these *Letters*, 23:11.

<sup>2</sup> Copies of this report are in PCC, item 19, 5:568, 585. For the full file of papers collected by the various committees appointed to study Steuben's claim, see PCC, item 19, 5:494–618.



<sup>3</sup> Gerry's September 8 response to Hamilton has not survived, but for an extract from it which Hamilton's committee quoted in their September 11 report, see *JCC*, 34:510–11.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton also wrote on September 8 to "The Honorable Richard Morris, Esq., Chief Justice of the State of New York," enclosing a petition on behalf of the estate of Philip Livingston. Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:215.

## James Madison to James Madison, Sr.

Hond Sir

N. York Sepr. 6. 1788

I forward this by the mail expecting it will be at Fredg. in time for Mr. A. Shepherd who left this a day or two ago. Nothing of much consequence has occurred since my last. The current intelligence you will find in the inclosed gazettes. The Antifederalists are every where exerting themselves for an early Convention. The circular letter from this State, and the rejection of N. Carolina, give them great spirits. Virginia, I suppose from the temper of the present Legislature will co-operate in the plan.

Congress have not yet settled the place for the meeting of the new Govt. It is most probable that the advocates for N. York who form at present the greater number, will prevail. In that case, altho' I think it a very unreasonable thing for the Southn. & Western parts of the Union, the best face must be put on it.

I have not yet been able to determine whether Anthony is still in Philada. I am inclined to believe he is not. Indeed some circumstances wd almost tempt me to think he never has been there. On this supposition John must have practised a gross deception on us. He could have no motive for this unless it were a spite to Billey, which I fancy he entertained. But the deception could hardly promise a gratification that would prompt it. He is still very sick, and his recovery not very probable.

I find on enquiry that the loan office Certificates which I told you I had only mislaid, not lost, must go to N. Carolina for settlement. If an oppy. offers I shall accordingly send them thither unless otherwise directed by you. I have not yet seen Mr. Morris & have therefore not been able to do any thing in the affair of Mr. Triplett. Remember me affectly to my mother & the family, and believe me yr. dutiful son.

Js. Madison Jr.

## South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Pinckney

Sir

New York Sept. 6th. 1788

We have had the Honor of receiving your Excellency's Letter of the 2d Augt. & laid before Congress the papers therewith transmitted respecting the Outrages committed on a part of the Cherokee Nation.<sup>1</sup> Information of a similar Nature having been before receiv'd, the Subject had already engaged the Attention of Congress, the Resolutions whereon we now enclose, hoping that they will prove satisfactory & effectual.<sup>2</sup>

Your Excellency will receive from the Secretary a Copy of a Requisition of Congress on the States for Supplies for the Year 1788.<sup>3</sup> The Amount of the whole Sum being 1,686,541  $\frac{12}{90}$  Dollars, the Quota of South Carolina stands at 108,160  $\frac{54}{90}$  Dollars receivable in Indents for Interest. This Sum added to the Quotas of former Years for Indents makes a large Amount, on which we lament to observe that no payments have yet been made. It is to be remark'd that Congress has required no Specie Payments in Addition to the Arrears due on former Requisitions. But it is not to be understood that those Arrears, if fully paid up, wou'd be adequate to the Exigencies of Government. The grievous Experience of Disappointment in Receipts upon Requisitions from the States render'd it indispensable to endeavour to obtain those Supplies by Loan, which were necessary to the very Existence of the Union, & cou'd not be obtain'd from a more eligible Source. It is this Necessity which has compell'd Congress to adopt the Measure of negotiating a farther Loan in Holland, as mention'd in the Requisition. But it is proper that the several States shou'd be apprized that this System of borrowing under extream Disadvantages, has not merely the Effect of increasing our foreign Debt in the Ratio of Interest upon Interest, but is attended with a farther Accumulation arising from the very unfavorable Terms on which every Loan must be obtain'd, in the present Circumstances of the United States.

The Board of Treasury having, in a Letter of 16th Oct. 1786, represented to Congress that, for reasons therein assign'd, they judg'd it improper & unsafe to permit the giving of Indents for Interest on Continental Loan Office Certificates issued in our State until the Accounts of that Office are render'd, it is our Duty to request the Attention of the Legislature to that Letter & other papers on the Subject, Transcripts of which were sent about the Month of October last to your Excellency.<sup>4</sup> We doubt not but that the Gentlemen who were in that Office will be able not only to clear up every Doubt of the Board

of Treasury, but also to correct what we suspect to be an Error in their Statement, arising from Want of Information & a false Presumption in Consequence thereof; whereby our State stands debited with the large Sum of 450,411 Dollars more than we apprehend to be justly due. The Accounts of the Commissioners of the Loan Office will readily ascertain whether or not our Conjecture is well founded.

Congress has lately receiv'd from the States General of the United Netherlands a Letter notifying the Recall of Mr. Van Berckel their Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States.<sup>5</sup>

We are sorry to inform your Excellency that no Act is yet pass'd by Congress respecting the Arrangements for the new Constitution, every Plan that has hitherto been brought forward for the Accomplishment of that Business having fail'd to receive the final Approbation of the House. We, however, cannot but flatter ourselves that before the Meeting of our Legislature we shall be enabled to communicate to your Excellency some definitive Measure on that Subject.

We have the Honor to be with all due Consideration & Respect,  
Your Excellency's Most obedt. Servts.

Dl. Huger

John Parker

Tho. Tud. Tucker.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Written by Tucker and signed by Tucker, Huger, and Parker.

<sup>1</sup> Although there is no letter in PCC of August 2 from Pinckney to the delegates, they may have been referring to his July 18 letter enclosing papers "which indicate the necessity of effectual measures being taken to establish peace with the Neighbouring Tribes of Southern Indians." Whatever the case, he had clearly sent the delegates an extract from a July 10 letter from Gen. Andrew Pickens enclosing four "talks" by members of the Cherokee nation and an address from the inhabitants of Abbeville County that had been read in Congress on August 25, for which see *JCC*, 34:455n.1; and PCC, item 56, fols. 425-42, item 150, 3:465-66.

<sup>2</sup> For the "Information" previously received by Congress and the measures adopted September 1, see Charles Thomson to Certain States, September 4, notes 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Thomson to the States, August 25.

<sup>4</sup> See these *Letters*, 24:518n.3.

<sup>5</sup> Translations of a May 8 letter of recall from the States General and an August 25 memoiré from the minister plenipotentiary from the Netherlands, Pieter Johan van Berckel, were presented to Congress on August 28 by secretary for foreign affairs John Jay who was ordered to report. Jay's letters of reply to both documents, acknowledging that Van Berckel's five-year tenure had been "entirely satisfactory," were agreed to in Congress on September 3. Van Berckel, who was succeeded by his son Pieter Franco van Berckel, did not return to the Netherlands but settled in the New York countryside until his death in 1800. See *JCC*, 34:470-71, 488-92; *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 3:453-57; and Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt, *The Dutch Republic and American Independence*, trans. by H. W. Rowen (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 252-54.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, Sept. 6th. 1788.

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency herewith enclosed, to be laid before Your legislature, statements of the representation in Congress for the months of June, July and August.<sup>1</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most humble servant,  
Cha Thomson

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governor of Rhode Island." LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B).

<sup>1</sup> For these enclosures and the five other monthly attendance lists sent to the states during the Congress of 1788, see Appendix, 537-46.

## Hugh Williamson to the Indian Commissioners

Gentlemen [September 6? 1788]<sup>1</sup>

It is with great Diffidence that I venture an Opinion on the interesting Subject that is submitted to your Care, but as North Carolina must be more immediately affected by the Treaty you are preparing to make<sup>2</sup> than any other State, Georgia excepted, and as that State has no Representative in the national Senate by whom her Claims or Interest might be stated, I shall take the Liberty of mentioning some Facts that are extremely interesting to the Happiness and Peace of her Citizens.

According to the Treaty of Hopewell, as you may observe, the Lands between French Broad and Holstein Rivers are disclaimed by the Commissioners or given up as Indian Property; The Settlers to be removed if Congress should think fit; and all other Settlers to the Southward and Westward of the Boundary there described are absolutely to be removed within six Months. Now this particular Article of the Treaty,<sup>3</sup> as I conceive, cannot easily be enforced; perhaps it ought not to have been made. If it could be so altered, by Consent of the Indians, as to accommodate the Necessities of the present Settlers, who appear to have good Titles or who have obtained Peaceable Possession, a great Proportion of the Citizens of that State would rejoice in the Measure and much trouble would be evaded. Governor Johnston, on the Subject of that Treaty, several Months ago wrote me as follows:<sup>4</sup>

"The People inhabiting the Lands in the Forks of French Broad and Holstein Rivers claim under Grants from the State, regularly issued from the Secretarys Office, and executed by the Governor; These People are therefore as much under the Protection of the State, as any



other of her Citizens, for which Reason &c the Treaty of Hopewell will probably ever be reprobated &c."

You will not be surprised that People should have settled in the Fork above mentioned, when you are told that in Consequence of Treaties had with the Indians the Northern Boundary of the hunting Grounds of the Cherokees is thus described in an Act of the Legislature of that State,

"Beginning on the Tennessee Rivers where the southern Boundary of the State of North Carolina intersects the same, nearest the Chickamauga Towns, thence up the middle of the Tennessee and Holstein Rivers to the middle of French Broad, thence up the middle of the said French Broad River, which Lines are not to include any Island, to the Mouth of big Pigeon River, thence up the same to the Head thereof, thence along the dividing Ridge between the Waters of Pigeon River & Tuckasege River to the said southern Boundary, thence West with the said Boundary to the Beginning."

You will be pleased also to observe that there is another very numerous Class of Settlers absolutely devoted to the Indians by the Treaty. Their Claim indeed is not so good as the Claim of those who live in the fork, but it is plausible. They interest our Humanity and instead of removing them, which would be rather cruel and very difficult, perhaps the Indians may be prevailed on to admit by Treaty that those People also shall be considered as living without their hunting grounds. The People of whom I speak live on the South Side of French Broad. Governor Johnston speaking of the Act of Congress of the first of September ult. respecting Troops to be sent for the Protection of the Cherokees expresses himself thus,

"Much will depend on the Discretion of the Officer who has the Command of the Troops destined for that Service; should he pursue the Resolve of Congress literally he will ruin a very respectable Settlement of upwards of 1500 Families settled on the South Side of French Broad River. Those People settled there, I am informed, with the Consent of the Indians and have had no Share in the Outrages that have lately been committed by Sevier and others, but have always lived in Amity with the Indians. They are avowedly within the Indian Boundary and have made an Application, which is to be laid before the next general Assembly, for Directions in what Manner they are to proceed to obtain a regular Title to their Lands."

What Steps the Assembly have taken in favour of those People I am not fully informed, but understand that some Thing has been done. In the mean while it is obvious that such a Body of People, thus circumstanced, claim no small Degree of Attention.

I have the Honour to be, with the utmost Consideration, Gentlemen, Your most obedient and very hble Servant,

Hu Williamson

RC (PHi: Jenkins Old Congress Collection). Addressed: "The Honourable the Commissioners for negotiating Peace with the Indians."

<sup>1</sup> Date conjectured from the similarity of the information contained in this letter and the following entry.

<sup>2</sup> For which see Charles Thomson to the States, October 27, 1787, note 1; and Horsman, *American Indian Policy*, pp. 49–52.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Article 5, for which see the following entry, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> Johnston's letter has not been found in the *N.C. State Records*.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Sir *public* New York 6th Sept. 1788.

Inclosed is a Proclamation with sundry Resolves of Congress respecting the Indians on our Frontier.<sup>1</sup> You will receive from the Secretary of Congress the Copy of Papers that have been received from different Quarters respecting the Barbarities that have been practised against the Cherokees by People who do not profess themselves amenable to the Laws of our State.<sup>2</sup> You know that a Treaty is now pending with the Southern Indians, and Georgia, that has long been suffering under the Knife, begins to hope for a general Peace; In such a Conjunction the Conduct of Mr. Sevier was not only fatal to their Hopes but perfectly alarming to the States of South Carolina & Virginia; each of them might suffer by a general Indian War and the Delegates from those States earnestly required that preventative Measures should be taken. While this Question was agitated in Congress you may believe that the Delegates from North Carolina found themselves in a very delicate and critical Situation. The Treaty of Hopewell had given much Offence to many good Citizens in our State, because it was supposed to have surrendered Lands to the Indians which they had formerly sold or ceded to the State; but this Treaty was now to be quoted and it had already been entered on the Journals of Congress April 17th 1786, which is considered as a Ratification.<sup>3</sup> The Delegates were fully persuaded that a great Majority of the People who inhabit the Counties of Washington, Lincoln, Green & Hawkins are peaceable and good Citizens and they knew that the Inhabitants of Davidson and Sumner Counties had ever claimed and been entitled to the Protection of the State. We resolved that Nothing in our Power should be unattempted to preserve Peace in those several Counties and to save the unoffending Women and Children from the Hand of the Savage. This could not be done without taking Notice of the Treaty, but the Delegates attempted such Amendments as seem to render the Treaty very harmless. After causing several Things to be struck out, which had been reported by the Committee, we moved the final Proviso

which is inserted in the Proclamation.<sup>4</sup> This Proviso, as we conceive, leaves, by implication, Every Claim of the State in its usual Force. Whenever the present Settlements shall have acquired sufficient Strength and the State shall be desirous to extend her Settlements, she has only to buy a farther Claim of Soil from the Indians or shew that she has antient Claims of a greater Extent. The Treaty of Hopewell will never operate against the territorial Claims of the State whenever she thinks fit to make them. The Proviso respecting the Settlers near the Fork of the french broad is professedly made a negative one. The Delegates could not agree to confirm them in their Possessions because we have been told that they have no Titles from the State; we only proposed, for the Information of the Indians, that they shall not be removed by the Operation of the Treaty.

On the whole, our Object and Desire in the first Place was to save the State if possible from the heavy Expences of an Indian War and to preserve the weak and scattered Settlers in our Western Counties in safety and Peace; on the other Hand we wished not to give additional Force to any Act by which the Rights of the State might be impaired. In such apparent opposition of Interests it may be impossible to give universal Satisfaction and it may at the same time be criminal to refuse an Opinion. In whatever Light this Subject may be viewed by our Constituents the Delegates have the Satisfaction to be conscious that their Object was to save the Lives of many innocent & helpless fellow Citizens.

I have the Honour to be with the utmost Regard, Sir, Your most obedient and very humble Servant, Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Governors' Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Thomson to Certain States, September 4, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 30:185–95; and these *Letters*, 23:242.

<sup>4</sup> This "Proviso" was designed to modify Article 5 of the Hopewell Treaty, for which see *JCC*, 30:188 and 34:477.

## Paine Wingate to John Wendell

Sir

New York Sep 9. 1788

The enclosed<sup>1</sup> I received yesterday from Georgia and take this e[arli]est opportunity of forwarding it to you. [Ag]reeably to your request I enquired yesterday the price of public securities & was told that 4/6 in Specie on the pound was the price at which the principle

can be bôt & 3/ for the Interest. I am not in the way of knowing much of this business. I expect next week to leave this City for home, you will please therefore not to direct further to me as at New York. I have nothing remarkable to communicate but shall enclose a newspaper.

I am Sir your most humble Servant, Paine Wingate

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1907). Addressed: "John Wendell Esquire, Portsmouth, New Hampshire."

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

Thursday 11th. Sept. 1788. N. York.

I wrote something by the post of yesterday<sup>1</sup> which in point of length, hardly deserves the name of a note; but promis'd to do better to-day in answer to the long letter I expected, & the too short one I receiv'd.

I don't know that I can give a name to the cause but the fact is that I find myself becoming a most rigid moralist & begin to think that there's little difference between dissembling a fact & telling a falsehood; & (to apply this) that it would have been quite as well to have told you at once, that what with some days of bad weather—a little vexatious business; & two or three instances of shuffling & meanness in men of whom I wish'd to think better, I was both out of temper & spirits, & in no disposition either to write or think as I ought. Had I done this, my promise, which I have now sat down to execute, would have implied a condition, & not have been binding but under a change of circumstances; While, as it is, I can but aim at what I should be, betray myself at every line, & at lest, to avoid the shame of detection honestly confess (as I now do) that a repetition of the causes to-day have not at all lessen'd their effect, & that I continue to be more flat & sour & Cold than I ought to be on any occasion, but particularly when I'm writing to one who is herself all equanimity & tenderness. I feel & acknowlege the folly of making oneself an Index either to men, weather, or busin[ess], but so shap'd & compos'd are we, that stretch us ten times a day on the wheel of error—still we mistake, & tho' we repent very sincerely, we repent without any amendment. I will make no apology for all this—that would be apologizing for an apology—for it is seriously meant as an excuse for what I could not but discover at some turn or other of my pen. Besides are not the diseases of the



mind like those of the body—that can only be cur'd by being known & communicated; & to whom should I so soon communicate them as to you, for from whom could I expect so efficient a remedy? You will hear them patiently & prescribe willingly & wisely. Indeed I can even imagine a gratification in it to you—for tho' the least agreeable evidence of confidence & affection I get certainly tis among the last & greatest. 'Tis a sure proof that I open my whole heart, when I cannot more suppress the story of my faults & foibles. This to some lovers might be a very dangerous experiment—not so much from the extent of their defects, as the folly of their Mistresses—But here I am again fortunate. Neither your sense nor observation allow you to believe in the possibility of a Sir Chas. Grandison,<sup>2</sup> & with all your partiality, you Could never have suppos'd me to have been faultless. But let me turn from myself, & talk of you.

"You are happy—you would not exchange your present feelings for anything you have felt before—you have examin'd your heart & find it touch'd with gratitude as well for the sensibility you find it possess'd of, as the subject it has chosen for the exercise of that sensibility." When I read this Alida, to reflect but a moment upon it, I am perfectly asham'd of myself & of all I have written; & am on the point of blotting it out for ever, & beginning another letter under very different sensations; which sentiments like these I have quoted, cannot fail to excite. You before taught me to Compare myself, with myself—but hereafter I shall compare myself with you—& learn of you at once how to feel, & how to Express my feelings.

I anticipated the construction your fears would put on that ill-judg'd expression concerning my Physician's opinion—& took care to state it as it was really meant in my letter by Edward. You shall never however entreat me in vain & tho' there's no immediate room to exercise the caution you enjoin—it shall not be forgotten—nor shall "any concern interfere with an attention to that health, which has become so interesting to you."

My jaunt to Philad., disagreeable as I have ever view'd it, has at length become necessary & longer to resist the opinions as well the wishes of my friends & advocates would border upon the obstinacy of disrespect & want of friendship—Imputations which I would ever wish to avoid—& which I hope I shall never deserve. 'Twill be some days before I set off—but I shall in some future letter advise you of the Time & (what will be of more consequence) the mode by which we can communicate at the increas'd distance of a hundred Miles. You shall hear from me often.

You gave me infinite pleasure by revoking that cruel Edict "you shall hereafter hear from me once a week" nor was ever a more gracious

answer given to an humble remonstrance. Were the monarchs of the world to govern in that way, they would never want faithfull or obedient subjects.

You have by this time seen Mary & Edward. Knowing that she could communicate but little, I took care to supply the defect by a very long letter. It may have been my fault that she could not communicate more. I know it has been my misfortune that I have not seen her oftener. One is allways a gainer by even seeing a fine Woman—but (which by the way does not apply to all fine Women) she may be heard as well as seen with advantage. This I dont take merely on trust, I think it a fair inference from even the little conversation [I] have had with her & greater acquaintance will, I dare say, ripen this belief into assurance.

I pass'd a part of this afternoon with Mrs. Lewis. I hit upon this as an expedient to prepare myself for writing to you—Nor was it her fault if it did not succeed—she was as charming (as she indeed ever is) as it was possible—but the blue devils had got so fast a hold of me that nothing short of your magic could dispossess them. In how many ways do you oblige me!

I am extremely happy to hear that the Chancellor & Mrs. L. have got back in so much health. Let me beg you to make my Compliments to them, & do not forget me to those more immediately with you.

I am with the utmost affection, Your J Armstrong jr.

RC (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to Samuel Richardson's 1754 novel of morals and manners, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to Mehitable Wadsworth

My dear freind

New York Septr 11th 1788

I arrived here Tuesday Evening very well a little fatigued. I am just going to see Mr & Mrs Lathrop who are to Sail for Norwich immediately—therefore can only Add that I am very well and give my love to sisters, the Children & Compliments to Miss St John whose father is well.

Yours Sincerely,

J Wadsworth<sup>1</sup>

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Wadsworth also wrote brief notes to his daughters Harriet and Catherine on September 14 and 18, respectively. Wadsworth Papers, CtHi.

## Paine Wingate to John Langdon

Sir

New York Sept. 11th. 1788.

I acknowledge the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of the 11th Ult., also yours of the 2d instant to Mr. Gilman and to me, enclosing our Commissions for the ensuing year. I thank your Excellency for your obliging attention in sending on our commissions,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Gilman's acknowledgements, at his desire, are joined with mine; but I hope and expect not to have occasion for my commission. I think it likely that the states will not be generally represented in Congress after November next, and unless any emergency should make it necessary for the delegates to attend, I conceive that it will be judged most expedient to let what little business may be left, pass over to the new government. Your Excellency observes that you do not recollect any business of the state that will require my attendance after the general business is compleated, and that I must use my own judgement in determining when to return home. My wish is to return as soon as may be without neglect of my trust, and as several of the delegates from other states are already gone, and others will probably soon follow, and as there does not appear to be any matters of great consequence to be decided before the end of the present year, except such as may be dispatched in a few days, I shall conformably to my inclination, and I believe the interest of the state, leave this city for home on the last of next week, unless something unexpected should prevent. I am happy to have your Excellency's approbation respecting the late loan.

I do most sincerely joyn in your congratulations on the general adoption of the new constitution. Altho' North Carolina, being misled by the information received from this state, and not discovering their mistake until too late, did not ratify; yet all accounts from that state agree, that they will as soon as may be take the matter into consideration again and adopt, as they would doubtless have done had they heard from New York convention a day or two sooner. A delegate in Congress lately from Rhode Island, and who has heretofore been antifederal, says that state is now in a fair way of calling a convention, and he is of opinion that they will ratify. So that we may hope once more to see a union of the thirteen states, and I trust in a government that may make us a great and happy nation.

My Colleague has informed your Excellency of the reasons which actuated our conduct in the late endeavours to organize the new government.<sup>2</sup> They were such as we supposed ought to influence us, and would vindicate us from any blame, in the past delay. Nothing has been further attempted in this business since Mr. Gilman wrote, but we have reason to think it will be compleated in a few days. I do not imagine that the delay as yet has put off the time when the operation



of the new government would commence, or has been injurious, further than a waste of time in Congress, and keeping the public in a painful suspense, and some little irritation of the parties. These it is true, tho I think they will be attended with no very disagreeable consequences, are evils which I wish had been avoided, and that the government had commenced with a perfect harmony of sentiment. Had all parties been as disinterested as the delegates of New Hampshire in this affair it might have been the case; but the rivalry of Philadelphia and New York would not admit of it.

The Minister of the United Netherlands has lately been recalled & taken leave of Congress.<sup>3</sup> The United States of America have upon the occasion received fresh assurances of friendship from the States General, but are not informed of the reasons of the recall of the minister. It is easily conjectured however that it was because he was not in the interest of the Prince of Orange. Congress has this week elected Genl Irvine of Pennsylvania and the Hon. John T Gilman Esq. of New Hampshire commissioners for settling the accounts of the several states agreeably to the Ordinance of May 7, 1787. The third who is to be from the Southward is not yet chosen.<sup>4</sup> We have no late European news and I have nothing else material to write. I have the honor to be with great respect your Excellency's most obedient and humble Servant,

Paine Wingate

RC (Nh-Ar: State Papers, Revolutionary Correspondence).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 34:615–16.

<sup>2</sup> See Nicholas Gilman to Langdon, September 5.

<sup>3</sup> See South Carolina Delegates to Thomas Pinckney, September 6, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> See Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, September 13, note.

## Jonathan Dayton to John Cleves Symmes

Dear Sir,

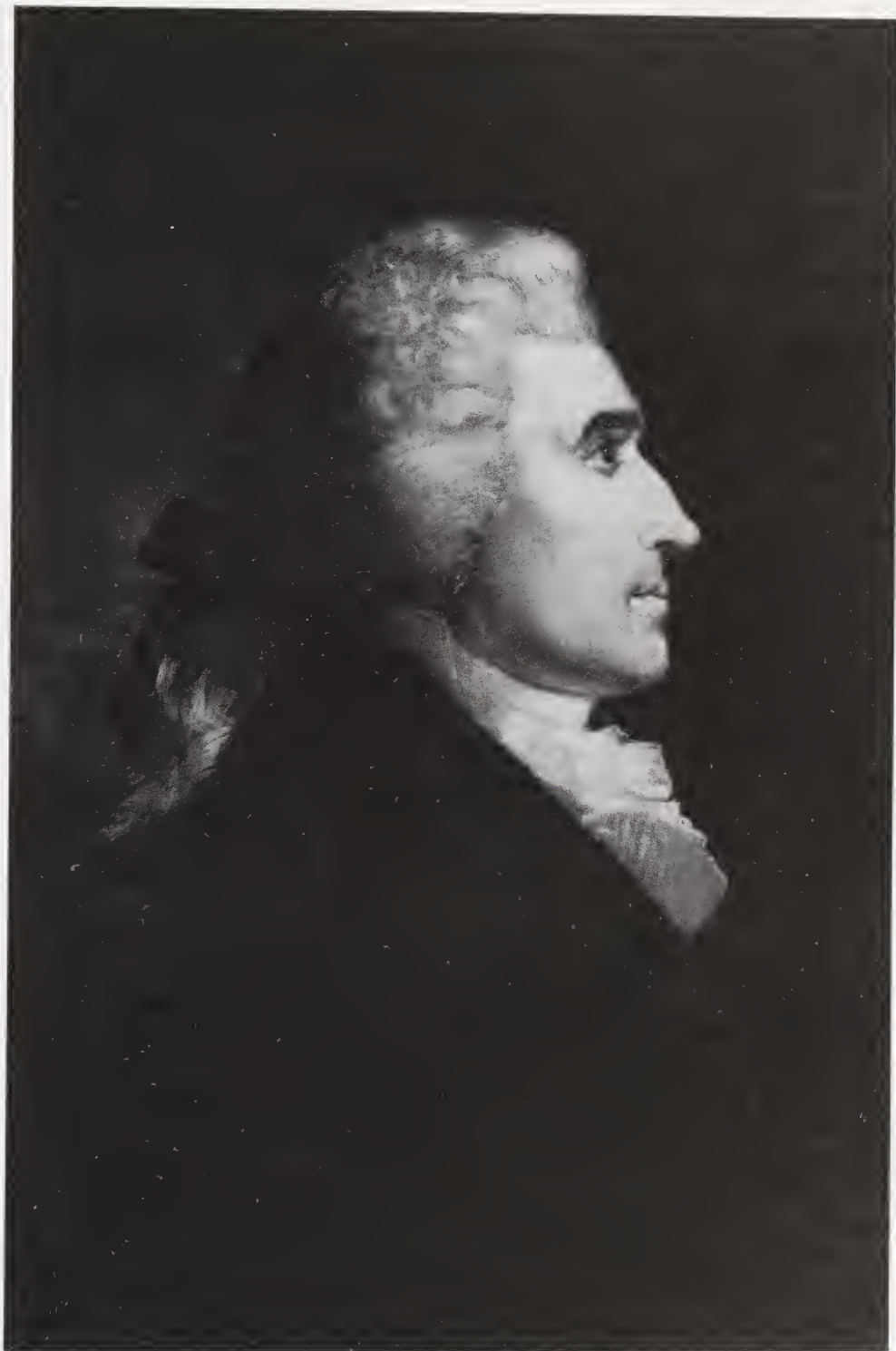
New York September 12th 1788

I received last week by post your letter of the 12th dated at Pittsburgh.<sup>1</sup> Since my last to you your whole contract & project for the purchase & settlement of western lands, has been on the point of being annihilated. On the 18th of August a motion was made in Congress by Mr Williamson in the words following viz. "Resolved that the several acts of Congress of October 2nd, 22d & 23rd 1787 whereby the board of Treasury are authorised to contract &c."<sup>2</sup>

I called upon the Committee with Mr Marsh & Mr Boudinot just as they were meeting to draft their report which would have been (if approved in Congress, which I very much apprehended) fatal to your purchase. I stated to them that it was not your intention to settle but upon the limits prescribed by the Board for one million—that instead



of barely depositing 72,000 Dollars as the Board in their report had loosely expressed it, you had regularly paid in Certificates & military rights to the whole amount of the first payment for that quantity & that the ignorance of both parties with respect to the course of the rivers bounding your purchase had been the reason of your declining to agree to any precise limits before that necessary information could be obtained. We acquainted them in short that we considered & held the United States firmly bound by the contract & that their receipt of the first payment on acct of it was sufficient evidence. The Committee after consulting with the board, informed us that even if the first payment had been made for a million, your proposed contract was for two—that altho' in the course of making your payments, you had withdrawn your proposals for two & given in others for one million, yet the Board disliking the Boundaries prescribed for the smaller quantity, had not closed with them, but had proposed in their turn what they thought, reasonable limits which you had not signified your acceptance of—That therefore in strict or legal construction they considered Congress as absolved from every engagement with you, but they would nevertheless agree, if we would come forward & subscribe to the limits offered by the Board in their letter to you of the 16th of June, to wave their report to Congress, & stay further proceeding until we had concluded it. Thus circumstanced a choice was hardly left us & we agreed to close with & subscribe to, their proposals as soon as the writings could be prepared. Since that time, the Board has started another objection which I believe neither you or we had apprehended or foreseen—They say that a late letter of the Geographer to them, states that there are but about three millions of Acres in the New England purchase, if so, that the sum deposited by you is but half the amount of the first payment for a million—Altho I referred them to the Map & pointed out the New England tract thereon as delineated & painted by Hutchins himself, & proved to them by measurement that it was six times as large as the million bounding upon it which was reserved for the army, they notwithstanding, refuse to execute the writings until the sense of Congress shall be had. I know not what will be the event of the business, but I trust the objection is too ill founded & unreasonable to meet with the approbation of that body. Before the departure of the next Pittsburgh post, I trust, it will be decided, when you shall hear from me again. Your letter of agency arrived at a lucky instant to enable us to prevent measures being taken to declare that no contract existed with you on the part of the union, which would have been followed by orders to the Governor to prohibit any settlement upon any other than the New England lands. It was by no means my wish to have my name inserted in your letter of agency but since it is there, I shall endeavour to conduct the business entrusted to the best possible advan-



Jonathan Dayton

tage of yourself & the others concerned. We have already in the commencement of it's prosecution met with numerous embarrassments, we hope they will not continue, if they should we shall take the best measures to face & overcome them.<sup>3</sup>

Sept 12th<sup>4</sup> This morning Mr Marsh came over agreeably to my appointment to execute & subscribe to, the contract we had drawn up—The Board receded from the objection as to quantity mentioned on the other side but raised a new difficulty as to our power of Attorney which they said was very imperfect & insufficient—It recites in it's beginning that a contract, had been entered into between you & the Board & refers to that written agreement, which the board says never had existence. They say it is true Congress authorised them to contract with you for two millions on certain terms, but that you never came forward & contracted—They say also that you proposed to purchase instead thereof but one million with certain boundaries, to which they disagreed—that they in their turn offered to sell you a million with other boundaries which you by letter declined. From all this they infer that there is not only no written [Ms uncertain] you express but not even a verbal contract between you & also that there never has been either. They add that all the powers you have vested us with, refer to & are founded upon this supposed contract which, you suggest, actually exists between you & them & which they know nothing about & consequently cannot acknowledge. They have even gone to the expence of employing & consulting Council on the occasion, by whom, our power is declared to be altogether defective. They offered to contract with us for the land in our own names & right which we have refused—& they have at length consented to accept our signatures as Agents for you upon our agreeing to annex a proviso that we will procure from you a more ample & sufficient power of Attorney, or failing to do *that*, that we will, individually & in our proper characters, consider & acknowledge ourselves bound to perform the conditions & stipulations. It will be necessary or at least desireable that you make out this power immediately, acknowledge it before one or the other two Judges of the Western territory & forward it by the first opportunity. As soon as this business is compleated on our part, Mr Boudinot &c. mean to agree for the million on the little Miami, which they propose to divide into forty shares and have promised me that you may take what number of them you think proper. All are to come in by their plan on equal terms, they do not seem disposed to promise a preference in favor of Capt. Stites but say they will leave the consideration of his case to the whole of the associates.

The contracts of Morgan & Flint & Parker are destroyed, & the rise of Certificates makes the people here less eager to engage in land speculations than when you left us. I enclose you a copy of the letter of agency & of your acct as you requested. You may remember Mr



Boudinot's giving you credit for 1033 44/90 of the loans he had made you upon your engaging to give me up a Certain Certificate lodged by you in the treasury for that amount, which you told me you were not able to get as it had been cancelled. I have called upon Mr Boudinot since for those I lodged with him on acct of it & he tells me I must first procure your signature to the inclosed in order to annul the rect he gave you expecting you would restore me that Certificate. Be so good as to sign & send it by the first conveyance. On account of some errors & erasures in the writings & for the sake of inserting the proviso we are obliged to draw them all over again which will delay their execution until next week.

As to your complaint of want of assistance on the part of the proprietors of the reserved township, I shall not of myself undertake to determine whether it be well or ill founded, but as they proposed to have a meeting shortly I shall take that opportunity of laying it before them.

With regard to the four sections adjoining to the town & upon the Ohio which I engaged, I will esteem it a favor, if you will direct the surveyor to delineate them on paper, as well their situation & the fractional parts between them & the river as their true quality. This he can do so soon as you have laid out the town & I will cheerfully pay any extra expence that may attend it. When done he will make me out an extra copy & I will thank you to forward it with delay. Besides the above sections I have in military rights about 8,000 Acres, but I shall leave it to Mr Denman who has proposed to unite our rights, to locate where he pleases.

Your accts & indeed all those of an official nature which we have received of the disposition of the Indians in your quarter, are very unfavorable. I have never been very sanguine in my expectation of entering into a treaty with those people which would have permanence. My only hope was that by fair words & presents they might be induced & inclined to a two or three years peace, by which time you would be enabled not only to make head against, but if they should prove hostile, utterly to exterminate them. I would not however be understood to mean that I think it would be just to war with them as soon as you have the ability. The law of right & wrong is an universal law & has it's influence amongst the most savage as well as the most polished nations. I hold it unjust to take possession of & settle upon their lands before you have fairly made a purchase, & very highly so to attack to punish & destroy them unless driven to it by their unprovoked aggresions.

We this day passed the ordinance for organizing the new government.<sup>5</sup> The meeting of the new Congress is directed to be on the first Wednesday in March next in this city.

There is a dearth of news among us at present, when I write again I may probably have some to give you.



I must request you to write to me by every opportunity<sup>6</sup> & to believe that I am with great sincerity, Your friend & servt,  
J.D.

MS not found; reprinted from John Cleves Symmes, *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes*, ed. Beverly W. Bond, Jr. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926), pp. 197–203.

<sup>1</sup> Actually August 21, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 36–44.

<sup>2</sup> Although Secretary Charles Thomson did not record this motion in the journals, he did note in his Committee Book this day that it was referred to a committee consisting of Jeremiah Wadsworth, Alexander Hamilton, William Irvine, Thomas Tudor Tucker, and Hugh Williamson. See *JCC*, 34:432; and *PCC*, item 190, fol. 202.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of Symmes' plans for western settlement and the fate of his proposed purchases, which continued to involve him until his death in 1814, see Bond, *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes*, pp. 7–21.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a misprint for September 13. The letter was begun September 12 and probably resumed the following morning. Near its close Dayton observed that "We this day passed the ordinance for organizing the new government," an action of the 13th, for which see the following note.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 34:515–19, 522–23; and John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Symmes' October 12 response to this letter is in Bond, *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes*, pp. 44–47.

## Virginia Delegates to the Board of Treasury

Gentlemen, (Copy) New York Sept. 12. 1788

We shall transmit to the Governor of Virginia for the consideration of the Executive the papers which you have enclosed us respecting the double settlement of Doctor George Draper with the U.S. and the State of Virginia for the same service in the late Army.<sup>1</sup> But we conceive it proper to apprise you Gentlemen that the attention of the Executive will be called to the Resolutions of Congress of the 13th of June 1781 in the following words to wit, "That it be, and hereby is, recommended to the several States, to which the Officers of the Hospital & Medical department, respectively, belong, are or were Inhabitants, to settle the Accounts of the said Officers for depretiation, on the principles of the Resolutions of the 10th of April 1780; and to make provision for paying the Balances that may be found due, in the same manner with Officers of the line."

"That each state which shall advance more money in making good the depretiation to its respective Citizens than its proper proportion, shall be allowed for the same on account of the United States."<sup>2</sup>

These Resolutions, Gentlemen appear to have absolutely referred officers of the discription of Doctor Draper to the States where they had been Inhabitants at the time of entering the Service, for their depretiation, without, even holding up an appearance that any other provision had been, or would be made for them: consequently, it

would seem, that the States had no guard to take against previous settlements with the U.S., and that charges for depreciation paid to such Officers will be adjudged valid, notwithstanding any such previous settlements which might have been made by the applicants.

We take the liberty to submit these considerations, in order that you may determine whether it will not be best for the U.S. to take proceedings against Doctor Draper for their indemnification.

We<sup>3</sup> have the Honor to be &c.

FC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). In the hand of Edward Carrington.

<sup>1</sup> For which see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:251n.1.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 20:637.

<sup>3</sup> The Virginia delegates attending Congress at this time were Carrington, Cyrus Griffin, Henry Lee, and James Madison.

## Nathan Dane to Theodore Sedgwick

My Dear Sir

New York Sept. 13. 1788

The question about the place of the new Governments meeting is finally well settled—the day after you went away some person on our part moved a resolution for fixing the times of the elections, &c. and leaving the place to be de[te]rmined hereafter.<sup>1</sup> This resolution for myself I did not like—however those who advocated New York voted for it—and the advocates of Philadelphia against it, and the question was lost. Soon after they proposed to move a like resolution—but gave it up. Last Tuesday Arnold arrived from Rhode Island,<sup>2</sup> and informed that his Colleague would be on in a few days. New Jersey assembled approved of the Conduct of her Delegates—& information was received that the people of Charleston did the same as to the South Carolina Delegates. There is a federal Legislature now in Session in Pennsyla. A new one is soon to be chosen—and in this the federalists I understand, are apprehensive the other party will prevail. Considering all these circumstances the advocates for Philadela. concluded that it was best to give up their opposition and this day the resolves were unanimously passed and with N. York for the place of meeting &c.<sup>3</sup>

Brother Otis is not yet arrived but we expect him every hour—he was, I am informed, at Newport this day week.

Delaware and Maryland are absent—Mr. Wingate and myself set out for Massa. next week.

We have chosen the three Commissioners for settling the Accounts—Mr. Baldwin, Genl. Irvine and John Taylor Gilman.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Jack-

son came near being elected two or three times—but, as I something expected, there was too great a combination among the seven or eight non claiming States, as they are called, to admit of Virginia or Massachusetts having a man—these Are considered as the two largest claiming States.

With sentiment of esteem & friendship, Your humble Servant,  
N. Dane

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers). Addressed: "Honorable Theodore Sedgwick Esqr., Stockbridge, Massachusetts."

<sup>1</sup> For this September 4 motion by Thomas Tudor Tucker, see *JCC*, 34:495–97.

<sup>2</sup> According to the journals, Peleg Arnold also attended on Monday September 8. *JCC*, 34:501–2.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 34:522–23; and John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> See Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, this date.

## Nicholas Gilman to John Langdon

Sir

New York September 13th 1788.

I do myself the honor to transmit herewith, an ordinance of Congress for putting in motion the new System of government<sup>1</sup>—and have the pleasure to observe, that, although a difference in sentiment, respecting the place of meeting has been productive of animated debates and has occasioned some delay—yet it finally passed without a dissentient voice or the least apparent animosity. This day has also compleated the Election of the Commissioners for settling the national accounts agreeably to the ordinance of May 1787.<sup>2</sup> The Board consists of General William Irvine of Pennsylvania, Mr. J. T. Gilman of New Hampshire and Mr. Abraham Baldwin of Georgia.

Enclosed also are two resolutions of the Convention of North Carolina transmitted to Congress by their President—one of which shews the sense in which that body considers their act respecting the proposed plan of government and their determination to adhere to the Union.<sup>3</sup>

With the greatest Respect, I have the Honor to be, Sir, Your Excellencys Most obedient and Most Humble Servant, N. Gilman

RC (Nh–Ar: State Papers, Revolutionary Correspondence).

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Thomson to the States, this date.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, this date.

<sup>3</sup> For this August 1 resolution, which is in "Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and Bill of Rights" (M338, DNA microfilm), and the debate on its adoption, see *N.C. State Records*, 22:16–33.

## Henry Lee to George Washington

My dear General.

New York 13th. Sept. [17]88.

At length the new govt. has received the last act necessary to its existence. This day Congress passed the requisite previous arrangements. The first Wednesday in January the ratifying states are to appoint electors, on the first Wednesday in February the president is to be chosen, & the first Wednesday in March is the time, & this city the place for commencing proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

Some delay has attended this business from a difference in opinion respecting the place of meeting, but this delay has not in the least affected the sooner or later operation of the constitution. The southern gentlemen did not accord in the place of temporary residence, from a discordance in sentiment, of its effect on the establishment of the permanent seat of govt. Some considered this city, others a more southern position, as the most favorable theatre to negotiate the determination of the ten miles square. Many plausible & some cogent reasons are adducible in support of either opinion & time only can shew which is founded in propriety.

The solemnity of the moment, & its application to yourself, has fixed my mind in contemplations of a public & a personal nature and I feel an involuntary impulse which I cannot resist of communicating without reserve to you, some of the reflexions which the hour has produced. Solicitous for our common happiness as a people, & convicted as I continue to be, that our peace & prosperity depends on the proper improvement of the present period, my anxiety is extreme that the new Govt. may have an auspicious beginning. To effect this & to perpetuate a nation formed under your auspices, it is certain that again you will be called forth.

The same principles of devotion to the good of mankind which has invariably governed your conduct, will no doubt, continue to rule your mind however opposite their consequences may be, to your repose & happiness. It may be wrong, but I cannot suppress in my wishes for national felicity, a due regard to your personal fame & content.

If the same success should attend your efforts on this important occasion, which has distinguished you hitherto, then to be sure you will have spent a life, which providence rarely if ever before gave to the lot of one man. It is my belief, it is my anxious hope that this will be the case, but all things are uncertain, & perhaps nothing more than political events. The new govt. tho about to commence its proceedings & received by a large majority of the people with unprecedented unanimity & attachment, must encounter from the nature of human affairs many difficulties. These obstacles to its harmonious progress will



receive additional weight & influence from the active & enterprizing characters who continue to inflame the passions & to systemize the measures of opposition. The circular lettr. from this state, seems to be the standard, to which the various minoritys will repair, & if they should succeed in bringing quickly into action the objects of that lettr., new & serious difficultys might arise, which will cross & may destroy the govt. in its infancy. Much will depend on the part which the assembly of Virginia may adopt in this business, & from the complexion of that body, little is to be hoped. They appeared to be generally opposed, & Mr. Henry with many other conventional coadjutors, are members of the legislature. Madison will not be there, nor is there a friend to govt. or the assembly of comparative ability. It would be fortunate if this gentleman could be introduced into that body, & I think it is practicable. Mr. Gordon one of the Orange members would readily vacate, to let him in, & the county would certainly elect him. In my lettr. of this date to Doctor Stuart,<sup>2</sup> I have mentioned this suggestion.

It would certainly be unpleasant to you & obnoxious to all who feel for your just fame, to see you at the head of a tumbling system. It is a sacrifice on your part, unjustifiable in any point of view. But on the other hand no alternative seems to be present.

Without you the govt. can have but little chance of success, & the people of that happiness, which its prosperity must yield. In this dilemma, it seems wise that such previous measures be in time adopted, which most promise to allay the fury of opposition, to defer amendments, till experience has shewn defects & to ensure the appointments of able & honest men in the first Congress.

One of the best means to accomplish this seems to me to bring into the assembly of Virga the aid before mentioned.

Indeed, I know of nothing so effective, for on the conduct of Virga every thing will depend. Her example will be followed, & if she supports with promptitude the system recommended by this state, confusion & anarchy may be the substitutes of order & good govt.

With much freedom have I disclosed to you & to you only, my sentiments on the present epocha as it involves in it, yourself. I am persuaded you will attribute my conduct to the motives which gave birth to it—zeal for the public prosperity, solicitude for your fame & happiness.

In a few weeks I shall return to Virga, if by land, I shall pay my respects to Mount Vernon,<sup>3</sup> when it will be more in my power to explain fully my opinion.

If any thing in this city would be agreeable to you, it will give me pleasure to obey your commands & I can send any articles by water to Alexa. It is most probable we shall return by sea, in which case they can be taken with me.

Mrs Lee begs to be presented to your lady. I have the honor to be with unalterable attachment yours truly

Henry Lee

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 34:522–23.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> Lee's last day in Congress was apparently October 10, although he claimed service from July 8 to October 16 when he submitted his accounts to the Virginia treasurer. See *JCC*, 34:597–601; and Continental Congress Papers, Vi. He visited Washington at Mount Vernon on October 31, staying overnight. Washington, *Diaries* (Jackson & Twohig), 5:415.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to Thomas Mifflin

New York, 13 September [1788]

This letter will be accompanied by an act of Congress of this morning, which Mr. Secretary Thomson will have the honor of transmitting.<sup>1</sup>

The public interest and expectation excited by the subject of it, the time employed in its discussion, and the temper in which it has been advocated by some states and opposed by others, make it not less necessary, than respectful, that we should state the facts under which we gave the assent of Pennsylvania to the decision which has been taken. These are:

1st. That some states who invariably contended with us for giving a more central residence to the national government withdrew themselves from Congress while the dispute was depending, leaving the minority extremely small and without a hope of succeeding, but such as grew out of the bare possibility of a change of sentiment or relaxation of obstinacy in the majority.

And 2d. That others of the same description, believing that the organization of the new government could not be longer suspended without risking consequences more disagreeable than any that could result from the mere circumstance of the place at which the government might be convened, determined to yield the objections they had made and acquiesce in the appointment of New York.

Under these facts the delegates of Pennsylvania were left to choose between opposing alone and unsuccessfully, or submitting to the pre-determined sense of the Union. We did not hesitate in choosing the latter, persuaded that of the two alternatives, this was at once the most dignified and wise.

MS not found; reprinted from *Minutes of the Third Session of the Twelfth General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, p. 238, DLC(ESR). The letter was directed to the speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and signed by John Armstrong, Jr., William Irvine, Samuel Meredith, and James R. Reid.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the resolves adopted for implementing the new government under the Constitution, setting March 4 as the time "and the present seat of Congress the place for commencing proceedings," for which see Charles Thomson to the States, this date.

## Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners

Sir,

Office of Secy of Congress, Sept 13. 1788

I have the honor to inform you that the United States in Congress assembled have been pleased to appoint you a member of a board consisting of three Commissioners pursuant to their Ordinance of the 7 May 1787 of which I herewith transmit you a copy<sup>1</sup> and am,  
With great respect, Sr, Your Most obedient & Most humble Servt

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "Mr William Irvine, Mr John Taylor Gilman, Mr Abraham Baldwin."

<sup>1</sup> For the election of John Taylor Gilman and William Irvine on September 9 and of Abraham Baldwin on September 13 as commissioners for settling the states' Continental accounts, see *JCC*, 34:502, 523. For the enclosed ordinance, see *JCC*, 33:262–66; and Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry, March 25, 1787, note 2.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir, (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, September 13. 1788

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed, an Act of the United States in Congress Assembled, for putting into operation the Constitution now ratified by the Conventions of eleven States.<sup>1</sup>

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most hum servt.,  
Cha Thomson

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia."

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 34:522–23; and John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 4.

## Nathan Dane to Timothy Dwight

My Dear Sir,

New York Sept. 14. 1788

I will be much obliged to you to put the inclosed letter directed to Mr. Sedgwick<sup>1</sup> into the post office that he may have it by the first post that goes to Stockbridge and forward the letter directed to Mr. Strong<sup>2</sup> to him.

We have at last fixed the time and place of the new Governments meeting—the City of New York the place, and the first Wednesday in March the time—Electors to be appointed the first Wednesday in Jan-

uary and to meet and vote for a president the first Wednesday in February. The act on this subject finally passed unanimously. I need not add, as I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in Springfield to-morrow week upon my way home by the Stage.

Your affectionate friend,

N. Dane<sup>3</sup>

RC (NHi: Miscellaneous MSS, Dane).

<sup>1</sup> See Dane to Theodore Sedgwick, September 13.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> Dane also wrote a three-page letter to Gov. John Hancock, this date, from which the following extract was printed when it was advertised for sale. "I have the pleasure, after a long and somewhat disagreeable discussion relative to the place of the new Government's assembling, to transmit . . . the act of Congress passed yesterday for putting the Constitution into operation. . . I believe the pretty general opinion is, that the assembling of the N. Government at N. York will be for the Interest of the Union at large.

"Congress has appointed the three Commissioners . . . for settling the accounts between the Union and the individual States . . . [names of commissioners, political antagonism of 'claiming' and 'non-claiming' states, etc.]. This appears to be a confession that we [Mass. and Va.] have done more than our proportion in the late revolution. . . ." *Goodspeed's Catalog*, no. 526 (1965), item 101.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

Richmond [New York]<sup>1</sup> Sept. 14. 1788

Your favor of the 3d instant<sup>2</sup> would have been acknowledged two days ago, but for the approaching completion of the arrangement for the new Govt. which I wished to give you the earliest notice of. This subject has long employed Congs. and has in its progress assumed a variety of shapes, some of them not a little perplexing. The times as finally settled are Jany. for the choice of Electors, Feby. for the choice of a President, and March for the meeting of the Congress. The place, the present seat of the fedl. Govt. The last point was carried by the yielding of the smaller to the inflexibility of the greater number. I have myself been ready for bringing it to this issue for some time, perceiving that further delay, could only discredit Congs. and injure the object in view. Those who had opposed N. York along with me could not overcome their repugnance so soon. Maryland went away before the question was decided in a temper which I believe would never have yielded. Delaware was equally inflexible. Previous to our final assent a motion was made which tendered a blank for any place the majority would chuse between the North River and the Potowmac.<sup>3</sup> This being rejected the alternative remaining was to agree to N. York or to strangle the Govt. in its birth. The former as the lesser evil was of course preferred and must now be made the best of. I acknowledge at



the same time that I anticipate serious inconveniences from it. It will I fear be regarded as at once a proof of a preponderancy in the Eastern scale, and of a disposition to profit of that advantage. It is but just however to remark that the event is in great degree to be charged on the Southn. States which went into that scale.<sup>4</sup> It will certainly entail the discussion on the new Governt. which ought if possible to be exempt from such an additional cause of ferment in its Councils. N. York will never be patiently suffered to remain even the temporary Seat of Govt. by those who will be obliged to resort to it from the Western & Southn. parts of the Union. This temporary period must continue for several years, perhaps seven or eight, and within that period all the great business of the Union will be settled. I take it for granted that the first Session will not pass without a renewal of the question, and that it will be attended with all the unpleasing circumstances which have just been experienced. In the last place, I consider the decision in favor of N. York as in a manner fatal to the just pretensions of the Potowmac to the permanent Seat of the Govt. This is unquestionably the light in which many of the advocates for N. York view the matter. The Legislature of N. Jersey which lately met approved of the part taken by her delegates on the principle that the first meeting of the Govt. at N. York would give the best possible chance for an early choice of the permanent Seat, as this would do, for a preference of Trenton. As the case now stands, the Susquehanna is probably the most that can be hoped for, with no small danger of being stopped on the Delaware. Had any place South of the Delaware been obtained, the Susquehannah at least would have been secured with a favorable chance for the Potowmac.

The result of the Meeting at Harrisburg is I am told in the press & will of course be soon before the public.<sup>5</sup> I am not acquainted with the particulars, or indeed with the general complexion of it. It has been said here that the meeting was so thin as to disappoint much the patrons of the scheme.

I am glad to hear that Mazzei's book is likely to be vendible. The copies allotted for this and several other markets will not I fear be so fortunate.

Yrs. Affecly.,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:252–54.

<sup>1</sup> Madison wrote "Richmond," but lined it out and substituted "New York" at a much later date.

<sup>2</sup> For which see *ibid.*, pp. 246–47.

<sup>3</sup> For this September 12 motion by Edward Carrington, which was seconded by Madison, see *JCC*, 34:515–16.

<sup>4</sup> For the votes of the southern states on the location of the capital in which Virginia was usually opposed by South Carolina, see *JCC*, 34:358–60, 367–68, 383–86, 393–402, 415–17, 455–57, 481–84, 487–88, 495–97, 515–18. See also John Brown to John Smith, July 9, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> See Madison to Washington, August 24, note 2.

## James Madison to George Washington

Dear Sir

N. York Sept. 14. 1788

The delay in providing for the commencement of the Government was terminated yesterday by an acquiescence of the minor number in the persevering demands of the major. The time for chusing the electors is the first Wednesday in Jany. and for chusing the President the first Wednesday in Feby. The meeting of the Govt. is to be the first Wednesday in March, and in the City of New York. The times were adjusted to the meetings of the State Legislatures. The place was the result of the dilemma to which the opponents of N. York were reduced of yielding to its advocates or strangling the Government in its birth. The necessity of yielding, and the impropriety of further delay, has for some time been obvious to me, but others did not view the matter in the same light. Maryland & Delaware were absolutely inflexible. It has indeed been too apparent that local & state Considerations have very improperly predominated in this question, and that something more is aimed at than merely the first Session of the Govt. at this place. Every circumstance has shewn that the policy is to keep Congress here till a permanent seat be chosen, and to obtain a permanent seat at farthest not beyond the Susquehannah. N. Jersey, by its Legislature as well as its Delegation in Congress, has clearly discovered her view to be a temporary appointment of N. York as affording the best chance of a permanent establishment at Trenton. I have been made so fully sensible of these views in the course of the business as well as of the impropriety of so excentric a position as N. York that I woud have finally concurred in any place more Southward to which the Eastern States wd. have acceded, and previous to the definitive vote, a motion was made tendering a blank for that purpose. At any place South of the Delaware, the Susquehannah at least would have been secured, and a hope given to the Potowmac. As the case is, I conceive the Susquehannah to be the utmost to be hoped for, with no small danger of being stopped at the Delaware. Besides this consequence, the decision will I fear be regarded as at once a proof of the preponderancy of the Eastern strength, and of a disposition to make an unfair use of it. And it cannot but happen that the question will be entailed on the New Governmt. which will have enough of other causes of agitation in its Councils.

The meeting at Harrisburg is represented by its friends as having been conducted with much harmony & moderation. Its proceedings are said to be in the press, and will of course soon be before the public.<sup>1</sup> I find that all the mischeif apprehended from Clinton's circular letter in Virginia will be verified. The Antifederalsts. lay hold of it with eagerness as the harbinger of a second Convention; and as the Governor espouses the project it will certainly have the co-operation of our Assembly.

I inclose a sensible little pamphlet which falls within the plan of investigating and comparing the languages of the Aboriginal Americans.<sup>2</sup>

With the sincerest attachment I am Dear Sir, Your Obedt. & very  
hb[le. servt.], Js. Madison [Jr.]

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:254–55.

<sup>1</sup> See Madison to Washington, August 24, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneeuw Indians* (New Haven: J. Meigs, 1788), by Jonathan Edwards (1745–1801) for which see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,068.

## Edward Carrington to James Monroe

My Dear Friend,

New York Sept. 15th. 1788

I now do myself the pleasure to return the Pamphlet, agreeably to your request, which you was so kind as to favor me with the perusal of.<sup>1</sup> Your remarks upon the old federal system perfectly accord with my ideas of that il[l] concerted Fabric, and fully display the necessity for a change.

I sincerely wish we could as well associate our opinions as to the New Constitution: it is, however, by that comparison of ideas which you have done me the honor to propose, that so desirable an object is to be obtained, and whatever may be the difference between us upon this important subject, I yet acknowledge myself under much obligation for the extensive field you have opened to my view, discovering the quicksands & Rocks to be guarded against, in directing the ship we have launched.

You have gone deeply into the subject, and presented many points which still engage my serious contemplation. Upon one or two of your objections I will, however now submit some thoughts which occur to me. The power of direct Taxation is the first in Magnitude—this, my dear Friend, is, in my estimation the vital principle of the Government; take it away and the Govt. must decline into, nearly, the same contemptible situation which has characterized the old one, or the responsibility of the States must be secured by means such as you have hinted, and seem to rely upon, but which in my opinion, would be utterly inconsistent with every idea of freedom: in the one case we shall have gained nothing by the change in regard to Revenue, but the impost; in the other, Tyranny, which you so much dread will be established, or at least introduced. You declare this power to be unnecessary, because, when the U.S possess considerable Revenues, & have at their command a Fleet & Army, with the absolute controul of Trade, you cannot but suppose that their constitutional demands & requisi-



tions, will be complied with. As your reliance seems to be rested upon these circumstances of *power*, it is to be presumed you calculate upon the actual exercise of Military force, or the apprehension of it by the States; in either case the compliance is to be effected under military influence. Now, my dr sir, would this entitle the Constitution to the republican Character? To my Conception of a free Govt. the accomplishment of all its internal purposes by the ordinary operation of Civil authorities, constitutionally created, is essential; and in the levies of Money, in particular, this ought to be the case. Nor do I agree with those Gentlemen who think that the right of the U.S to Tax, should be consequent only upon a failure in any State to comply with a requisition, for this would eventually lead to a necessity for the exercise of military force, if the money should be got at all. Place the business upon this footing, and the federal authority, in whatever shape it might be introduced, would come under the odious character of a minister of punishment—faith could not be placed in Citizens of the same State as agents—resort must be had to those of other States not alike delinquent, & these could not be expected to effect any thing without military aid. But let the Genl. Govt. have, at once, the power of direct Taxation, such as the Constitution gives, and wise arrangements may be made for the collection, by agents who shall be respectable Citizens of the States in which they are respectively to act, say the Sherifs or other Collectors of the Counties who act under the authority of the State—one man may be vested with both authorities; the people will scarcely discern a difference between the one & the other power, and a ready obedience will be yielded. But, *perhaps*, the impost will be sufficient for all the purposes of the Union! Why then give also a power to collect money by direct Taxation? Should it prove that the impost be sufficient, there can arise no inconvenience from the other power being vested in the Fedl. Govt. because it will never be exercised; But on the other hand should the impost prove deficient public ruin might ensue from a want of the command, constitutionally, of other resources, it is therefore prudent to secure such a provision. The most certain way to prevent oppressive strides of power, is to make a constituional provision for every contingency.

Your difficulties upon the judiciary appear not to have been brought to any decided objection—you suggest, however, a dependance upon the State Courts for carrying into effect the greatest part of the Laws of the Genl Govt—you do not say whether they ought in these cases to derive their authority from the Genl. Govt., & therefore I can not combat your opinions upon this point. My idea, is that all the Courts, upon which the Federal Laws depend for their execution, ought to derive their author[i]ties from, & be amenable to, the Federal Govt. and I think it would be wise to institute, the state courts, where they are well established, as the inferior Federal Courts; here I



pursue the principle which governed me as to the collection of Taxes; one that will diffuse the fedl. authority in full efficiency, and at the same time, will scarcely occasion a visible change in the accustomed police of the States. I perfectly agree with you that the *federal* Govt. which we are erecting, can only be successful by preserving a due distinction between the proper objects of it, & those of the State Govts. and it appears to me that the institution of the State Courts, where they are well established, into the inferior fedl. ones, will give us, at least a flattering prospect, that this discrimination will be kept—the Judges will feel an equal obligation & attachment to both, and will be impartial, as well as able, guardians of each—but should the U.S. erect separate Courts the probability is, that bickerings will arise between the two jurisdictions; this, as you say is in the discretion of the Congress, & I trust, that that discretion, will be exercised properly.

Your remarks upon the Executive pretty fully accord with my ideas. I have always thought that to assign a Council for the guide of the Chief Magistrate, who is to act by written Laws, is absurd, & that it, in fact, gives him a shelter from the Consequences of the most flagrant abuses.

My further remarks upon this subject will be reserved until I have the pleasure to see you in October, when I shall freely confer with you, and doubt not that many of the points upon which we now differ will be placed in different lights in the Minds of each.

You have doubtless been anxious to see the act for giving the Govt. effect, & must have heard something of the cause of the suspension. The southern States thought it incumbent on them to get the meeting more central than N. York—this certainly was a point of great importance, for if it is effected early in the meeting of the New Govt. a warm contest must first be felt, which will destroy the harmony of the Body for perhaps the remainder of the session. If such removal should not be effected, there will nevertheless have been a warm contest, with the additional mischief of all the great & permanent arrangements being made in the Centre of that part of the Union against Which great jealousies already exist in the southern States—and when it is considered with what facility majorities may be made & preserved by calling in absent members &c. this jealousy must be still aggravated. Upon this question we were deserted by South Carolina, & half of Georgia, and our old Freind Harry,<sup>2</sup> took the same side as he did in the Mississippi business—you must have seen the papers in which most of the votes which passed in the early part of this affair have been published. We last Friday determined to yield to the Majority for N. York rather than hazard the consequences of a longer suspension. I shall be with you by the meeting of the Assembly of which I learn that I am a Member—in the mean time believe me to be, my dr sir, Your Afft. Freind & Serv,

Ed. Carrington

[P.S.] The Family of Kortright are well.

RC (DLC: Monroe Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Monroe's *Some Observations on the Constitution* (Petersburg, 1788. Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,263) which he had prepared and had printed prior to attending the Virginia ratifying convention on June 2. Upon further reflection, however, he suppressed the pamphlet, deciding instead to distribute it only among selected friends. See *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 9:844–77.

<sup>2</sup> Virginia delegate Henry Lee.

## George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher

My dear

City of New-York 16. Sepr. 178[8]

Altho I wrote you in the forenoon,<sup>1</sup> I have come to a Resolution now to write you again; whether you can get time to read all the Letters I send you, or not, I dont know—but untill you tell me I write you too often, I shall continue to write so often and whenever I feel disposed for this kind of amusement. I assure you 'tis my chief and greatest delight while I am seperated by a distance of near four hundred miles from my dear family.

When I took my pen up I proposed to write you a political Letter altogether, without saying a word about family or any thing relating thereto. I thought, & still am of opinion, that you ought to have now and then, for novelty sake, a little something about Congress and Congressional matters—that when your female friends enquire of you the state of politics, you may, if you do not choose to enter upon the subject in conversation, hand them the Letter for them to read for themselves.

Then to proceed—Before I got here in August the Congress had entered upon the business of puting the new Constitution into motion. By the plan of Government proposed by the Convention last fall, it was resolved that when nine states should have adopted the plan and transmitted their adoption to Congress—Congress should forthwith assigne a time for the States to appoint electors of a president—and the time for the electors to meet & give their votes for a president—and appoint a time and place when & where the Congress under the new Government should meet and commence operations.

Accordingly, on Saturday the Congress resolved that the first Wednesday in January be the day for choosing electors in the several States, and the first Wednesday of February the day for the electors to meet and give in their votes for President, and the first Wednesday in March the time for commencing operations under the New Constitution, at the City of New York. There has been much altercation in Congress about the place—whether it should be the City of N—York, or some place more southerly—and Philadelphia seemed generally advocated by those who opposed New-York. But notwithstanding the dis-

putes upon this subject Congress at last unanimously agreed upon this City. There were nine States present—viz, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South-Carolina & Georgia. The other States were not present.

I suppose you, and your federal friends, are up in arms against North-Carolina for rejecting the Constitution. But, here your information is premature. They have not actually rejected the Constitution, neither are they any ways disposed to seporate themselves from the Union. But on the Contrary, their Convention passed two Resolves much to their honour.

They resolved that it be recommended to their General Assembly to take the speediest measures, the situation of their Government would admit, to redeem their paper money. And secondly—whereas that Convention had seen fit neither to adopt, nor actually reject the Constitution proposed to their consideration, and as ten States had adopted it, these adopting States would forthwith proceed to organize the Government, and it was highly probable the Congress would immediately lay an impost upon certain Goods imported into those States, therefore they Resolved that it be recommended to their General Assembly, that as soon as Congress should Lay an impost on Goods, that State should lay a similar Impost on the same Goods imported into North-Carolina, & the same be appropriated to the use of Congress. Thus you see this State is federally disposed, tho they have not adopted the Constitution. They have simply recommended certain amendments to the consideration of a future Congress or Convention; which, on the principle of them, being ingrafted into the Constitution, they will then adopt the Government. I would continue this a little longer—but my paper is up.

Yours most affectionately,

Geo. Thatcher

RC (MHi: Thatcher Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## Peleg Arnold to George Champlin

Sir,<sup>1</sup>

New York 17 Sept 1788.

I have inclosed for your information the Journal of Congress from July 22 to Augt. 18 together With the Resolution for Organizing the New Government.<sup>2</sup> Congress have appointed three Commissioners in pursuence of the ordinance of May 7 1787 who are to finally Settle the Accounts between the United States and the individual States Viz New Hampshier, Mr. John Taylor Gilman, Pensylvania Genl. Wm. Irvine and Georgia Hon Abraham Baldwin.<sup>3</sup>



Please to inform whether Mr. Hazard is Likely to be here Soon—any information from your quarter will greatly oblige,<sup>4</sup> Sir, your humble Servt,  
Peleg Arnold

RC (RHi: Christopher Champlin Papers). Addressed: "George Champlin Esquire, Newport."

<sup>1</sup> Although he never attended, Champlin was twice elected to Congress by the Rhode Island Assembly, May 4, 1785, and May 3, 1786. *Journal of the Rhode Island House of Magistrates*, DLC(ESR).

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Thomson to the States, September 13. Arnold also sent a copy of this resolution with the following September 18 letter to Welcome Arnold. "I have inclos'd for your Information the Journal of Congress from July 22 to Augt 18th together with the resolution of Sept. 13. Whenever anything further presents I Shall Communicate & wish a line of information from you." Emmet Collection, no. 559, NN.

<sup>3</sup> See Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, September 13.

<sup>4</sup> The undated draft of Champlin's response to Arnold is found on the verso of this letter. Champlin reported that he had not conversed with Jonathan Hazard on the subject of his return to Congress, but speculated that he would not "before our Assembly meets." "Hazard cam[e] to Newport last week," Champlin explained, on hearing "that Congress had Completed the ordnance respecting the New Government and Immediately returnd to the Country sin[c]e which have not heard of him."

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress, Sept. 17th, 1788.

The several attempts already too successfully made, and particularly a recent one, countenanced and promoted by the british Governor of New Providence to pour into the United States, convicts, have induced Congress to pass the recommendation, of which I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency a copy herewith enclosed.<sup>1</sup> I trust this recommendation will command the earliest attention of Your Legislature, and that they will take effectual measures to vindicate the honor of their country, and put a stop to such nefarious attempts.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most humble servant,  
Cha Thomson

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governor of Virginia."

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed September 16 resolve simply recommended that the states "pass proper laws for preventing the transportation of convicted malefactors from foreign countries into the United States." The resolution was adopted at the recommendation of the secretary for foreign affairs, John Jay, who had recently been advised of the arrival at New York of twenty five Irish convicts transshipped from New Providence Island at the behest of the royal governor there, Lord Dunmore. This information had come to Jay through the British consul general, Sir John Temple, in the form of an affidavit from Leonard White Outerbridge, the mate on the ship carrying the unwanted cargo. See *JCC*, 34:494–95, 528–30; *PCC*, item 78, 17:405–7; and *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1783–89, 3:130–33.



## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Sir

New York 17th Sept. 1788

In pursuance of the Instructions you was pleased to forward on the 29th of June,<sup>1</sup> the Delegates on the 14th of July moved that Congress should resolve as follows,<sup>2</sup>

"Whereas many Citizens of the United States who possess Lands on the Western Waters have expressed much uneasiness from a Report that Congress are disposed to treat with Spain for the Surrender of their Claim to the Navigation of the River Mississippi, in Order therefore to quiet the Minds of our fellow Citizens by removing such ill founded apprehensions.

"Resolved that the United States have a clear absolute and unalienable Claim to the free Navigation of the River Mississippi, which claim is not only supported by the express Stipulations of Treaties but by the great Law of Nature."

This Motion was referred to the Secretary for foreign Affairs to report, but the Report of that Officer, which was not made before the 3rd instant, not proving satisfactory, the Delegates moved that it should be referred to a Committee who gave all possible Dispatch to the Business.<sup>3</sup> Yesterday Congress took up the Report of the Committee and agreed to sundry Resolutions which, as in all such Cases respecting Treaties, are entered on the private Journal, but the Delegates are allowed, for the Information of the Legislature, to take a Copy of the two first.<sup>4</sup>

The Entry is in the following Terms.

"By the United States in Congress Assembled September 16th 1788. "On the Report of a Committee consisting of Mr. Hamilton, Mr Madison, Mr Williamson, Mr Dane and Mr Edwards to whom was referred the Report of the Secretary for foreign Affairs on a Motion of the Delegates of North Carolina stating the Uneasiness produced by a Report *That Congress are disposed to treat with Spain for the Surrender of their Claim to the Navigation of the River Mississippi* and proposing a Resolution intended to remove such Apprehensions"

"Resolved that the said Report not being founded in fact the Delegates be at Liberty to communicate all such Circumstances as may be necessary to contradict the same and remove all misconceptions.

"Resolved that the free Navigation of the River Mississippi is a clear and essential Right of the United States and that the same ought to be considered and supported as such."

The Delegates from Virginia are informed that the general Assembly of that State have agreed to instruct them on the above Subject, but by some Accident a Copy of the Instructions have not hitherto been forwarded and the Delegates from North Carolina could not postpone the Question waiting for such Assistance lest the Representation of the States should not be sufficiently numerous in Congress.

Being at Liberty to speak with some freedom respecting certain late Negotiations, It is true that Authority had been given by Congress to our Minister for foreign Affairs to negotiate a Treaty with the Minister of Spain, It is also true that the Delegates from several States in the Union seemed to think that the Navigation of the Mississippi might be *profitably* and *prudently* bartered with Spain for certain commercial Privileges for a given number of Years, but the Delegates from those very States seem now to be perfectly convinced that the Measure would not be *prudent* nor *practicable*. The Subject is now much better understood and the late Increase of Settlers in the western Country has been so rapid beyond all their Ideas of probability that they are now fully agreed with us that Nature and the fitness of Things must have their due Operation. All the States referred to voted with us on the late Question and at present there is no Power remaining in the Hands of any Minister for making any Treaty by which the Navigation of the Mississippi can possibly be affected. The Delegates on this Occasion have not been wanting in zeal to serve their Constituents and hope that their Conduct will meet with your Approbation.

I have the Honour to be with the utmost Consideration, Sir, Your most obedt and very hble Servt,  
Hu Williamson

RC (PHC: Roberts Autograph Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See *N.C. State Records*, 21:480.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 34:319.

<sup>3</sup> For the referral of this motion to Secretary John Jay July 15, the receipt of Jay's report September 3, and the referral of the report to committee September 8, see *JCC*, 34:328n, 493, 502n.

<sup>4</sup> For Congress' action on the report of this committee, see *JCC*, 34:534–35. The third resolution adopted, which was "considered as a private instruction" to Jay and therefore recorded only in Congress' Secret Foreign Journal, reads: "Resolved That no further progress be made in the negotiations with Spain by the Secretary for foreign affairs, but that the subject to which they relate be referred to the federal government which is to assemble in March next."

Jay did not communicate the information contained in this September 16 resolution to the Encargado de Negocios of Spain, Diego de Gardoqui, until October 17, for which see *PCC*, item 120, 4:6–7; and *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*, 3:278.

## Samuel A. Otis to Theodore Sedgwick

Dear Sir [September 19, 1788]

I am obliged for your sympathetic Letter. I am called to suffer hard things, and the loss of a lovely daughter in the bloom of life comes very near my heart. I have many blessings in life yet left me but I own the precarious tenure by which I hold them abates much of the pleasure. But I have no right to complain as I suffer only what is common to man.

I had some expectation of finding you in NY but am rejoiced you have better business and can attend to it without painful separation from your family.

I think the business of the present Congress is closed or nearly so but you mentioned and so thinks Mr Dane that our representation had best be kept up; If you will be kind eno to take the opinion of the members of Assembly & communicate it will oblige me. I have no business *unfortunately*, to call me or employ me at home, at the same time should be ashamed to tarry here and receive pay merely because I am chosen. Perhaps seven States may be represented most of the time or perhaps eight & there may be less than seven, at any rate should be obliged by the candid opinion of my judicious friends.

Enclosed is the paper of the day and a letter from the post office.

I conversed Doctr Dexter & perfectly satisfied him the receipts ought to be exchanged as proposed in regard to Mrs Lincoln, And shall thank you for attention to the business when you go to Boston. I think you will find I have only a Mortgage of half Atwaters place, The record will shew. I have not the deed here.

My Compliments to your Lady & am Your most huml Sert,  
Sam A Otis

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers). Addressed: "The Honorable Theodore Sedgwick, Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Free Sam. A. Otis." Postmarked: "N-York Sep 19. Free."

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York Sept. 21. 1788

Being informed of a circuitous opportunity to France I make use of it to forward the inclosures.<sup>1</sup> By one of them you will find that Congress have been at length brought into the true policy which is demanded by the situation of the Western Country. An additional resolution on the {secret journal}<sup>2</sup> puts an {end to all negotiation with Spain} referring the subject of a {treaty after this} assertion {of right to the Missisipi to the new government}.<sup>3</sup> The communication in my last will have shewn you the {crisis of things} in that {quarter a crisis} however not particularly {known to Congress} and will be a {key to} some of the {Kentucky toasts in the Virginia gazette}.<sup>4</sup>

The Circular letter from the New York Convention has rekindled an ardor among the opponents of the federal Constitution for an *immediate* revision of it by another General Convention. You will find in one of the papers inclosed the result of the consultations in Pensylvania on that subject.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Henry and his friends in Virginia enter with great zeal into the scheme. Governour Randolph also espouses it; but with a wish to prevent if possible danger to the article which extends the power of the Government to internal as well as external taxation. It is observable that



the views of the Pennsylv. meeting, do not rhyme very well with those of the southern advocates for a Convention; the objects most eagerly pursued by the latter being unnoticed in the Harrisburg proceedings. The effect of the Circular letter on other States is less known. I conclude that it will be the same every where, among those who opposed the Constitution, or contended for a conditional ratification of it. Whether an early Convention will be the result of this united effort, is more than can at this moment be foretold. The measure will certainly be industriously opposed in some parts of the Union, not only by those who wish for no alterations, but by others who would prefer the other mode provided in the Constitution, as most expedient at present for introducing those supplemental safeguards to liberty agst. which no objections can be raised; and who would moreover approve of a Convention for amending the frame of the Government itself, as soon as time shall have somewhat corrected the feverish state of the public mind, and trial have pointed its attention to the true defects of the system.

You will find also by one of the papers inclosed that the arrangements have been compleated for bringing the new Government into action. The dispute concerning the place of its meeting, was the principal cause of delay, the Eastern States with N. Jersey & S. Carolina being attached to N. York, and the others strenuous for a more central position. Philadelphia, Wilmington, Lancaster & Baltimore were successively tendered without effect by the latter, before they finally yielded to the superiority of numbers in favor of this City. I am afraid the decision will give a great handle to the Southern Antifederalists who have inculcated a jealousy of this end of the Continent. It is to be regretted also as entailing this pernicious question on the New Congs. who will have enough to do in adjusting the other delicate matters submitted to them. Another consideration of great weight with me is that the temporary residence here, will probably end in a permanent one at Trenton, or at the farthest on the Susquehannah. A removal in the first instance beyond the Delaware would have removed the alternative to the Susquehannah and the Potowmac. The best chance of the latter depends on a delay of the permanent establishment for a few years, untill the Western & South Western population comes more into view. This delay can not take place, if so excentric a place as N. York is to be the intermediate seat of business.

To the other papers is added a little pamphlet on the Mohegan language.<sup>6</sup> The observations deserve the more attention as they are made by a man of known learning and character, and may aid reserches into the primitive structure of language, as well as those on foot for comparing the American tribes with those on the Eastern Frontier of the other Continent.

In consequence of your letter to Mr. Jay on the subject of "outfit" &c, I had a conference with him, and he agreed to suggest the matter to Congress.<sup>7</sup> This was done and his letter referred back to be re-



ported on. The idea between us was that the reference should be {to a committee but his letter} coming {in at a moment} when {I happened to be out} it was as in {course referred to his department}. His {answer suggested} that as {he might be thought eventually concerned} in {the question} it was most {proper for the consideration of a committee}. I had {discovered that he was not struck} with the {peculiarities of your case even when insinuated to him}. How far the {committee will be so} is more {than I can yet say}. In general I have no doubt that both {it and Congress are well disposed}. But it is probable that the idea of a {precedent will beget much caution} and what {is worse there is little probability of} again having a {quorum of states for the business}.

I learn from Virginia that our Crops both of Corn & Tobacco, (except in the lower Country where a storm has been hurtful) are likely to be very good. The latter has suffered in some degree from superfluous rains, but the former has been proportionally benefitted. Accept my most fervent wishes for your happiness. Yrs Affectly,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:257–59.

<sup>1</sup> Not found, except for the first two of three resolutions adopted September 16, copies of which are in the Madison Papers, DLC. See note 3 below.

<sup>2</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in cipher.

<sup>3</sup> The “assertion of right to the Missisipi” formed the second of three resolutions adopted by Congress on September 16 to counteract a report that the United States was willing to surrender its claim of free navigation, for which see *JCC*, 34:534–35. For reasons of secrecy Madison did not send Jefferson a copy of the third or “additional resolution” from the secret journal, for which see Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston, September 17, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> For Madison’s hint of the “crisis” in Kentucky, see Madison to Jefferson, August 23, note 2. The account of the Fourth of July celebration in Kentucky printed in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle* of September 3 included a list of fourteen “Toasts and Sentiments” which were reprinted in Burnett, *Letters*, 8:799n.4.

<sup>5</sup> For the antifederalist meeting in Harrisburg, Pa., on September 3, see Madison to Washington, August 24, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See Madison to Washington, September 14, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> In his May 25 letter to Madison, Jefferson had included a May 15 letter to John Jay seeking reimbursement for his “outfit” (clothes, horses and carriage, and household furniture) while a minister in Europe and requesting that the account be acted on by the Confederation Congress rather than the new government. Jay had reported to Congress on Jefferson’s inquiry on August 22 when the matter was referred back to him to report. On September 3 Jay asked that the issue be taken up by a committee, but one was not appointed until October 2 shortly before Congress ceased to conduct business. Jefferson’s accounts were not settled until July 9, 1792. See *JCC*, 34:447–48, 494, 596n.1; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 13:161–64, 201–3, 24:169–200. See also Madison to Jefferson, October 17, note 3.

## John Swann to James Iredell

Dear Sir

New York Sept. 21. 1788

I received your favor of 27<sup>t</sup> August enclosing a Copy of an Address to the good people of No Carolina.<sup>1</sup> You will now give me leave to thank you for that enclosure. I do hope and flatter myself that there is too much good Sense, candor and personal independence among the Majority of that state not to do some justice to the merit of that publication. I mean that they will, at least, allow it a cool, liberal & dispassionate reading: a claim which the Author has an undoubted right to expect.

No Carolina, you know Sir, has been generally considered to depend, in some measure, on her Neighbours for her politicks: at least it is affirmed that She discovers on all occasions, an imitative disposition. An opinion which has been so unexpectedly Contravened by her late Conduct that you will find no difficulty in figuring to yourself the extreme astonishment manifested on all hands at the News of her rejecting the Constitution. The thorough investigation which that Subject had undergone; the late period at which it was taken up by our State, added to the Example of so many respectable States, had induced a kind of repose in the public Mind with regard to the Event of her deliberations, from which the transition was not very difficult to Censure & crimination. Hence the reason, probably, that all were so ready in agreeing to impute her Conduct to the *very virtuous Motive* of preserving paper money & tender Laws. Indeed some, taking a retrospective view of her conduct since the revolution and finding her more delinquent in complying with requisitions &c., have not hesitated to pronounce her of little moment to the Union. However this like all other violent Gusts, was too impetuous to last long, & I now have the pleasure to assure you that her Conduct is considered in a much less censorious light. The resolutions passed by the Convention were too evincive of a federal disposition at least, not to have had considerable influence in changing the public opinion.

Congress have at length finished the preparations necessary to give the New Government Effect after a great deal of debating & perhaps some warmth; occasioned by the indecision, or rather division of the Members about a place the most proper for the first meeting &c &c. This Question, Sir, had the power to collect all the delegations from the different parts of the Union, so that there has not been a fuller Congress since the declaration of Independence. However this busi-

ness being settled, Congress, I fear, like all other Bodies about to expire, will scarcely have a Witness of it's dissolution.

I am, Dear Sir, with perfect Respect & Esteem, Y. Obdt. Servt.,  
J Swann.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Iredell's enclosure, which he had written in the wake of the rejection of the federal Constitution by the North Carolina Convention at Hillsborough on August 2 by a vote of 183 to 84 and in anticipation of the calling of a second state convention, was addressed *To The People of the State of North-Carolina*. It was dated August 18, 1788, and signed "A Citizen of North-Carolina." See Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney, *National Index of American Imprints Through 1800: The Short-Title Evans*, 2 vols. (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1969), no. 45,383.

## Virginia Delegates to the Board of Treasury

Gentlemen

New York Sept. 22. 1788

We have attended to the letter you did us the honor to write on the 15th Instant, in which you adhere to your objection to the sum standing as a charge against the Union, which has been paid by the State of Virginia, to Doctor Draper for his deprivation.<sup>1</sup>

It appears that you now rest this objection upon two grounds: 1st. That Doctor Draper was not an Inhabitant of Virginia, and within the description of officers referred to that State for settlement, under the resolution of the 13th of June 1781. 2dly, That the auditor of the State, neglected to obtain from the Treasury of the United States, a statement of the payments which had been made to the applicant, or to require such a Statement from himself: whereupon we beg leave to observe as to the first, that we are well assured, that upon investigation, Doctor Draper will be found to have been an Inhabitant of Virginia, at the time of his entering the service, and to have joined the Army in one of the Regiments of the line of that State: As to the second, it appears to us, that when the United States, referred certain Officers to their respective States for settlement, in the unreserved terms, of the Resolution of the 13th June 1781; it became incumbent on them, to transmit the necessary statements for preventing impositions, and that it could have been expected, that the individual States were to call for them. We are however happy in being able to inform you, that every difficulty upon this point is superceded by a compliance with the alternative which you have brought to view; for the Virginia Act authorising the settlement of claims, such as Doctor Draper exhibited, acquired from the applicants in order to guard against fraud on every side, returns upon oath, of all advances which they might have received, either from the State or the United States.

We are thus careful to inform you fully upon this subject, in order that the United States may be proceeding in proper season against doctor Draper for their indemnification.

We have the Honor to be, Gentlemen, Your Most Obt Servts.,

J.M.

E.C

(a Copy)

C.G.

FC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). In the hand of Edward Carrington. Enclosed in the delegates' September 27 letter to Gov. Edmund Randolph.

<sup>1</sup> For the board's September 15 letter, which is in the Continental Congress Papers, Vi, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:256. For the accounts of Dr. George Draper, see *ibid.*, p. 251n.1.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear sir

New York 22nd Sepr. 1788

Before this Time you must have heard that the new Govt. is to originate on March next<sup>1</sup> before which Time Virginia could not have made all her Elections, with Time for the Members, say from Kentucke, to attend. The new Congress is to meet in New York a Place very eccentric. Eastern Members will be able to attend with too much Ease, this will give them a legislative Advantage, an improper one. Had N. Car. been in the Union her five Members in the House of Represent. would have readily turned the Scale in favour of a more Southerly Position. My Patience and Temper have been tryed by this Question and the more so perhaps because for some Time past I have not considered it proper to vote on the Subject. I think that all Attempts to induce our Assembly to call another Convention immediately will be to little Purpose, for whatever we may publicly say I do privately think that a Want of honesty is at the Bottom with many of our Oppositionists. If they seriously have alterations at Heart I think they had best adopt in order the sooner to secure them by legal compulsion. Be pleased to calculate N Hampshire, Massachusetts, N York, Virga., N Car & S Car. call for Amendments & a strong Body in Maryland & Pensylvania. The Representatives from the six States requiring Amendments will be 37 while those from the other seven States are only 28. To say nothing of the Help the amending Corps may get from Pensylvania. and from Maryland. In this Case they may compell Amendments by refusing to vote supplies except for a very limited Time until the Amendments are made. That our State might not be universally abused abroad I have written the best Apologie I could



make for it which you will see in the N York Daily Advertiser for 17th Inst., a Copy of which I have inclosed to Mr. Collins.

Be assured that I am with the utmost Regard, Dr sir, Your most  
obedt Servt.,  
Hu Williamson

E N C L O S U R E

The State of North-Carolina, by not adopting the new Constitution, is lately become the subject of much criticism and censure. In this instance, having done what is supposed to be wrong, it is hardly admitted that ever she did any thing that was right. We are told that during the war, her exertions were trifling—that she had never contributed to the national expence—and that she now refuses to confederate, from a desire to promote the fraudulent tender of paper money. Charges against the unpopular are usually listened to with avidity, but happily none of these charges are well founded, however current they are in circulation. During the whole of the late war, whenever the neighbouring states were invaded, North-Carolina was sure to send them assistance. We have seen in the course of one campaign, six or seven thousand men of the North-Carolina militia, in one of the neighbouring states, or on their march to its relief; and she now counts three or four thousand of her citizens who fell a sacrifice in Georgia or South-Carolina, to their zeal for the safety of the Union. We say nothing of her continental line, nor of those who fell within the state while the enemy pervaded every part of it. Is it probable that such armies were supported without money? Surely not. But North-Carolina has uniformly paid and supported her own militia, though they were in the continental service, and she has furnished provisions to a considerable part of the continental troops in the Southern armies. Who has paid for the vast stores that have been consumed by such bodies of armed men? In other states, commissioners have been appointed to settle the claims of individuals against the United States, and certificates for many a million, have been issued by those commissioners; but no such officers have had occasion to settle accounts in North-Carolina, because the state has taken upon itself all the debts that were due to her citizens by the Union, except a finall balance that was due to her continental line. These debts have amounted to several millions. Some part is already paid—there is a large balance remaining. From the public accounts it would *appear*, that in the year's 1782 and 1783, North Carolina had paid nothing towards the specie requisitions, while South-Carolina had paid her quota, but this is a difference only in *appearance*—for the state last mentioned, has a specie credit for all supplies furnished the army from the beginning of 1782, while North-Carolina, that furnished large supplies, stands without any credit, because she has not brought up her accounts. For several years North-Carolina has been oppressed by discharging the debts she had assumed to her continental line,

and some others of her citizens—but she has lately begun to make effectual payments into the national treasury. On the last year she paid near thirty thousand dollars in specie, and we are told that she has another large payment ready to be made. It is true that paper money has been issued in that state, and it was made a legal tender, but it is also true, that the general sense of the people is not in favor of fraudulent payments—on the contrary, it is common for juries, in actions of debt, to consider the depreciation, and assess damages accordingly. Has the virtue of their citizens done the same thing in other states, where bad money is a legal tender? But North-Carolina has not adopted the new Constitution, and therefore it is alledged that she is antifederal, and an enemy to good government. This is the last charge, and like the rest, it is worse founded than people are apt to believe. It is now generally agreed that the new Constitution will admit of some amendments—they have been pointed out. It will also admit of several explanations or alterations, by which it may be rendered, not a better system, but a safer one against the machinations of wicked men. Some of those explanations will doubtless be made by the general concurrence of the states, because they obviate powers, which no man can advocate. But North-Carolina has proposed one amendment, marked No. 7,<sup>2</sup> which others of the states may not be disposed to make, and yet experience has taught her, as well as Virginia, that such amendment is extremely proper. The state wishes to see the alterations made which she has pointed out, and for this very reason, she wishes to see the new government commence. If eight states only had confederated, when the Convention of North-Carolina sat, perhaps they ought to have made the ninth, but ten states had confederated, consequently the general system was secure.

The pause that North-Carolina has made can occasion no delay in the necessary measures, and no state except herself, can be injured by it. We are told, indeed, that she ought to have adopted the new system, that so she might have assisted in making the proposed amendments; but she replies that, if other states are seriously disposed to make reasonable and profitable alterations, they can do it in a short time without her assistance; but if they are dissembling—if they are about to drop the spirit of accommodation, and to hold by majorities what they have gained by accident, she is safest where she stands. A cautious politician has little faith. Let us attend to the Convention. On the 2d of August it was thus determined “Whereas this Convention has thought proper neither to ratify nor reject the Constitution proposed for the government of the United States; and as Congress will proceed to act under the said Constitution, ten states having ratified the same, and probably lay an impost on goods imported into the said ratifying states; *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the legislature of this state, that whenever Congress shall pass a law for collecting an impost in the states aforesaid, this state enact a law for collecting a similar im-

post on goods imported into this state, and appropriate the money arising therefrom to the use of Congress." It was also on the same day "*Resolved unanimously*, That it be recommended to the general assembly to take effectual measures for the redemption of the paper currency, as speedily as may be consistent with the situation and circumstances of the people of this state." These acts afford the clearest proof that the Convention of North Carolina was not actuated by the dishonest spirit of paper money. They are also in proof that she wishes to co-operate with the union, and hold herself in readiness to confederate whenever certain steps are taken, which may readily be taken without her assistance. If it shall be urged that she might now confederate without any danger, and that her efforts would be of use to other states, whose interest is nearly the same, the writer confesses that he is of the same opinion. He thinks that some alterations which equally affect the several parts of the union, will certainly be made, because the spirit of a nation is not to be resisted. But there are two or three alterations which respect the southern states, that they may have a greater security against illiberal or oppressive combinations; these alterations he suspects will not be made, because the most trifling seeming advantage is seldom relinquished; but he apprehends no danger from the consequence. The evils which North-Carolina apprehends are of such a nature, the measures would be in themselves so iniquitous, and so abhorrent to the feelings of every southern man, that despotism itself would hardly attempt them, and all its arts and auxiliaries would never be able to put them in force. Be this as it may, in all abstract questions of this sort concerning the expediency of measures, people are apt to differ, and North-Carolina in the present case has chanced to differ from her sister states; but notwithstanding of such difference, it should be remembered that she has hitherto been second to few of the states in substantial attempts to serve the nation. Her late conduct is free from every charge of selfishness or dishonesty, and we are bound to believe that she is determined to support the Federal Union.

September 16

A Republican.

RC (NhD: Iredell Papers). Enclosure reprinted from the September 17 issue of the *New York Daily Advertiser*.

<sup>1</sup> See Charles Thomson to the States, September 13.

<sup>2</sup> That is, No. 7 of the amendments proposed by the North Carolina ratifying convention August 1, "That no commercial treaty shall be ratified without the concurrence of two-thirds of the whole number of the members of the senate: And no treaty, ceding, contracting, or restraining or suspending the territorial rights or claims of the United States, or any of them, or their rights or claims to fishing in the American seas, or navigating the American rivers shall be made, but in cases of the most urgent and extreme necessity; nor shall any such treaty be ratified without the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively." *Certificates of Ratification of the Constitution and Bill of Rights*, M338, DNA microfilm.



## Abraham Yates to William Smith

D friend<sup>1</sup>

New York 22 Sep 1788

I have your favour of the 17th before me. In Respect to the New government We exactly agree in Opinion. The case now is Simple. All agree that Amendments are Indispensably necessary—And Where We had it in our Own power before, the Convention have transferred it to the union at Large And We now cant get the Amendments unless  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the States first agree to a Convention and as Many to agree to the Amendments—And then  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the Several Legislatures to confirm them. That this will be an uphill Affair You may see When you call to Mind that Congress lately had ten Weeks before they Could Agree where the New Government Was to meet. But so it is And We must make the best of it. Our only safety now is in geting the Amendments Confirmed. I mean to try for it and I believe the first thing Necessary will be to pass a Law to Inhibit the State officers (the Legislative, Executive and Judicial) from takeing the Oath to support the New government untill our amendments have been Confirmed in due form. My Next Will contain More upon this Subject. I have no time (your son goes off to Manor) than to add that I Remain your sincere frind and Humble Servt.

Abm. Yates Jun.

RC (NCmM: Smith Collection). Addressed: "To William Smith, Esq. at the Manner of St. George, Long Island."

<sup>1</sup> William Smith (1720–99) was a former Suffolk County judge, 1771–75, member of several provincial congresses, 1775–77, and a New York senator from the Southern District, 1777–83. *Doc. Hist. of the First Federal Elections*, 3:203.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

New York Sepr. 24. 1788

I have been favd. with yours of the 12th instant.<sup>1</sup> The picture it gives of the state of our Country is the more distressing as it seems to exceed all the known resources for immediate relief. Nothing in my opinion can give the desired facility to the discharge of debts, but a reestablishment of that confidence which will at once make the creditor more patient, and open to the solvent debtor other means than bringing his property to market. How far the new Government will produce these effects cannot be yet decided, But the utmost success that can be hoped from it, will leave in full force the causes of intermediate embarrassment. The additional pressure apprehended from British debts, is an evil also for which I perceive at present no certain remedy. As far however as the favorable influence of the new Govt.



may extend, that may be one source of alleviation. It may be expected also that the British Creditors will feel several motives to indulgence, and I will not suppress a hope that the new Govt. will be both able & willing to effect something by negotiation. Perhaps it might not be amiss for the assembly to prepare the way by some act or other, for drawing the Attention of the first Session of the Congress to this subject. The possession of the posts by G. Britain, after the removal of the grounds of her complaint, by the provision in the new Constitution with regard to the treaty, will justify a renewal of our demands, and an interference in favor of American Citizens on whom the performance of the treaty on our side depends.

Congress have agreed to some resolutions in favor of the Mississippi which are well calculated to appease the discontents of our Western brethren.<sup>2</sup> You shall soon have a copy of them. They are grounded on a remonstrance from N. Carolina on that subject. By the way how has it happened that the last resolutions of Virga. were never forwarded to the Delegation?<sup>3</sup>

I refer to the inclosed papers for the current News, and remain, Yrs.  
Affectly,  
Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:262–63.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 251–52.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison to Thomas Jefferson, September 21, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the resolutions adopted by the House of Delegates November 12, 1787, seeking congressional confirmation of Virginia's right to navigate the "western streams and rivers of this Commonwealth," for which see *Journal of the House of Delegates of Virginia* [October 15, 1787–January 8, 1788] (Richmond: A. Davis and T. Nicolson, 1788), pp. 41–42. The committee appointed to prepare instructions to the state's delegation in Congress, however, failed to report. Randolph therefore assumed, in his October 4 reply, that Madison had referred to the resolutions of November 29, 1786, drafted by Madison and presented to Congress April 19, 1787. See these *Letters*, 24:241–42n.1; and Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:274.

## Jeremiah Wadsworth to Charles Pettit

Dear Sir

New York Sept 24 1788.

I have received a letter from Mr Cock the Surveyor which informs me that there are several Settlers on the Lands of Gen Greene & Butelle & I propose to send up their next Month—what Shall we do with those Lands—shall we divide them by lot, where are the Plans made by Mr. Cock—is their any body here to represent the Crediters of Butelle. Your answer will oblige, Dear Sir Your friend & Humble  
Servant,  
Jere Wadsworth<sup>1</sup>

RC (NjMoHP: Park Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Wadsworth also wrote brief notes to his son Daniel and to his wife Mehitable on September 21 and 23, respectively. And he wrote to his daughter Harriet and to Daniel again on September 25 and 28. Wadsworth Papers, CtHi.

## James Madison to John Brown

Dear Sir

New York, Sepr. 26, 1788.

I have been duly favored with yours of the 26th ulto. from Pittsburg.<sup>1</sup> I believe you are already pretty well acquainted with my ideas of Government so far as they vary from the plan chalked out by Mr. Jefferson. But in compliance with your request on that subject I will take the first convenient occasion of explaining them in writing. The delay cannot I presume be material as the formation of a Government for Kentucky must already be concluded, or suspended for reasons which will not cease immediately. On the other subject, which employed our confidential conversation just before your departure, you are also possessed of my sentiments.<sup>2</sup> It has been frequently since in my mind as its importance made unavoidable, and the first impressions have been in no degree weakened by my reflections. Having no cypher concerted with you it would perhaps be improper to commit my thoughts to a letter which is to pass through so precarious a conveyance. It will be sufficient to say in general that I anticipate every political calamity from the event which was for the first time suggested to my contemplation; and that I cannot but persuade myself that it will by degrees be viewed in all quarters, as no less unnecessary than it certainly is critical and hazardous. Besides a variety of considerations which encourage this persuasion, and which being well known need not be mentioned, I will add with pleasure the two following resolutions lately passed in Congress, which wear a very different aspect from some former proceedings, and which I sincerely believe are the result of the real opinions which now prevail on the subject:<sup>3</sup>

In Congress, Sepr. 16, 1788

On the report of the Committee &c. to whom was referred the report of the Secry. of F. Affairs on a motion of the Delegates of North Carolina stating the uneasiness produced by a report "that Congress are disposed to treat with Spain for the surrender of their claim to the navigation of the River Mississippi" and proposing a Resolution intended to remove such apprehensions:

Resol'd. that the said report not being founded in fact the Delegates be at liberty to communicate all such circumstances as may be necessary to contradict the same & to remove misconceptions.

Resol'd. that the free navigation of the River Mississippi is a clear and essential right of the United States & ought to be considered and supported as such.

The terms of the last Resolution, and particularly the word *essential*, which was not inserted with[ou]t attention to its force, mark in the strongest mann[er the l]ight in which the subject is now regarded. In addition to these acts, is another entered on the secret journal, but tacitly allowed to be *confidentially* communicated, which explicitly forbids any further negotiation with Spain, and hands over the business with this assertion of right, to the ensuing Government.

We have no late intelligence from Europe, nor have I any thing further to add at present than that I am with the sincerest esteem and attachment your friend & servt.

Js. Madison Jr

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman deposit). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:266–67.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 242–43.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison to Thomas Jefferson, August 23, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 34:534–35. See also Madison to Jefferson, September 21, note 3.

## James Madison to George Washington

Dear Sir

New York Sept. 26. 1788

I subjoin two resolutions lately taken by Congress in relation [*to*] the Mississippi, which I hope may have a critical and salutary effect on the temper of our western Brethren.<sup>1</sup>

In Congress Sept. 16.

On report of the Committee &c to whom was referred the Report of the Secy. for For. Affairs on a motion of the Delegates of North Carolina, stating the uneasiness produced by a Report “that Congress are disposed to treat with Spain for the surrender of their claim to the navigation of the River Mississippi” and proposing a resolution intended to remove such apprehensions,

Resolv'd. that the said Report not being founded in fact, the Delegates be at liberty to communicate all such circumstances as may be necessary to contradict the same and to remove misconceptions.

Resolv'd. that the free navigation of the River Mississippi is a clear and essential right of the United States, and that the same ought to be considered and supported as such.

In addition to these resolutions which are not of a secret nature, another has passed arresting all negotiations with Spain, and handing over the subject thus freed of bias from any former proceedings, to the Ensuing Government.<sup>2</sup> This last Resolution is entered on the secret journal, but a tacit permission is given to the Members to make a *confidential* use of it.<sup>3</sup>

With the Sincerest attachment and affection, I remain Dear Sir  
Your Obliged & Obedt servt.,  
Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:267–68.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 34:534–35.

<sup>2</sup> For which see Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston, September 17, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the “last Resolution” of September 16 and its “*confidential* use,” see Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 1:14n.1.

## George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher

My dear Sally, City of New-York 27 Septemr. 1788.

For several days past the weather has been most delightfully serene and pleasant, which makes my tarry in this City the more uneasy—because the extreme pleasantness of the season enhances the pleasures I loose by being absent from home. The little afternoon visits we should make with Sammy, or Sally, trotting along by our side, cannot be balanced by any amusement this Country affords. Indeed how should they? for pleasure seems forbidden, and when enjoyed she looses more than half her relish.

I rejoice when Saturday night approaches, both as it brings me news from home, and one week nearer the time of my return. When I came from Boston I had it in contemplation to tarry till the New-Government should be put into motion; And I then supposed this would be by the first of December—But since this event is not to take place before March I have concluded to return, as I hinted in some former Letters, as soon as this year is up. Therefore I would not have you write me after the eighteenth of October.

No news of any kind—every thing seems to be still, and every enquiry is about the elections for the new-Government.

Does Sally begin to talk? does she pronounce her words full and distinct? You must learn her to say, *papa*, tho her papa is absent.

Adieu, my dear, and believe me to be, yours most affectionately.

Geo. Thatcher

RC (MHi: Thatcher Papers).

## Virginia Delegates to Edmund Randolph

Sir, New York Sept. 27. 1788

We do ourselves the honor to inclose to your Excellency a letter which we received from the Treasury Board on the 15th Inst. and our



reply to it of 22d in addition to the papers transmitted sometime ago upon the subject of Doctor Drapers settlement for his depretiation.<sup>1</sup> We have concieved it our duty to make the several communications to the Board which have taken place, in order that there might be no plea of acquiescence on the part of the State, in the protest on the part of the United States, against the settlement made with the former, as founding a charge upon the latter. It remains for the Executive to treat the subject in such manner as to them shall seem best.

We have the Honor to be, with great respect, your Excellencys Most  
Obt. Servants.

Js. Madison Jr.

Ed. Carrington

C. Griffin

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Carrington and signed by Carrington, Griffin, and Madison.

<sup>1</sup> For "the papers transmitted sometime ago," which the delegates had enclosed in a missing letter to Randolph of September 12, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:251. See also the Virginia delegates' letters to the Board of Treasury of September 12 and 22.

## George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher

Dear Sally,

City of New-York 29 Septemr. 1788.

I have this morning come to a new Resolution respecting my Letters to Correspondents at Biddeford; and in order to *lessen their number*<sup>1</sup> and save a little time to myself, as also to add a new motive for friend Hill, & perhaps some others, to call the oftner upon you; I propose, for the future, *to write all the news I can collect, and other circumstances worth communicating, to you.* Tho' I am fond of writing, it is disagreeable to write the same things over and over to different persons, in different Letters.

I dont mean by this to induce them to omit writing, as often as usual, to me. They may individually communicate various matter to me and each something new, tho I could only tell the same story to each of them. This may further procure you some agreeable amusement—which I wish to effect as much as possible. But occasionally I shall answer their Letters upon particular subjects. So much by way of introduction—Now for the News—

On Saturday there met together a number of private Gentlemen of this City and voluntarily subscribed upwards of eight thousand Dollars towards the building an addition to the *City-Hall* to accommodate the New-Congress. And this day the work is begun; many hands are employed in collecting materials and laying the foundation. They intend to have it compleatly finished by the first of March, the time of the first meeting of Congress. There is great policy in this—For there may

be an attempt on the first meeting of Congress, by some of the middle States, to adjourn to Philadelphia, or some place more central. But there being a general dislike to Philadelphia, the only place where Congress could be accommodated, there is very little probability of their removing to that place—And if *then* there shall be convenient Buildings already erected in this City, free of public expence—it will be a sufficient balance to erecting, at public charge Temporary Buildings, in any other more southern place—and be the means of Congress residing here till a Federal Town shall be agreed upon. This will be highly beneficial to the City and State. It may also accelerate the Building a federal City—which some politicians think will be productive of the common Good.

The Legislature of New-Jersey during their last Cession, which was finished on the ninth instant, ceded to Congress a district of Land not exceeding ten miles square, and powers of exercising Jurisdiction over the same, for the Seat of federal Government—provided it should be agreeable to Congress to make the Seat of empire in that State.<sup>2</sup> But I am of opinion that whenever a permanent seat shall be fixed upon it will be further South than this. Unless Canada, or Nova-Scotia should, by some unaccountable Revolution, before that takes place, join the United States. And even in this case The State of New-York will have as good, & perhaps, better claims for that honour.

I dont know but this Letter is too long; but such as it is, as to length and matter, you and our friends have it.

I am, dear Sally, yours &c,

Geo. Thatcher

RC (MHi: Thatcher Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Thatcher inserted an asterisk at this point to which he keyed the following note at the end of the letter: “*number of Letters I write, not correspondents that write to me.*”

<sup>2</sup> For the adoption of this New Jersey Act September 9, see *Votes and Proceedings of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of New-Jersey*, pp. 30, 32. DLC(ESR).

## Committee of Congress Report

[September 30, 1788]<sup>1</sup>

The Committee consisting of [Edward Carrington, Hugh Williamson, and Abraham Clark] To whom was refered the Report of the Board of Treasury upon the Memorial of Mr. Caron de Beaumarchais beg leave to report, that upon examination of the documents upon which the same is made the facts therein stated appear to be true.

Your Committee therefore submit the following Resolutions

It. That the settlement of the Accounts of Mr. Caron de Beaumarchais said to have been made by Mr. Silas Deane at Paris in the month of April 1781 cannot be deemed binding on the United

States; the said Mr. Deane not being vested with any authority to make such settlement.

2d. That the said Accounts of Mr. Caron de Beaumarchais be settled at the Treasury of the United States; and that he be requested to transmit the same together with the necessary vouchers in support thereof in order that a speedy & final adjustment may be made of all his claims against the said States.

MS (DNA: RG 76, Beaumarchais Claims). In the hand of Edward Carrington.

<sup>1</sup> This September committee report, which is not in the PCC, had its origin in inquiries received in October 1787 from Caron de Beaumarchais and his new American agent, Jean August Marie Chevallié, who had settled in Richmond, Va. Chevallié had succeeded in having Beaumarchais' claims referred to the board of treasury in June 1788. The board's critical report was referred in turn on September 25 to Carrington's committee, which herein also denied the validity of Silas Deane's 1781 settlement, but recommended that the accounts be resubmitted again to the U.S. Treasury for "a speedy & final adjustment." Congress chose on October 1, however, to adopt only the first of the committee's propositions. See *JCC*, 33:649n.1, 34:253n.2, 542-49, 570, 573. For a review of Beaumarchais' claims and their final settlement in 1837, see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 5:321n.6.

## George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher

Dear Sally,

City of New-York 30 Septemr. 1788

Should I continue to prosecute the plan I proposed in mine of yesterday—that is, to write you all the politics, & political news of this place, you will not complain any more of being dull & lonesom for the want of amusement. For if these things can contribute to exhilarate your spirits in a lonely hour, they cannot again have time to be dejected—as almost every day will present something worthy of communication. And perhaps, some times, oftner—that you will have one Letter, at least, for each day in the week—Sunday not excepted.

The news of the day is—that yesterday came to this City a Gentleman from Philedelphia, who left that place on Saturday. He sais that before he came away, the Legislature of that State had assigned *this day* for the election of federal Senators.<sup>1</sup> But it was very uncertain upon whom the choice would fall—every day presented a new list of Candidates. 'Tis probable I shall be able in my next paquet to inform you who are elected.

He further sais *this day* had also been assigned for the last reading of the Bill for appointing of the *time, place*, and manner of choosing the federal Representatives—and the electors of President. As the Bill then stood, and all parties had agreed to pass it in that form, the federal Representatives, and electors of the President, are to be chosen by the people at large, thro' the State; each Elector to vote for the whole number of Representatives, & Electors of the President. And



the number of Candidates, equal to the number of Representatives the State has a Right of sending, that shall have the highest number of votes are to be considered as choosen, whether they have a majority of the whole or not. In the same manner will the electors of the President be choosen. This is called, *electing by Pluralities*.

I am going to dinner, my dear, adieu, yours most affectionately,  
Geo. Thatcher

RC (MHi: Thatcher Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For Pennsylvania's first federal elections, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:229–37, 281–92.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Washington

Dear Sir,

New York September 1788<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency's friendly and obliging letter of the 28th Ult. came safely to hand. I thank you for your assurance of seconding my application to General Morgan. The truth of that affair is, that he purchased the watch for a trifle of a British soldier, who plundered Major Cochran at the moment of his fall at York Town.<sup>2</sup>

I should be deeply pained my Dear Sir if your scruples in regard to a certain station should be matured into a resolution to decline it; though I am neither surprised at their existence nor can I but agree in opinion that the caution you observe in deferring an ultimate determination is prudent. I have however reflected maturely on the subject and have come to a conclusion, (in which I feel no hesitation) that every public and personal consideration will demand from you an acquiescence in what will *certainly* be the unanimous wish of your country. The absolute retreat which you meditated at the close of the late war was natural and proper. Had the government produced by the revolution gone on in a *tolerable* train, it would have been most adviseable to have persisted in that retreat. But I am clearly of opinion that the crisis which brought you again into public view left you no alternative but to comply—and I am equally clear in the opinion that you are by that act *pledged* to take a part in the execution of the government. I am not less convinced that the impression of the necessity of your filling the station in question is so universal that you run no risk of any uncandid imputation, by submitting to it. But even if this were not the case, a regard to your own reputation as well as to the public good, calls upon you in the strongest manner to run that risk.

It cannot be considered as a compliment to say that on your acceptance of the office of President the success of the new government in its commencement may materially depend. Your agency and influence will be not less important in preserving it from the future attacks of its



enemies than they have been in recommending it in the first instance to the adoption of the people. Independent of all considerations drawn from this source since the point in which you stand at home and abroad will make an infinite difference in the respectability with which the government will begin its operations in the alternative of your being or not being at the head of it. I forbear to urge considerations which might have a more personal application. What I have said will suffice for the inferences I mean to draw.

First. In a matter so essential to the well being of society as the prosperity of a newly instituted government a citizen of so much consequence as yourself to its success has no option but to lend his services if called for. Permit me to say it would be inglorious in such a situation not to hazard the glory however great, which he might have previously acquired.

Secondly. Your signature to the proposed system pledges your judgment for its being such an one as upon the whole was worthy of the public approbation. If it should miscarry (as men commonly decide from success or the want of it) the blame will in all probability be laid on the system itself. And the framers of it will have to encounter the disrepute of having brought about a revolution in government, without substituting any thing that was worthy of the effort. They pulled down one Utopia, it will be said, to build up another. This view of the subject, if I mistake not my dear Sir will suggest to your mind greater hazard to that fame, which must be and ought to be dear to you, in refusing your future aid to the system than in affording it. I will only add that in my estimate of the matter that aid is indispensable.

I have taken the liberty to express these sentiments to lay before you my view of the subject. I doubt not the considerations mentioned have fully occurred to you, and I trust they will finally produce in your mind the same result, which exists in mine. I flatter myself the frankness with which I have delivered myself will not be displeasing to you. It has been prompted by motives which you would not disapprove.

I remain My Dear Sir With the sincerest respect and regard, Your  
Obd & hum serv, A Hamilton

[P.S.] The letter inclosed in yours was immediately forwarded.<sup>3</sup>

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton failed to supply the precise date, but Washington's October 3 response acknowledged the receipt of it "by the last Post." See Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 1:31.

<sup>2</sup> See Hamilton to Washington, August 13.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

## Alexander Hamilton to Nathaniel Chipman

Sir<sup>1</sup>[September? 1788]<sup>2</sup>

Your favour of the 6th of September has been duly handed to me,<sup>3</sup> and I receive great pleasure from the hopes you appear to entertain of a favourable turn of affairs in Vermont in regard to the new Government. It is certainly an object of mutual importance to yourselves and to the Union and well deserves the best endeavours of every discerning and good man.

I observe with satisfaction your opinion that Vermont will not make a point of introducing amendments (I mean as a condition of her accession). That ground would be the most hazardous which she could venture upon, as it is very probable that such amendments as might be popular with you would be deemed inadmissible by the friends of the system who will doubtless be the most influential persons in the national councils and who would rather submit to the inconvenience of your being out of the Union 'till circumstances should alter, than consent to any thing that might impair the energy of the Government. The article of taxation is above all the most delicate thing to meddle with; for as *plenary* power in that respect must ever be considered as the vital principle of government; no abridgment or constitutional suspension of that power can ever upon mature consideration be countenanced by the intelligent Friends of an effective national government. You must as I remarked in my former letter rely upon the natural course of things which I am satisfied will exempt you in ordinary times from direct taxation, on account of the difficulty of exercising it in so extensive a country, so peculiarly situated, with advantage to the revenue or satisfaction to the people. Though this difficulty will be gradually diminished from various causes, a considerable time must first elapse; and in the interim you will have nothing to apprehend on this score. As far as indirect taxation is concerned it will be impossible to exempt you from sharing in the burthen nor can it be desired by your citizens. I repeat these ideas to impress you the more strongly with my sense of the danger of touching this cord and of the impolicy of perplexing the main object with any such collateral experiments. While I am glad to perceive that you do not think your people will be tenacious on the point.

It will be useless for you to have any view in your act to the present Congress. They can of course do nothing in the matter. All you will have to do will be to pass an act of accession to the new constitution on the conditions upon which you mean to rely. It will then be for the new Government when met to declare whether you can be received on your terms or not.

I am sorry to find that the affair of boundary is likely to create some embarrassment. Mens minds every where out of you[r] state are made up upon and reconciled to that which has been delineated by Congress. Any departure from it must beget new discussions, in which all the passions will have their usual scope, and may occasion greater impediments than the real importance of the thing would justify. If however the further claims you state cannot be gotten over with you I would still wish to see the experiment made though with this clog; because I have it very much at heart that you should become a member of the Confederacy. It is however not to be inferred that the same disposition will actuate every body. In this state the pride of certain individuals has too long triumphed over the public interest and in several of the Southern states a jealousy of Northern influence will prevent any great zeal for increasing in the national councils the number of Northern Voters. I mention these circumstances (though I dare say they will have occurred to you) to show you the necessity of moderation and caution on your part and the error of any sanguine calculation upon a disposition to receive you at any rate. A supposition of this nature might lead to fatal mistakes.

In the event of an extension of your boundary beyond the Congressional line would it be impracticable for you to have commissioners appointed to adjust any differences which might arise? I presume the principal object with you in the extension of your boundary would be to cover some private interests. This might be matter of Negotiation.

There is one thing which I think it proper to mention to you about which I have some doubt; that is whether a *legislative* accession would be deemed valid. It is the policy of the system to lay its foundations in the *immediate* consent of the people. You will best judge how far it is safe or practicable to have recourse to a Convention. Whatever you do no time ought to be lost. The present moment is undoubtedly critically favourable. Let it by all means be improved.

I remain with esteem, Sir, Yr. Obed & hum s— A Hamilton

RC (DLC: Hamilton–McLane Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Chipman (1752–1843) was a Connecticut native who had moved to Vermont and took up the practice of law in 1779. His interest in Vermont statehood and admission into the Union led to an exchange of letters with Hamilton, and he was subsequently appointed to the boundary commission whose agreement brought about a settlement of Vermont's long-standing dispute with New York, paving the way to statehood. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Date conjectured from the September 6 date of the Chipman letter to which Hamilton is responding.

<sup>3</sup> See Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:211–12. For a previous exchange on Vermont affairs between Chipman and Hamilton, see *ibid.*, pp. 161–62, 186–87.



## George Thatcher to Sarah Thatcher

Dear Sally,

City of New-York 1 October 1788.

If it affords you any pleasure to hear of my being home-sick, this must be a most gratefull epistle, for it will tell you the news—and I declare it tells the truth, that I am *very home-sick—never more so in my life*, and have been so for several days; upon the whole I think it increases, notwithstanding my endeavour to put home out of my mind. But this endeavour, I find very much resembles good people's attempting to comfort and console one another under heavy afflictions—it only makes home so much the more charming, and absence the more irksom.

This is a cold, cloudy, day. I have got a fire in my chamber. I hate to step out; but still I had rather be seting by our own fire at Biddeford with the family about us. In mine of yesterday, or the day before I desired you not to write me after the eighteenth of this month; if I had requested you not to write me again after the receipt of that Letter, it would have been as well, for I am doubtfull whether I shall be here to the end of this month.

I told you there was an addition going to be made to the Building Congress now sets in. Twenty or thirty people are daily to work upon this; and the house we now set in must, immediately be unroofed—And Congress must of course adjourn to some other house for the present. There is none where they can be very well accommodated, And I should not wonder if an adjournment without day should take place. If this should be the case you may look for me some time in this month.

According to my plan you will now call for the news, & politics.

The southern mail arrived to day about twelve, & brings account of the Pennsylvania election, which was yesterday at Philedelphia. Robert Morris & William McClay were choosen federal Senators for that State.<sup>1</sup> The former lives in the City of Philadelphia—and is the greatest Merchant, perhaps, in all America. He was for several years Financier-General of the United States, in which Office, he acquired immense Riches—whether honestly or dishonestly—is not for you or me to determine, nor is it of any consequence to us now. And it may be enough to regulate his future Conduct for him to know, which I believe he does, that the people in general think pretty independently upon this subject; and three to one dont hesitate to say, in speaking of his wealth, that *ill-gotten Riches are of short duration*.

Wm. McClay, the other Senator, was originally a Lawyer—he lives now on a large Farm upon the River Susquehanna about one hun-



dred & ten or twenty miles from Philadelphia; he is a member of Council in that State; and highly respected by the *Landed interest*, as *Morris is by the mercantile*.

I hope to be able, in my next, to give you a more particular detail of these two Senators—their Characters—and the views of the parties that choose them. It is an object with me to acquire as accurate a knowledge, as possible, of the Members of the first Congress under the new Constitution.

Adieu, my dear—the first part of this Letter will please you—& the latter our friends, Silas, Hill, &c &c. Geo. Thatcher

RC (MHi: Thatcher Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:293, 298, 405.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Sir

*public*

New York 1st Octr. 1788<sup>1</sup>

The Delegates have more than once recommended to the Legislature to adopt more effectual means to establish the various Claims of the State against the Union for Supplies and Services rendered during the late War, from the Desire of relieving the Taxes & Burdens of our fellow Citizens. I continue to have much Reason to suspect that many proper Charges are not stated—that many useful Documents in support of our Claims remain to be collected. I shall try to explain my Ideas on this Subject that you may be enabled to communicate the same, if they shall appear to deserve Attention.

On the last Year Congress passed an Ordinance for settling the Accounts between the United States and the individual States. This Ordinance is inclosed and three Commissioners have lately been chosen for settling those accounts;<sup>2</sup> but as the Delegates from States who have no doubtful or unauthorised Accounts (and they are a great majority) were interested in chusing Commissioners in the same Predicament, the Persons chosen are from New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Georgia;<sup>3</sup> Those States, as we are informed, do not claim a single Dollar from the Union but what are fully authorised by Acts of Congress, and it is probable that the Commissioners will be very tardy in admitting the Claims of other States, which are unsanctioned by Congress, lest they should thereby increase the Burden of their own States. In this View of the Case we are not to hope for Favours; we can only expect what may be demanded from the cold hand of Justice.

What are the Claims that may be established by the State of North Carolina! This Question does not appear to have been fully considered. If you will be pleased to consult an Act of Congress of June 3rd

1784 giving Instructions to the Commissioners who were to settle the Claims of individuals in the several States you will find that where *written Documents* could not be produced, the Commissioner was authorised to receive *such other Evidence* as should be satisfactory to him and the best that the Circumstances of the Case would admit.<sup>4</sup> This very Rule must be used by the Three Commissioners lately appointed in settling the Claims of the several States against the Union in order that all Accounts may be settled on uniform and equitable Principles. But this Rule does not apply except to Advances and Disbursements, Payments and Supplies that have been made under the Sanction of Acts of Congress. On the Head of advances or Services which have not been sanctioned by the Resolves of Congress or supported by regular Vouchers we have little to expect even though such advances have been made for the Benefit of the United States. It is therefore our Duty to consider what advances or Services may be fairly covered by the Resolves of Congress. Under this Head we shall state all the Expences that were incurred in the Years 1775–6. All the Troops that served during that Period, as well in the State as in South Carolina or Virginia are clearly to be charged to Account of the United States. The several Bodies of Militia who at different Periods were raised for the Defence of the southern States are obviously in the same Predicament and the Militia who afterwards served in the State in the Years 1780–81, during the Invasion as well as those who served in Virginia are indisputably to be charged to the Account of the United States; for all Services approved of by Congress by the Commander in Chief or the continental Officer commanding in a separate Department are thus to be charged. All the Provisions and Stores furnished the southern Army on the four last Years of the War are also to be charged in this Account. It is said to be extremely difficult to distinguish those Services from which the State Debt properly arose such as the Indian Expeditions & Guard Ships or Batteries on the Coast, from those other Services that have been performed for Purposes that were properly national. Or rather it is difficult to distinguish the charges on our Books that have arisen from one or the other. Perhaps there is a straight Rule by which the Line of division may be drawn, or new Charges may be raised. The Journals of the Council or of the several executive Boards that have existed in the State compared with the muster-rolls and other Documents will shew what Number of Militia have been raised on different Occasions and the particular Services in which they have been employed as well as the Duration of the several Tours of Duty. The Pay of the Officers and Privates at different Periods may readily be ascertained and the concomitant Expence of Horses, Carriages, Provisions &c. In such a Charge much will be lost to the State, because there was much Waste. In speaking of the several charges that may be raised against the Union perhaps we should not

overlook the Expences of recruiting the continental Line though this Account as I conceive has never been stated in any of our Books. The Eastern States alledge that they have furnished more than their Quota of Men for the continental Service and they have formally claimed an Allowance for every supernumerary according to the Bounty they paid, which towards the End of the War was considerable. It will be recollected that in 1781-2 our State raised men by Draughts for the continental Service, whenever a draughted man hired a substitute he was obliged to pay a considerable Bounty. The Average of such Bounty may be ascertained, and it should be taken for the true Bounty paid for every Recruit. Though some of the Eastern States may have performed more than their Quota of Duty in the continental Line I conceive that North Carolina will not be in Arrears when all the continental Service performed by her Militia is taken into Account; We certainly shall be ahead of our sister & neighbouring States. Be this as it may, I conceive that North Carolina should be prepared to charge her Bounties in Case they are allowed to any other State. I have said that North Carolina must suffer much Loss in being obliged to raise her Charges according to the number of Militia that shall appear to have been employed in the national Service, but I question whether this mode of raising an Account is not preferable to the other Plan that seems to be in Contemplation, as subject to fewer Losses. If we have recourse to the general Mass of Accounts as settled, and take our Charges from the Books of the Comptroller, I take for granted that no Account will be admitted but such as are clearly continental in distinction from State Charges; but I am taught to believe that many of the Accounts, perhaps half of them, though properly continental, bear no distinguishing marks by which it can be clearly determined that they were raised for continental Service. This must occasion much Loss, but it is farther alledged that the Accounts of a considerable Part of our Citizens have been settled under great loss by Depretiation in such manner that less than five Shillings Specie has been allowed for an hundred Weight of flour and other Things in Proportion. If our Supplies shall be charged to the Union in this manner one Loss multiplied into the other will hardly leave a fourth Part of the proper Credits.

You have seen how complicated and numerous the Claims are which our State may adduce against the United States properly sanctioned by Resolves of Congress, but no small share of Diligence and Abilities will be necessary, fully to investigate and illucidate those several Charges. Would it not be proper to direct the Comptroller or some other Person who shall acquire a perfect Knowledge of the Accounts and Services of the State and shall be possessed of all the Journals, Letters, Papers and other Documents that may help to explain this Subject to attend the Continental Commissioners while they are settling Accounts—that he may explain and support the sundry



Claims of the State. Such a Measure as I am told will be adopted by some other States. It is a Business of vast Importance; Millions are depending. At present I find it no unpleasing Consideration that in Case Justice should in any Degree be refused us we have a reserved stake by which we may relieve our Burden; I mean the Western Lands. They are no bad Pledge of national Honesty.

In order that you may compare the present Situation of North Carolina, as it stands on the Scale of Debtors when compared with the other States, I shall try to give you such a Statement of the national Accounts as may tend to cast some Light on this complicated Subject. By one of the Papers that is herewith inclosed<sup>5</sup> you will see how much Mony has been advanced to the several States out of the national Treasury from the Beginning of the late War. North Carolina is charged with 2,780,959 Dlsr in continental Mony. This reduced to Specie by the Scale is 788,032 Dlsr. The State has a Credit for 72,040 Dlsr paid to different Officers, value per Scale 1,400 Dlsr. But the whole Sum advanced to the different States is 10,536,821 Dlsr when reduced to Specie, and the Amot. of the Payments that have been made on this Account is 937,912 Dlsr. It may be observed that the Quota of North Carolina when compared with the Sum required by Congress from the Union has been nearly as 74 to 1000, which is 1/13th nearly. The Sum we have received is hardly one thirteenth of the general Loan, but our Quota of the Mony—repaid is 70,878 Dlsr, hence it follows that we are 69,478 Dlsr in Arrears when our Payment is compared with the Payments made by the other States.

The several States have paid into the general Treasury at different Times in Specie 3,190,149 Dlsr, one thirteenth of this Sum is 245,396 Dlsr, but our State has Paid in Specie 28,486 Dlsr. Thus our Payment when compared with the Specie Payments by other States is deficient by 216,910 Dlsr.

The Payments of Indents made by the several States amounts to 1,881,138 Dlsr, our Quota or 1/13th of this Sum which remains to be paid is 144,702 Dlsr. The amount of the Loan Office Debt when reduced to Specie is 11,400,485 Dlsr, our Quota of this Debt is 876,960 Dlsr, but the Sum loaned in North Carolina is only 113,341 Dlsr and if we are to suppose that the Sums loaned in each State, or Certificates for the same, generally continue in the Hands of it's particular Citizens, we must infer that the Citizens of North Carolina have less than their Quota of those Securities by 763,619 Dlsr.

The Amount of Certificates issued for Lottery Tickets is 63,316 Dlsr. It is presumed that a small Portion of those Securities is in the Hands of Citizens of North Carolina. Some thing must be due on this Account but I have made no Charge.

The Amount of Certificates issued by Commissioners for settling Accounts in the Commissary, Quarter-master, Clothing, Hospital and Marine Departments is 934,472 Dlsr. It is alledged that none of those



Certificates that may deserve Notice are in the Hands of Citizens of N Carolina; our Quota is 71,882 Dlsr.

The Amount of Certificates issued to the continental Line of the Army is 10,900,558 Dlsr. Our Quota of this Sum is 838,504 Dlsr, but the Certificates issued to the North Carolina Line do not exceed 385,146 Dlsr whence it appears that we have less than our Quota by 453,358 Dlsr.

The Amount of Certificates issued by Commissioners who have been appointed in the several States to settle the Claims of individuals against the United States is 3,723,625 Dlsr. Our Quota of this Sum is 286,432 Dlsr, but the Portion that seems to be in the Hands of Citizens of N Carolina is only 8,695 Dlsr, hence it follows that we have less than our Quota by 277,737 Dlsr. The Amount of our Deficiencies may then be stated as follows.

In Mony borrowed	69,478
Specie Payments	216,910
Indents	144,702
Loan Office Securities	763,619
Certificates in Staff Departts.	71,882
Army final Settlements.	453,358
Certifs. by State Commissrs	277,737
	<hr/> 1,997,686 Dlsr

Thus it appears that our State or private Citizens in the State must have an addition of near two Million of Dollars in National Securities before we are on a par with other States, and we are to recollect that the Claims hitherto settled are chiefly private ones. None of the States have hitherto settled their general Claims against the Union for Services and Supplies. Some of the States have large Claims. Virginia has half a million, as the Condition annexed to her Cession of western Territory; it is probable she will establish half a million besides, for Militia Services and Supplies. Every State has its Claims and fortunately for themselves most of them have good Accounts & can support every Claim by the Acts of Congress. Perhaps half a Million of Dollars may average the Amount of Claims that may hereafter be admitted in the several States, it may be some what less. On this Supposition North Carolina must establish Claims for two millions & an half of Dollars before she is on a Level with her Sister States. Much Care will be required, of such materials as she has, to raise this Fabric.

You will be pleased to excuse the length of this Letter, Doubtless this is the last Time in which it can be my duty to give Information of this kind to the State, and I wish the Service had now been executed by an abler Hand, but if I have mistaken the Subject or the Interest of the State, I am confident the Error does not arise from Indolence or Inattention; for I can truly say that from the first Moment on which I was honoured by a Commission from the State I never have devoted

an Hour to personal Service or private Amusements that could have been employed in serving the Public.

The Subject is before you, I take it to be one by which the Happiness of our fellow Citizens may be greatly affected, but you are the best Judge of the measures that may be most proper for discovering or collecting sufficient Documents by which we may be enabled to explain and substantiate all our Charges against the United States.

I have the Honour to be, with the utmost Regard, Sir, Your most obedient and very hble Servant,  
Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Governors' Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Williamson also wrote the following letter to Governor Johnston on September 26:

"A Merchant in this City called on me yesterday respecting the Tobacco advertised belonging to Nth. Cara. I could tell him nothing about it & he could not as he said make any Offers because he is uninformed. He wished me to mention his Name as an Expectant. He is a Mr. Coster a Dutch Merchant.

"He wishes to know where the Tobacco is to be delivered. Is it all at one Place or how many Hhds are at each Place and at what Places are they? Is it to be subject to reinspection? Are the buyers to be permitted to examine the Weights by others made by a Standard? for the N Car. Weights are every where ill spoken of.

"If I shall be enabled to answer the above Questions, Gentlemen will be ready to make their Offers." Governors' Papers, Nc-Ar.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, September 13.

<sup>3</sup> That is, John Taylor Gilman, William Irvine, and Abraham Baldwin.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 27:542.

<sup>5</sup> Enclosure not found, but for the September 30 report of the committee "appointed to enquire fully into the department of finance," of which Williamson was a member and whose examination of "the Receipts and Expenditures of the Federal Treasury" from 1784 to 1788 provided the substance of his present preoccupations, see *JCC*, 34:554-70.

## George Thatcher to Nathan Dane

My friend,

City of New-York 2 October, 1788

Tho 'tis but two, or three days since I wrote you<sup>1</sup> I cannot omit, this post, to inform you of the Pennsylvania Election of Senators. This come on this week a Tuesday. The City party strove hard to command the Election & held up Morris and our loquacious Armstrong. The Country party was wiling the Trading Interest should have one choice; but they thought the Country was entitled to the other. Thus the City did not like; but held up Armstrong to the Country Interest. However after the usual manœuvering, on such occasions, Morris and William McClay on the Susquehanna were chosen. The Latter I am told is a good man, most esteemed by the Country. He was originally a Lawyer, and is now one of their Executive Council—And a man of great Landed property.<sup>2</sup>

The new Building is going on with spirit. Congress has this day adjourned till Monday, & then to meet in the Rooms where Mr. Jay kept his Office. This had become necessary, as the Old Hall and Court Room are to be new modled; And the workman made such a continual noise that it was impossible to hear one another speak. I should not wonder if by middle of next week Congress were to adjourn without day. Many are uneasy and are for going home.

Brother Otis has engaged Lodgings for himself on Long-Island at two Dollars & an half a Week including Ferryage—Thus I am left alone—And am yours, &c,  
Geo. Thatcher.

RC (DLC: Dane Papers).

<sup>1</sup> No other delegate letters from Thatcher to Dane have been found.

<sup>2</sup> For William Maclay's election as senator from Pennsylvania, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:293–96, 419–20. See also *The Diary of William Maclay and Other Notes on Senate Debates*, ed. Kenneth R. Bowling and Helen E. Veit (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), pp. xi–xviii.

## Charles Thomson to John Langdon

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, [October 2? 1788]<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excy herewith enclosed, An Act of the United States in Congress Assembled on a petition of Brigr Genl James Reed. His situation & sufferings are such that Congress have been pleased to recommend them to the consideration of the State of New Hampshire, that in case he can produce proper evidence to substantiate his claim to the pension of an invalid, the State may make provision for payment thereof out of the specie requisitions agreeably to the resolutions of the 11th of June last.<sup>2</sup>

With great respect &c

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "His Excy. The President of New Hampshire."

<sup>1</sup> For this date, see the following note.

<sup>2</sup> James Reed, a New Hampshire general who had lost his sight after contracting smallpox while on active duty in 1776, had submitted a September 20 petition to Congress that was referred September 30 to a committee consisting of Nicholas Gilman, Edward Carrington, and James R. Reid. The committee's recommendation, embodied in this letter, was submitted to Congress October 1 and adopted October 2, the date assigned this letter. See *JCC*, 34:572n, 574, 577; and *PCC*, item 42, 6:534–37. For the background of Reed's petition, see also these *Letters*, 16:547–48, 18:249n; and Thomson to the States, June 14, 1788.

## Virginia Delegates to the Board of Treasury

Gentlemen,

New York Octo. 4. 1788

We do ourselves the Honor to inclose for your better information upon the case of Doctor Draper, Copies of the Account & Vouchers upon which he founded his settlement with the State of Virga. for his depretiation, according to the Resolution of Congress of the 13th June 1781.

New papers have been forwarded by the Executive in order that the U.S. might be fully ascertained of the propriety of the settlement made by the State with Doctor Draper, and that these may be proceeding in Season against him for the recovery of the sum which has been paid him for the same service by the Comptroller of the Treasury.<sup>1</sup>

We have the Honor to be, Gentlemen, &c.,

J.M	C.G.
E.C	H.L. <sup>2</sup>

FC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). In the hand of Edward Carrington. Enclosed in the following entry.

<sup>1</sup> For Gov. Edmund Randolph's September 23 letter enclosing these "New papers," see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:260-61.

<sup>2</sup> That is, James Madison, Edward Carrington, Cyrus Griffin, and Henry Lee.

## Virginia Delegates to Edmund Randolph

Sir,

New York Octo. 4, 1788

We have the Honor to acknowledge the Rect. of your Excellencies letter of the 23d Ult.<sup>1</sup> inclosing Copies of the Account & Vouchers founding the settlement of the State of Virginia with Doctor Draper for his depretiation, and leaving it in our descretion, whether to prosecute him for the indemnification of the State, or to take any steps towards establishing the Validity of the transaction against the United States.

Upon fully considering this subject in all its points, we have determined that it will be but the most safe Course to rely upon the validity of the Transaction against the United States, for the following Reasons.

1st. Upon a consultation with an eminent Practitioner of this City, it becomes questionable whether there exists a legal ability in one State to sustain an Action against an individual in another.



2dly. It is equally questionable whether Doctor Drapers circumstances are such as to yeild the damages, Could a Suit be sustained, and terminate in a Judgement against him.

3dly. Any unsuccessful effort against Doctor Draper might weaken the claim of the State against the United States, as founded upon the Resolution of the 13th June 1781.

And 4thly the effect would extend to all other cases that may be similar to Doctor Drapers, and it is highly probable there are some such.

In pursuance of this determination we have transmitted to the Board of Treasury the Copies which your Excellency did us the Honor to forward, together with a letter of which the inclosed is a Copy;<sup>2</sup> this proceeding is submitted to the judgement of the Executive, and we shall be happy in being honored with such further directions as may appear proper.<sup>3</sup>

We have the honor to be, with great respect, Your Excellencies Most  
Obt. Servts.,

Js. Madison Jr.

Ed. Carrington

Henry Lee

C. Griffin

P.S. We have also the Honor to inclose to your Excellency two Resolutions of Congress which have lately passed upon the subject of Navigation of the Mississippi.<sup>4</sup>

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Carrington and signed by Carrington, Griffin, Lee, and Madison.

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>3</sup> The Virginia Council of State approved the steps taken by the delegates on October 15, for which see *Journals of the Virginia Council*, 4:295.

<sup>4</sup> For these September 16 resolutions, see Madison to Thomas Jefferson, September 21, note 3.

Having been elected to the Virginia House of Delegates from Powhatan County, Edward Carrington left New York soon after penning this letter, writing to James Monroe from Baltimore on October 12 while enroute to Richmond, for which see Madison to John Brown, October 12, note 5. He tendered his "resignation of the Congressional powers with which I have been honoured by the General Assembly" in an October 20 letter to Gov. Randolph, which is in *Miscellaneous Manuscripts, DLC*. In his accounts submitted to the Virginia treasury, Carrington claimed compensation for service from April 1 to October 19, 1788. *Continental Congress Papers*, Vi.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

New York 6th. Octob. 1788.

The whisper you had that "I might defer my Carlisle jaunt" was quite prophetic. It is deferr'd; & I am again in New York. The effect of approaching you even thus Nearly, of meeting a thousand things that

some way or other connect themselves with you, and of soon expecting to see you—is indeed delightfull; and a compleat expiation for all I felt on leaving this, some weeks since, for the Southward.

I wrote you frequently when in Philad.<sup>1</sup> & hope you got what I wrote—for tho' but scraps (made so by the manner in which I was obliged to fritter away my time & attentions) yet they were meant to express this truth, that let my pursuits take what cast or variety they will, my mind acknowledges but one object, & if left to itself, is exclusively devoted to you. The last letter I reciv'd from you is of the 20th of Sept. & but mentions the receipt of mine of the 14th<sup>2</sup> written before I went to Philad.

I din'd to-day with Edward—but from the number of the company—it's kind & the way we were dispos'd of, I could not get a single whisper from Mrs. L.

I'm glad to find that John's health & spirits are returned; not meerly for his own sake but for that of his friends also—who (“to conceal nothing”) now and then want the aid of their Magic. But “tis only about the calm hour of twilight & in the serenity of moonshine”—& why not seek this expeller of demons then? When the disease assails, the remedy should be applied. Besides 'tis the very hour (the garden being forbidden) that I can imagine you brought together in the dining room—to laugh and talk and play the fool very sensibly. Where is your Physician then? or is it your fault? perhaps you fly him, & retire to a Window, to contemplate the parting day, the coming night, the pale moon & passing clouds, with the long train of melancholy morals that in a figurative sense must ever attend them. I have turn'd them in my own mind for a moment & they present to be sure a most hideous picture—the extinction of Life, the horror of death—the Langour of disease & the fickleness of fortune! Their excess is their best cure, because their greatest ridicule & caricature may be so extravagant, as to loose all resemblance & effects.

You will ask when I go to the Manor & at farthest in a week or 10 days. I wait but to make some Arrangements with my Colleagues, whom I have not yet seen, and who may have some desire to be about for awhile.

I thank the ladies for their remembrance. Present me to them all, and beleive me your Most Affect.

J Armstrong jr.

[P.S.] My complimt's to the Chancellor, John & house.

RC (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> Only a letter of September 20 survives from this group of Philadelphia letters, which like Armstrong's other courtship letters contains chiefly private rather than public observations. *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

## Alexander Hamilton to Jeremiah Olney

Dr Sir

[New York, October 6, 1788]

Your different favours have duly come to hand for which I thank you and for the trouble you have so obligingly taken to urge forward your delegation.<sup>1</sup> Happily the affair has terminated to our wishes.

But My Dear Sir I cannot refrain from being particularly anxious for the accession of your state to the new system. Tis very important to the whole Union & particularly to the Northern part of it that you should become a member prior to the meeting of the Government. Can nothing be done to win or soften the opposition? It seems to me that Mr. Hazard if properly dealt with would not be inexorable; and as to Your Present Governor, the opinion I have heretofore entertained of his honesty will not permit me to suppose he will not afford his influence with the party to bring about the desirable event.

Let me know what are your prospects & whether we can do any thing here to promote the object.<sup>2</sup>

Yrs. with great regard,

A Hamilton

RC (RHi); reprinted from Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:224.

<sup>1</sup> For Olney's letters to Hamilton of August 23, 25, and September 10, see *ibid.*, pp. 203–5, 215–16.

<sup>2</sup> For Olney's November 3 response, see *ibid.*, pp. 229–30.

## William Irvine to George Washington

Sir

New York Octr. 6th 1788

I do myself the honor to inclose a Sketch of the waters of the Allegany,<sup>1</sup> which approach near to Lake Erie, it is taken from an actual survey, made by the persons who ran the line between the States of New York & Pennsylvania. These Gentlemen say that the source of the main branch of the Allegany falls in Pennsylvania and that there is only seven or eight miles land carriage between it and the heads of a branch of Susquehanna called Tioga which is navigable for large Boats, at most seasons. The Navigation of Caniwagoo I know is much preferable to French Creek.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, Sir, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Humble Servant,

Wm. Irvine

RC (OMC: Slack Collection).

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed "Sketch" is in the Washington Papers, DLC. For Washington's October 31 reply thanking Irvine for the map and this letter, see Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 1:86.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

7th Octob. 1788. New York.

I wrote yesterday but by an unknown hand. Edward was to send the letter. I suppose it will have a water passage and as I know that to be somewhat doubtfull I write again to-day.

I hope this days post will be kinder to me than that of Saturday last. Don't however beleive that any retaliation mix'd itself with the cause of my not writing on Sunday. The history of that omission will be it's apology. More eager to hear, than to speak—More sollicitous to gratify myself in learning something from you, than to gratify you in telling you anything of myself, off I set to Edwards, & as I told you yesterday, waited there impatiently 'till 8 OClock—heard nothing, & miss'd the post-hour. With my colleagues would determine the time of my going up to Clermont. I should have added the nature of these arrangements, for this will shew you how little they depend upon myself & will account for any excess of the time I have given myself to be in this place.

'Tis among the number of good offices done me by my Colleagues that for 6 Months past they have most industriously propagated a belief that I had renounc'd Pennsylv. & her interests & had in fact become quite a New Yorker. As evidence of this they added that I never was with Congress. Now tho' utterly false & tho' by this time treated as such in Pennsylv. yet it is the effect of even a suspicion of this kind to quicken my sense of public duty & to lead me by every possible means to demonstrate that under any circumstances I can never either neglect or betray the trust committed to me. The arangement then to which I alluded was not that of private confidence, (which must be at an end between us) but of public agreement—that in short, they would assent to an adjournment or tacit dissolution of the body. This is I find agreeable to others & must at all events happen in th[ree] weeks from this time. I c[an] communicate these facts only as [th]ey may explain my situation, & account fo[. . .] longer absence than you might else expect from me. I am perhaps more uneasy about this than I ought, and certainly more than I should, were my pleasure in the interview less than I'm sure it will be. But I have my resource in one of your earliest maxims—"that this Life was a life of sacrafice & that the sooner We beleiv'd it—the readier would we submit to the crosses that await us."

Under any circumstances I am my dear Alida your's most Affy.,  
J Armstrong jr.



## Benjamin Contee to Levi Hollingsworth

Dr Sir

New-york 8th Octo. [17]88

If you find still a great difficulty in cash for the Bills, please forward to me. I think from 4 @ 5 in specie may be had here.

Mr W. Hammond at Balto had three or four hundred pounds. I write him if no cash to be had there—and indeed I believe it is scarcer there even than in Phila, to forward to you which please indorse & send on to me. I imagine Mr Hammond is not known here so as that his indorsement wd obtain.

We [*hear*] nothing very late from Europe except what is contained in the papers.

I find the New yorkers are making a considerable addition to the City Hall for the accommodation of the new Congress. It is said three or four thousand pounds are already subscribed to make the new building—it is easy to see what this is meant to lead to.

I am, sr, yr Obt Servt,

Ben. Contee

RC (PHi: Hollingsworth Papers).

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York Octr. 8. 1788

Herewith inclosed are a letter for yourself forwarded to my hands from General Washington, and two others for the Marquis, one from the same quarter, the other from myself.<sup>1</sup> I put both the last under cover to you, not knowing what regard may be due to Newspaper authority, that the Marquis is under the open displeasure of the Court, and may therefore be the less likely to receive letters thro' any other channel. Sometimes the report runs that he is in the Bastile; at another that he is at the head of a revolt in some one of the Provinces.<sup>2</sup>

My last letters have followed each other so quickly and the last of all is of such recent date,<sup>3</sup> that this opportunity by a gentleman going to France, enables me to add little to what has already communicated. The result of the Meeting at Harrisburg was the latest event worthy of notice at the date of my last. Nothing has since taken place in relation to the New Government, but the appointment of Mr. Robt. Morris, and a Mr. McClay, to represent Pennsylvania in the Senate. A law has also passed in that State providing for the election of members for the House of Reps. and of electors of the President. The Act proposes that every Citizen throughout the State shall vote for the whole number of members allotted to the State. This mode of election will confine the

choice to characters of general notoriety, and so far be favorable to merit. It is however liable to some popular objections urged agst. the tendency of the new System. In Virginia, I am inclined to think the State will be divided into as many districts, as there are to be members. In other States, as in Connecticut the Pena. example will probably be followed. And in others again a middle course be taken. It is perhaps to be desired that various modes should be tried, as by that means only the best mode can be ascertained. There is no doubt that Genl. Washington will be called to the Presidency. For the vice Presidency, are talked of principally Mr. Hancock & Mr. Adams. Mr. Jay or Genl. Knox would I believe be preferred to either, but both of them will probably chuse to remain where they are. It is impossible to say which of the former would be preferred, or what other Candidates may be brought forward.

I have a letter from Mr. George Lee Turberville of Virginia requesting me to mention to you a report proceeding from Greenwich that a Doctr. Spence and his lady, (the former a Virginian of respectable family in the lower End of the Northern Neck, and whose mother is still living, in a second marriage with a Doctr. Thomson of Westmoreland County) were captured on their way to Virginia and carried into Algiers. This event is said to have happened seven or eight years ago, though discovered but lately, it having been taken for granted that the vessel and all on board had perished at sea. I am much inclined to believe that this supposition is the true one, and that the Greenwich story has no foundation. I communicate it nevertheless as requested by Mr. Turberville, that you may have an opportunity of collecting for the friends of Doctr. Spence any information which may be interesting to them, and of taking any steps that such information may suggest in behalf of the distressed.

I have already acquainted you with the result of my enquiries in the case of Mrs. Burke.<sup>4</sup> The effects in the hands of Wm. S. Brown had been delivered over to a Mr. Kemble, a respectable mercht. here,<sup>5</sup> who is admtr. to the deceased Burke and who tells me that the whole Estate of the latter does not pay his debts.

I shall send along with this a few seed of the sugar maple, the first & the whole that I have been able to obtain. I wish you all happiness & remain Dr. Sir, Yrs. most Affecly.,  
Js. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:276–77.

<sup>1</sup> For Washington's August 31 letter to Jefferson, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 13:554–57. Neither Washington's September 15 nor Madison's October 8 letters to the marquis de Lafayette have been found, although Washington described his, in a November 27 letter to the marquis, as "a very long letter, mostly on speculative and political topics," for which see Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 1:133.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison to Washington, October 1, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> That is, September 21.

<sup>4</sup> For the Burke case, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 10:125, 131n.1, 169, 218, 310, 335, 526.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Peter Kemble of the mercantile firm of Gouverneur and Kemble, for whom see *ibid.*, 11:271n.3; and PCC, item 61, fol. 215.

## James Madison to Philip Mazzei

Dear Sir

New York Octr. 8th. 1788

I have been favored with several letters from you since the date of my last; but some of them having been recd. in Virginia I am not able now to acknowledge all of them by their respective dates. The date of the last was in May.<sup>1</sup>

You ask me why I agreed to the Constitution proposed by the Convention at Philada.? I answer, because I thought it safe to the liberties of the people, and the best that could be obtained from the jarring interests of States, and the miscellaneous opinions of Politicians; and because experience has proved that the real danger to America & to liberty lies in the defect of *energy & stability* in the present establishments of the United States. Had you been a member of that assembly, and been impressed with the truths which our situation discloses, you would have concurred in the necessity which was felt by the other members. In your closet at Paris and with the evils resulting from too much Government all over Europe fully in your view, it is natural for you to run into criticisms dictated by an extreme on that side. Perhaps in your situation I should think & feel as you do. In mine I am sure you would think & feel as I do.

To the paragraph in your letter of the 9th of May on the subject of a Mission to Holland or Italy, I can say nothing more than that it is a business which belongs now to the new Govt. or if I were to say more, my friendship would guard you agst. any reliance on such an event. In the first place, nothing can be more uncertain than the nature of the System which will be adopted with regard to foreign affairs. And in the next place, *nativity*, is a sort of merit which prejudice rates too high to be outweighed by any other sort of merit. The Americans are an enlightened & a liberal people, compared with other nations; But they are not all philosophers.

I have recd. the copies of your book and have taken the measures proper for disposing of them.<sup>2</sup> The number allotted to Virginia are selling there I am told very well. I am afraid the other portions will not be equally successful. The French language is the greater obstacle, as many who can read it, expect the work will be translated into a language they can read still better.

Dorhman tells he means to remit you forthwith via London about £300 Sterling. If he does, and I flatter myself he will not fail, it will pass thro' the hands of Mr. Jefferson. His affairs here do not produce ready means: but I hope you will be ultimately secure agst. loss.

Are we ever to see you again in America? Here or elsewhere, God bless you.  
Js. Madison Jr.

RC (PWacD: Feinstone Collection). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:278–79.

<sup>1</sup> For which see *ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>2</sup> For Mazzei's "book," see Madison to Edmund Randolph, August 11, note 2.

## Charles Thomson to Roger Alden

Dear Sir

[October 8, 1788]<sup>1</sup>

I have just recd. the enclosed letter from Mr Sergeant.<sup>2</sup> It contains his oath of Office & a letter for Major Plat.<sup>3</sup> You will please to file the oath of Office & send to Major Platt the letter directed to him. I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you & expect you will let me know how you go on.

I am Dr Sr, Yours affectionately,

Cha Thomson

RC (DNA: PCC, item 49). Endorsed by Roger Alden: "Note from Mr Thomson with letter from Majr Sargent. Oct 1788."

<sup>1</sup> Date conjectured from endorsement and Thomson's opening statement that he had "just rec[eiv]d" a letter from "Mr Sergeant," for which see the following note.

<sup>2</sup> For this September 1 letter from Winthrop Sargent, enclosing the oath of allegiance that he was required to submit before he could begin drawing his pay as secretary of the Northwest Territory, which Thomson received October 8, see *JCC*, 34:598n; and PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 9, fol. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Platt, Sargent's attorney in New York, had been instructed to draw Sargent's pay for him. See Sargent to Thomson, April 10, 1789, PCC, item 78, 21:493–96.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Peter Muhlenberg

Dear Sir,

N. York 9th. Octob. 1788.

You will oblige me & the other Gentlemen in the delegation by sending as soon as possible a copy of the late Act of the Gen. Assembly for appointing Electors &c. &c.<sup>1</sup>

The recollection I have of it leads me to think that there is in it some deviation from the Resolution of Congress of the 13th Ult.<sup>2</sup> Should my conjecture be founded we must endeavor to obtain some dispensatory resolution here. The deviation I suspect, relates to the Time of appointing them.<sup>3</sup>



I enclose you a copy of the resolution of Congress, & am With great respect, Your Most Obedient & very humble servant,

John Armstrong jr.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Addressed: "Gen. Muhlenberg, V. Pres."

<sup>1</sup> That is, "An Act Directing the Time, Places and Manner of Holding Elections for Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States and for Appointing Electors. . .," adopted October 4. *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, 17 vols. (Harrisburg: State Printer, 1908), 13:140–45, Chapter MCCCLXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the resolution for implementing the new government under the Constitution, for which see *JCC*, 34:522–23.

<sup>3</sup> Armstrong's suspicion of such a deviation was unfounded.

## Alexander Hamilton to Theodore Sedgwick

[New York, October 9, 1788]

I thank you My Dr. Sir for your obliging congratulations on the event<sup>1</sup> towards effecting which your aid as a joint labourer was so essential. I hope experience may show that while it promotes the interest of this place it will not be incompatible with public good. We are making efforts to prepare handsome accommodations for the session of the new Congress.

On the subject of Vice President, my ideas have concurred with yours, and I believe Mr. Adams will have the votes of this state. He will certainly, I think, be preferred to the other Gentleman.<sup>2</sup> Yet, *certainly*, is perhaps too strong a word. I can conceive that the other, who is supposed to be a more pliable man may command Antifoederal influence.

The only hesitation in my mind with regard to Mr. Adams has arisen within a day or two; from a suggestion by a particular Gentleman that he is unfriendly in his sentiments to General Washington. Richard H Lee who will probably, as rumour now runs, come from Virginia is also in this state. The Lees and Adams' have been in the habit of uniting; and hence may spring up a Cabal very embarrassing to the Executive and of course to the administration of the Government. Consider this. Sound the reality of it and let me hear from you.

What think You of Lincoln or Knox?<sup>3</sup> This is a flying thought.

Yrs. with sincere regard,

A Hamilton

RC (DLC: Hamilton Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the selection of New York as the location of the government under the new Constitution.

<sup>2</sup> That is, John Hancock.

<sup>3</sup> For Sedgwick's October 16 response, see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:226. "Lincoln & Knox I love," Sedgwick explained, "their characters too I respect, but it is now too late to push in this State the interest of either. The minds of all men here seem to be fixed either on Adams or Hancock."

## Thomas Tudor Tucker to St. George Tucker

*New York Octo. 9th. 1788.* Explains the expenses of St. George's three stepsons (Richard, Theodorick, and John) who have been sent to New York for their education. "The Temptations to Expenditure here are very great, & I must confess I know not how to keep them within those Limits, which I might perhaps think reasonable at their Time of Life. Of their Circumstances I am not a Judge, but I am somewhat uneasy, because the College Expenses I first mention'd are a very inconsiderable part of the Amount."<sup>1</sup> Adds in a postscript: "How go on your Elections for the new Constitution? Have you any Expectation of Amendments? And after all, will it be an eligible Mode of Government. I confess that I dislike the Form, even with every Limitation of Power that can be contrived. I see more & more that the Election of Representatives will be attended with a great deal of Intrigue, that it will be a Representation of an Aristocratical Party, will lay a Foundation for consolidating the Governments, & will hold out the Name & Shadow of Freedom in place of the reality. I perceive that the Fœderalists (as they stile' themselves) will jockey their Opponents in the Mode of Election in some of the States, if not in all. In Pennsylvania they have determined that the Election shall be general & not by Districts, & they use fallacious Arguments in Support of it. But the true Reason is, they think that the Fœderalists are the more numerous & therefore will by this Mode be able to make the whole Representation of their own Party; whereas an antifoederal District wou'd send an antifoederal Member. In this State I presume the contrary D[.] will be held, otherwise the Antis wou'd send the whole Representation. I wish the Opposers of the Constitution in all the States may be aware of this. The first Mode I dislike exclusive of the Consideration I have mention'd. Indeed I don't like the Business in any way. I wish that a Convention cou'd be obtain'd with Power to do away the who[le...] at least to propose the doing it away."

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> In a letter of October 1, Thomas had explained that St. George's eldest stepson, Richard, "who thinks he can do better by being with you than remaining here," would soon be "travelling with Mr. Randolph" to Virginia. By November 2 Thomas learned

that Richard had stopped his southern journey in Philadelphia and was now requesting money to return to New York to resume his studies. In a letter of December 23, Thomas lamented the extent to which St. George's three stepsons "go on as to their Expences," for each had taken a personal servant against Thomas' advice. "Whatever I can do for them I will do with real pleasure," he concluded, "but I fear it will be impossible to keep them within the proper bounds." Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW.

## Benjamin Contee to Joseph Howell

Sir Chamber of Congress 10th Octor. [17]88. Friday morning.

When I left New York in August I lodged the inclosed<sup>1</sup> with Major Ross to obtain settlement as soon as a paymaster shd. be appointed in the room of the late Mr. Pierce. The Major also left this City in Sept. and informed me that the appointment of paymaster had been so lately made he had not had time before his departure to present the inclosed. I now do it and request you will enable me to write to Capt. Dyson by Munday's post, and acquaint him in what manner his account is settled.<sup>2</sup>

I am sr., yr. Ob. Servt.,

Benj. Contee

Tr (DNA: RG 93). In a clerical hand.

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> Paymaster General Howell's October 11 reply on the settlement of Lt. Thomas Dyson's account, is in RG 93, v. 138, fol. 105-6, DNA.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir

New York 10th Octr 1788

Will you be so good as forward by the first Post my Commission for the next Year beginning on Novr.<sup>1</sup> At present I have none nor do I know whether Mr White has one for the Delegation, at present he is not in the House & this matter had escaped my Memory or I should have mentioned it at a more early day.

I have the Honor to be, Dr sir, Your most obedt. & very hble Servt,  
Hu Williamson<sup>2</sup>

RC (Nc-Ar: Governors' Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the credentials Williamson submitted November 3, see *JCC*, 34:609.

<sup>2</sup> Connecticut delegate Benjamin Huntington also wrote the following letter to Jabez Clarke on October 11.

"I Recd. your Letter and observed the Contents & have Enquired after Wm Burnet Brown and find he is Dead and left no Estate Sufficient to Pay his Debts. Judith Brown the Widow of the Deceasd is Executrix. Mr President of Congress (viz) The Honl Cyrus

Griffin Esqr is the Person who gives me this Information. He says that Mr Brown Came to Virginia very Rich, That he was a Person of no Discretion or ability, That he Spent his Estate in a Wanton Manner & it's his Opinion That nothing can be got out of his Estate. That the Mode of Recovery of a Judgment Debt is the same as with us by a Scire Facias on the Record Certified by Copies. Instead of News I have Inclosed a Paper of Yesterday on which I had the Minutes taken from President Griffing. . . . [P.S.] Please to Give my Compliments to Col. Edw[ . . . ]s." Dreer Members of Congress Collection, PHI.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

Sunday 12th. Octob. 1788.

. . . .<sup>1</sup> hand he pours out a thousand good wishes for our mutual & unbroken happiness. It rarely happens that old men are the chosen confidants & companions of young ones; & when it does, 'tis, perhaps, an honor to them both. It argues some analogy of character, whatever may be the difference of years. It is a kind of proof that the old man is neither narrow, nor sour; and that the young one is neither dissolute nor frivolous. It even supposes an exchange of qualities; that the sage borrows some vivacity from the boy, & that the boy remunerates himself by taking some of the gravity & experience of the sage. Remember that I do not mean to apply these observations to the confidence existing between the B.<sup>2</sup> & myself & that I offer them merely as a Theoretical creed concerning Intimate friendships between very different ages.

I dind with Mrs. Lewis on Friday. She and her daughter were well. She gives up all thoughts of going up the river this fall, and begins rather to meditate a retreat *from* the Country. Winter has shewn itself on this side of the highlands, & Mount Pitt seems among the readiest to submit to it's authority.

Edward & Mary are also well.

I am much oblig'd by Mrs. M's remembrance and good wishes. I will soon I suppose have occasion to make a prayer to Neptune for her—or does she relax, as the Winter advances? & will she now postpone her enterprize 'till the Spring?

I had written thus far when a servant brought me a handfull of letters—& one of them from you. It was dated as far back however as the 28th Ult. and had follow'd me to & from Philad.—but The date I forgot in its escapes; besides, it's a letter from you, & a picture of yourself on the 28th. I have read it over & over & shall continue to do so 'till I get another to supplant it.

Present me to your mama & all the other such of the Gentlemen as you think proper—& Accept my most sincere & absolute affection.

Your

J Armstrong jr.



RC (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> Opening page or pages missing.

<sup>2</sup> That is, baron Steuben, who lived in the same boarding house with Armstrong in New York.

## Benjamin Contee to Levi Hollingsworth

Dr Sir

New-york 12th Octo [17]88

I recd. yr. favr. yesterday of the 9th Inst.—and am glad you have made sale of the Bills, so as to prevent the trouble of sending them hither. I hope you will be able to get the notes discounted as you expect & to forward the cash speedily.

I think with you that the Harmony of the Union requires a more central situation than the present for the seat of our National Govt. & as it [*is*] an Object of some magnitude, I venture to hope it will early attract the attention of the new Congress. The preperations about to be made for its reception here are considerable, & I wish its continuance, for some time, may not be attempted as a consideration of indulgence for the expence incurred to make accommodations.

I have the Honor to be, Sir, yr. very Obt. servt.,

Ben. Contee<sup>1</sup>

RC (PHi: Hollingsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Contee also wrote a brief letter to Hollingsworth on November 3 to arrange the sale of a £150 bill from “Mr Hammond.” Hollingsworth Papers, PHi.

## William Irvine to Abraham Baldwin

Dear Sir

New York Octr. 12th 1788

The inclosed Act will inform you how the business now stands<sup>1</sup>—notwithstanding the shape it has assumed, I think if you were here we might fix matters with the Board in such a manner as you need not wait in Georgia for a formal notification. Mr. Gilman & myself can get notice & be on the spot in two weeks, but months may be spent at your distance & uncertain transportation in the winter season.<sup>2</sup> I think there will not be a Congress this year and I have no longer any business here but to make some arrangement in this affair; under these circumstances I need scarcely tell you that it will be with *a degree of impatience* I shall wait your arrival.

I am Dear Sir, Your Most Obedt. Servant

(A Copy)

Tr (PHi: Caryl Roberts Irvine Collection). In the hand of William Irvine.

<sup>1</sup> Irvine, Baldwin, and John Taylor Gilman had recently been appointed commissioners for settling the states' Continental accounts, for which see Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, September 13. In consequence of a motion offered by Abraham Clark, Congress resolved on October 10 that their deliberations required the presence of all three commissioners, and that the board of treasury was "required to attend the said board of commissioners when by them requested" and to furnish clerks for their use from the treasury office. See *JCC*, 34:594–95, 599–600.

<sup>2</sup> That is, from Baldwin's home in Georgia to New York. Notwithstanding this prospect, Baldwin, Gilman, and Irvine took their oaths of office and allegiance collectively on January 19, 1789, preliminary to beginning their duties. See *PCC*, item 195, fol. 354. See also Irvine to Baldwin, October 23.

## James Madison to John Brown

Dear Sir

New York. Oct. 12. [17]88

I find by the act of your late Convention, that another is to take place in Nov. with power to propose a form of Government for Kentucky.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this information I shall forthwith execute the request contained in your letter from Fort Pitt,<sup>2</sup> and forward the remarks on Mr. Jefferson's draft by the next mail.<sup>3</sup>

I am sorry it is not in my power to do it by this. The delay proceeded from the idea that the subject would either have been previously covered in Kentucky or not be so immediately resumed.

I enclosed in my last the Resolutions of Congress concerning the Mississippi.<sup>4</sup> No other articles of moment has lately passed, and it is uncertain whether there will again be a quorum, at least during the present Fedl Year. Our intelligence from Europe comes through the ordinary channels only, but it seems to prove that war has eventually commenced between Sweden and Russia. The affairs of France remain in the same uncertainty as for sometime past. I enclose a few of the late gazettes from which you will collect most of the data on which our political calculations with respect to Europe are founded.

Yours affectly,

Js. Madison Jr.<sup>5</sup>

Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:280.

<sup>1</sup> The resolves of the sixth Kentucky Convention assembled in Danville July 28th had proposed that a seventh convention meet in November to pursue Kentucky statehood and "to form a Constitution of Government for the District." These resolves had appeared in the New York *Daily Advertiser* for October 10. For the work of both conventions, which resulted in the third enabling act of December 28, 1788, see Patricia Watlington, *The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779–1792* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 164–69, 175–79. For Brown's November 23 reply to this letter, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:364–65.

<sup>2</sup> For which, see *ibid.*, pp. 242–43.

<sup>3</sup> Although the letter in which Madison enclosed his "Observations on the 'Draught of a Constitution for Virginia'," has not been found, the editors of the Madison Papers

conjecture that it was sent about October 15. For a detailed examination of these "Observations," see *ibid.*, pp. 281–95.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison to Brown, September 26.

<sup>5</sup> Madison's colleague Edward Carrington, writing from Baltimore, penned the following letter to James Monroe this day while enroute home from New York.

"Being this far on my way to Richmond, and intending to make several calls on the way, I take the advantage of a leisure moment to acknowledge the Rect. of yours of the 24th Ult. I am chagrined that you should, for even one moment, have entertained an idea that my delay to answer your letters of the Summer, was produced by considerations less freindly, than have ever actuated me towards you; but you have releived me by declaring that every such idea is removed. The truth is that I found it no agreeable task to combat the opinions of one with whom I have been accustomed to coincide in a long Course of public duty which United us together: in this situation you will naturally account for the procrastination which so long defered my writing to you.

"We are to meet in the Legislature, where the new Constitution is to furnish much business, of which, efforts towards alterations will form no small part. The circular letter of N. York I am told is received with avidity amongst you. I am, however, inclined to think, that a concurrence with it, will not lead to any thing effectual, as to the views of those who are for an early revision, for I suspect there will not be a sufficient number of Concurring states to bring about a Convention. Will it not be better to decline it then, altogether, and strongly recommend the desired alterations to the Notice of the first Congress? My sentiments as to an early revision you already know, but at the same time I will not obstinately set myself against a respectable majority. I shall be with you in the course of this week, or perhaps not until the 20th, the day for the meeting of the Assembly.

"I left N. York last Monday when all your Freinds were well. Yesterday morning Capt. Kortright & Miss Maria left this on their way home. I shall have the pleasure to call on Mrs. M. with letters from her amiable sisters. Believe me to be with great sincerity, yr. Freind & Hl st." Monroe Papers, DLC.

## Samuel A. Otis to Theodore Sedgwick

Dear Sir

New York 13th Octr 1788

Your favor 28 Ultio has induced my determination to tarry here until farther accounts make it proper for me to return, And I am quite of your opinion that the states, and espesially the great States, ought not to be without representation. Upon the Subject you mention I find Mr H<sup>1</sup> has [a] disposition to be vice president, altho I did h[ear he] was determined to "be second to no man." I confess in no point of view do I think being V President equal to the Government of Massachusetts, And I think Mr Adams abundantly the properest Candidate; health & that kind of experience necessary for the office, point to Adams in preference; Altho I wish not to encrease Mr Hancocks displeasure by giving opinions against him when not officially called. In some of the executive departments of the new Governments I expect to require that decent subsistence which has long since bounded my wishes; if however I incur the opposition of such a man [as] Mr H I may hardly expect success, Yet I think I should, as I most certainly have heretofore oppose him, when duly pointed out the propriety of it. By what I can

find I doubt whether Mr H. will have the votes of [N Y,] N J or Pensilvania, How old Massachusetts [will] vote you can best Judge. Without pledging myself, my friends, or my Country, I have invariably given my opinion in favor of Mr A in the conversation with such friends as have condescended to open themselves. Brother Thacher is for H, Dane is incrutable but I think he must give judgment in favor of Adams. After all a glare of popularity dazzles all eyes & Mr H will probably as usual prevail.

Your Letters enclosed I have forwarded and am happy thereby in gratifying two freinds.

I hope your honors will when in General Court assembled devise some measures at least partially to pay your members in Congress, for being paid the least almost of any state in the Union dont let them be paid the worst. I declare for me I am living upon Tich which does the state no great honor.

Wishing you an agreeable session [both] public [&] private felicity & presenting complim[ents to] Mrs Sedgwick & all friends I remain,  
Your most obedient & Humble Servt, Sam. A. Otis

RC (MHi: Sedgwick Papers). Addressed: "The Honorable Theodore Sedgwick Esqr, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Boston."

<sup>1</sup> John Hancock.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Sir New York Octr 13th 1788.

Congress have resolved that the Commissioners lately appointed shall enter on their Duty after they shall have been informed that the Returns of the Papers and Vouchers from the several States are ready for their Inspection.<sup>1</sup> Hence it must be on February or March before they can begin, but I am informed that some of the States as Pensylvania, Virginia and perhaps South Carolina cannot have delivered in all their Claims before the Time expires on which the District Commissioners are permitted to receive such Claims, whence it is probable that an Application will be made by one or another of those States for a longer Day in which they may be suffered to deliver in or to forward their Claims against the Union. From late Information I am induced to fear that our State may not have given in all its Claims against the Union before the Commissioner shall have finished the Time for which he was appointed, in this Case the State will doubtless wish for a longer day & I think it probable that the Delegates in Congress on such Intimation from the State will not find it difficult to obtain a farther Resolve that may remove any Difficulties.



In your Letter of 16th June<sup>2</sup> you was pleased to intimate that "The people between French broad River and the Holstein complain that Congress "have neglected to take up some Matters respecting their Interests which were referred to them in the late Treaty &c." In consequence of this Intimation you will observe that the Delegates obtained a Proviso to be inserted in the late Proclamation<sup>3</sup> in favour of those People but we knew nothing of another Settlement on the South Side of French broad who could not be covered by that Proviso; However being now informed that there are peaceable Settlers, Citizens of the State who may be disquieted by the Operation of the Treaty I shall certainly count it my Duty to move in Congress for an express Vote or Resolve that no Citizen of the State be disquieted in his Possession under the Cover of any Treaty made with the Indians provided such Citizen is observant of the Laws of the State or within its Protection. In the mean while I think you may be assured that no Citizen of the State within the Lines mentioned in the Hopewell Treaty or without those Lines will ever be incommoded by any Officer acting under Congress because the only Object of such Officer must be to remove lawless intruders on the Indians, but the Indians could hardly request the Removal of People who have settled by their Permission; but there is a more conclusive Reason viz The Indians must be protected by the State of N. Carolina or remain without Protection, for the Handfull of Troops now in the public Service over the Ohio have too much to do in that Quarter to be able to do other Duty. In fact a general Indian War with the Western Indians, those over the Ohio, seems to be impending. The British at Detroit by giving the Indians large presents seem to be attempting to prevent them from treating with us, for the Governor of the Western Territory is now attempting to hold a Treaty. Very few of the Indians have come in. A Cloud seems to be collecting. Two small Parties of Continental Troops have lately been assaulted & some of them killed by different Tribes of Indians. Fifteen hundred Militia of Pensylvania are ordered to be in Readiness to oppose those Indians, but Govr St. Clair writes that more will be necessary.<sup>4</sup> Under such appearances perhaps you will think with me that our State will be happy if by their own Prudence and Exertions they can mantain Peace with the neighbouring Indians.

I have the Honour to be, with the utmost Consideration, Sir, Your most obedient and very humble Servant, Hu Williamson

RC (MBU: Stone Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For this October 10 resolve, adopted upon the recommendation of a committee consisting of Abraham Clark, James Madison, and Williamson, to whom a motion by Clark had been referred October 2, see *JCC*, 34:594–95, 599–600. This was the last resolution Congress ever adopted, as October 10 was the last day Congress was able to muster a quorum.

<sup>2</sup> Johnston's letter is not in the *N.C. State Records*.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 34:477; and Williamson to Johnston, September 6, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur St. Clair's September 14 letter containing this information was submitted to Congress October 8, for which see *JCC*, 34:597–98; and *PCC*, item 150, 3:249–58.

## Dyre Kearny to Nicholas Gilman

My Dear Gilman,

Philada. October 16th. 1788.

I arrived at this Place last Evening<sup>1</sup> Sound Wind & Limb with my Friend Cygnus and had he borne the fatigues of a fatiguing journey as well as myself we both would have been very well—but he is in the complaining Style; not Sick but a good Deal out of Spirits. As to myself (Would You believe it?) I still remain without the least incumbrance of tar or feathers.<sup>2</sup> Every Body I have the least knowledge of have behaved with the extremest Civility and have the good Sense and good Manners too to let an old subject rest.

This very Evening the first Dancing Assembly commences. I have been much pressed by one of the Managers an intimate Friend of mine to attend it— however my Baggage is all well packed and I cannot give myself the trouble to unpack it for the necessary habiliments. So I have taken the alternative of Spending a Solitary Evening here at the Indian Queen. But it is best upon the whole, as I shall certainly be better fitted for my Journey to morrow which I shall set out upon at 9 oClock.

The Day I left you I got so late to Eliza Town as to make it improper to visit my Friend Miss DeHart so I went to Bed early where I at least had Sufft. food for my imagination. You will readily conceive the Subject of my Meditations and of course can form as just as Idea of their Gloom as if I was to depict it in a folio.

This Evening I heard of my Friend Mitchell—he was well—my Informt. also Satisfied my Enquiries relative to our late Elections—and I am happy to tell you they have gone agreeably to my wishes in General. This aforesd. informant brot a letter or letters for me which he committed to the Post Office the Day before Yesterday—of course they are by this time in New York. Those and any others which may be there to my Address You will pleas to enclose to me at “Dover Delaware” in case Mr Contee has not already done this favor for me. My Paper, pen and ink are all Bad. So I cannot venture upon the next page. Make my respects in General and my affectionate Ones where you know I am too much for my own happiness interested. After this, You will think of me—and assure yourself that I am Your's with much Esteem,

Dyre Kearny

P.S. I am as hypochondriac to night as the Devil. Amen.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Addressed: "The Honorable Nicholas Gilman Esqr, Congress. N York."

<sup>1</sup> Kearny last attended Congress October 14. See *JCC*, 34:601–2.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a reference to Kearny's vote on July 28 against a motion for moving the new federal government to Philadelphia. Although he later supported such a move, his crucial vote that date divided the Delaware delegation and led to the proposal's defeat by a vote of 6 to 4, with Delaware and Georgia divided. See *JCC*, 34:359–60.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

New York Oct. 17. 1788

I have written a number of letters to you since my return here, and shall add this by another casual opportunity just notified to me by Mr St. John.<sup>1</sup> Your favor of July 31<sup>2</sup> came to hand the day before yesterday. The pamphlets of the Marquis Condorcet & Mr. Dupont referred to in it have also been received. Your other letters inclosed to the Delegation have been and will be disposed of as you wish; particularly those to Mr. Epes & Col. Lewis.

Nothing has been done on the subject of the {outfit};<sup>3</sup> there not having been a Congress of nine States for some time, nor even of seven for the last week. It is pretty certain that there will not again be a quorum of either number within the present year; and by no means certain that there will be one at all under the old Confederation. The Committee finding that nothing could be done have neglected to make a report as yet. I have spoken with a member of it in order to get one made, that the case may fall of course and in a favorable shape within the attention of the new Government. The fear of a precedent will probably lead to an allowance for a limited time, of the {salary as enjoyed originally} by {foreign ministers} in {preference to a separate allowance for outfit}. One of the {members of the treasury board}<sup>4</sup> who ought, if certain facts have {not escaped his memory to witness the reasonableness of your} calculations, {takes occasion I find to impress a contrary idea}. Fortunately {his influence will} not {be a very formidable obstacle to right}.

The States which have adopted the new Constitution are all proceeding to the arrangements for putting it into action in March next. Pennsylv. alone has as yet actually appointed deputies, & that only for the Senate. My last mentioned that these were Mr. R. Morris & a Mr. McClay. How the other elections there & elsewhere will run is matter of uncertainty. The Presidency alone unites the conjectures of the public. The vice president is not at all marked out by the general voice. As the President will be from a Southern State, it falls almost of course for the other part of the Continent to supply the next in rank. South Carolina may however think of Mr. Rutledge unless it should be previously discovered that votes will be wasted on him. The only candi-



dates in the Northern States brought forward with their known consent are {Hancock and Adams} and {between these it seems probable the question will lie}. Both of them {are objectionable and would I think be postponed} by the {general suffrage to several others} if they {would accept the place. Hancock} is {weak, ambitious, a courtier of popularity given to low intrigue} and {lately reunited by a factious friendship with S. Adams—J. Adams} has made {himself obnoxious to many} particularly in the {Southern states by the political principles avowed in his book}. Others {recollecting his cabal during the war against General Washington}, knowing {his extravagant self importance} and {considering his preference of an unprofitable dignity to} some {place of emolument} better {adapted to private fortune as a proof of his} having {an eye to the presidency conclude} that {he would not be a very cordial second to the general} and that {an impatient ambition} might {even intrigue for a premature advancement}. The {danger would be the greater if} particular {factious characters} as may be the case, {should get into the public councils. Adams} it appears, is {not unaware of} some {of the obstacles to his wish}: and {thro a letter to Smith} has {thrown out popular sentiments as to the proposed president}.

The little pamphlet herewith inclosed will give you a collective view of the alterations which have been proposed for the new Constitution.<sup>5</sup> Various and numerous as they appear they certainly omit many of the true grounds of opposition. The articles relating to Treaties—to paper money, and to contracts, created more enemies than all the errors in the System positive & negative put together. It is true nevertheless that not a few, particularly in Virginia have contended for the proposed alterations from the most honorable & patriotic motives; and that among the advocates for the Constitution, there are some who wish for further guards to public liberty & individual rights. As far as these may consist of a constitutional declaration of the most essential rights, it is probable they will be added; though there are many who think such addition unnecessary, and not a few who think it misplaced in such a Constitution. There is scarce any point on which the party in opposition is so much divided as to its importance and its propriety. My own opinion has always been in favor of a bill of rights; provided it be so framed as not to imply powers not meant to be included in the enumeration. At the same time I have never thought the omission a material defect, nor been anxious to supply it even by *subsequent* amendment, for any other reason than that it is anxiously desired by others. I have favored it because I supposed it might be of use, and if properly executed could not be of disservice. I have not viewed it in an important light, 1. because I conceive that in a certain degree, though not in the extent argued by Mr. Wilson,<sup>6</sup> the rights in question are reserved by the manner in which the federal



powers are granted. 2. because there is great reason to fear that a positive declaration of some of the most essential rights could not be obtained in the requisite latitude. I am sure that the rights of Conscience in particular, if submitted to public definition would be narrowed much more than they are likely ever to be by an assumed power. One of the objections in New England was that the Constitution by prohibiting religious tests, opened a door for Jews, Turks & infidels. 3. because the limited powers of the federal Government and the jealousy of the subordinate Governments, afford a security which has not existed in the case of the State Governments, and exists in no other. 4. because experience proves the inefficacy of a bill of rights on those occasions when its controul is most needed. Repeated violations of these parchment barriers have been committed by overbearing majorities in every State. In Virginia I have seen the bill of rights violated in every instance where it has been opposed to a popular current. Notwithstanding the explicit provision contained in that instrument for the rights of Conscience it is well known that a religious establishment wd. have taken place in that State, if the legislative majority had found as they expected, a majority of the people in favor of the measure; and I am persuaded that if a majority of the people were now of one sect, the measure would still take place and on narrower ground than was then proposed, notwithstanding the additional obstacle which the law has since created. Wherever the real power in a Government lies, there is the danger of oppression. In our Governments the real power lies in the majority of the Community, and the invasion of private rights is *chiefly* to be apprehended, not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of its constituents, but from acts in which the Government is the mere instrument of the major number of the constituents. This is a truth of great importance, but not yet sufficiently attended to: and is probably more strongly impressed on my mind by facts, and reflections suggested by them, than on yours which has contemplated abuses of power issuing from a very different quarter. Wherever there is an interest and power to do wrong, wrong will generally be done, and not less readily by a powerful & interested party than by a powerful and interested prince. The difference, so far as it relates to the superiority of republics over monarchies, lies in the less degree of probability that interest may prompt abuses of power in the former than in the latter; and in the security in the former agst. oppression of more than the smaller part of the society, whereas in the former<sup>7</sup> it may be extended in a manner to the whole. The difference so far as it relates to the point in question—the efficacy of a bill of rights in controuling abuses of power—lies in this, that in a monarchy the latent force of the nation is superior to that of the sovereign, and a solemn charter of popular rights, must have a great effect, as a

standard for trying the validity of public acts, and a signal for rousing & uniting the superior force of the community; whereas in a popular Government, the political and physical power may be considered as vested in the same hands, that is in a majority of the people, and consequently the tyrannical will of the sovereign is not [*to*] be controuled by the dread of an appeal to any other force within the community. What use then it may be asked can a bill of rights serve in popular Governments? I answer the two following which though less essential than in other Governments, sufficiently recommend the precaution.

1. The political truths declared in that solemn manner acquire by degrees the character of fundamental maxims of free Government, and as they become incorporated with the national sentiment, counteract the impulses of interest and passion. 2. Altho' it be generally true as above stated that the danger of oppression lies in the interested majorities of the people rather than in usurped acts of the Government, yet there may be occasions on which the evil may spring from the latter source; and on such, a bill of rights will be a good ground for an appeal to the sense of the community. Perhaps too there may be a certain degree of danger, that a succession of artful and ambitious rulers, may by gradual & well-timed advances, finally erect an independent Government on the subversion of liberty. Should this danger exist at all, it is prudent to guard against it, especially when the precaution can do no injury. At the same time I must own that I see no tendency in our governments to danger on that side. It has been remarked that there is a tendency in all Governments to an augmentation of power at the expence of liberty. But the remark as usually understood does not appear to me well founded. Power when it has attained a certain degree of energy and independence goes on generally to further degrees. But when below that degree, the direct tendency is to further degrees of relaxation, until the abuses of liberty beget a sudden transition to an undue degree of power. With this explanation the remark may be true; and in the latter sense only, is it in my opinion applicable to the Governments in America. It is a melancholy reflection that liberty should be equally exposed to danger whether the Government have too much or too little power, and that the line which divides these extremes should be so inaccurately defined by experience.

Supposing a bill of rights to be proper the articles which ought to compose it, admit of much discussion. I am inclined to think that *absolute* restrictions in cases that are doubtful, or where emergencies may overrule them, ought to be avoided. The restrictions however strongly marked on paper will never be regarded when opposed to the decided sense of the public; and after repeated violations in extraordinary cases, they will lose even their ordinary efficacy. Should a Rebellion or insurrection alarm the people as well as the Government, and

a suspension of the Hab. corp. be dictated by the alarm, no written prohibitions on earth would prevent the measure. Should an army in time of peace be gradually established in our neighbourhood by Britn. or Spain, declarations on paper would have as little effect in preventing a standing force for the public safety. The best security agst. these evils is to remove the pretext for them. With regard to monopolies they are justly classed among the greatest nuisances in Government. But it is clear that as encouragements to literary works and ingenious discoveries, they are not too valuable to be wholly renounced? Would it not suffice to require in all cases a reserved right to the Public to abolish the privilege at a price to be specified in the grant of it? Is there not also infinitely less danger of this abuse in our Governments, than in most others? Monopolies are sacrifices of the many to the few. Where the power is in the few it is natural for them to sacrifice the many to their own partialities and corruptions. Where the power, as with us, is in the many not in the few, the danger can not be very great that the few will be thus favored. It is much more to be dreaded that the few will be unnecessarily sacrificed to the many.

I inclose a paper containing the late proceedings in Kentucky.<sup>8</sup> I wish the ensuing Convention may take no step injurious to the character of the district, and favorable to the views of those who wish ill to the U. States. One of my late letters communicated some circumstances which will not fail to occur on perusing the objects of the proposed Convention in next month. Perhaps however there may be less connection between the two cases than at first one is ready to conjecture.

I am Dr Sir with the sincerest esteem & Affectn, Yours,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:295–300.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Michel-Guillaume St. Jean de Crèvecoeur.

<sup>2</sup> For which see *ibid.*, pp. 210–14.

<sup>3</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in cipher. For Jefferson's "outfit," see Madison to Jefferson, September 21, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Lee.

<sup>5</sup> That is, *The Ratification of the New Fæderal Constitution, Together With the Amendments, Proposed by the Several States* (Richmond: A. Davis, 1788. Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 21,529), which omitted the unconditional ratifications of Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Georgia.

<sup>6</sup> Madison's reference is to James Wilson's public speech of October 6, 1787, in which he had argued that a bill of rights was unnecessary. See Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 10:336, 339n.2; and *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*, 13:337–44.

<sup>7</sup> Madison clearly should have written "latter."

<sup>8</sup> That is, the New York *Daily Advertiser* for October 10, for which see Madison to John Brown, October 12, note 1.



## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

New York Oct. 17. [17]88

Inclosed are 4 letters from Mazzei & one from Mr. Jefferson which you will be good eno' to dispose of. I have a letter from the former in which he begs me to add my importunities to you & Mr. Blair, for speedy succour if possible.<sup>1</sup> I have one also from the latter, but it contains nothing of much consequence. His public letters to which it refers have not yet been communicated from the Office of Foreign Affairs. Through other authentic channels I learn that the States general will pretty certainly be convened in May next. The efficacy of that cure for the public maladies will depend materially on the mode in which the deputies may be selected which appears to be not yet settled. There is good reason also to presume that as the spirit which at present agitates the nation has been in a great measure caught from the American Revolution, so the result of the struggle there will not be a little affected by the character which liberty may receive from the experiment now on foot here. The tranquil & successful establishment of a great reform by the reason of the community, must give as much force to the doctrines urged on one side, as a contrary event would do to the policy maintained on the other.

As Col. Carrington will be with you before this gets to hand I leave it with him to detail all matters of a date previous to his departure.<sup>2</sup> Of a subsequent date, I recollect nothing worth adding. I requested him also to confer with you in full confidence on the appointments to the Senate & to the H. of Reps. so far as my friends may consider me in relation to either.<sup>3</sup> He is fully possessed of my real sentiments and will explain them more conveniently than can be done on paper. I mean not to decline an agency in launching the new Govt. if such should be assigned me in one of the Houses, and I prefer the latter chiefly because if I can render any service there, it can only be to the public, and not even in imputation, to myself. At the same time my preference I own is somewhat founded on the supposition that the arrangements for the popular elections may secure me agst. any competition which wd. require on my part any step that wd. speak a solicitude which I do not feel, or have the appearance of a spirit of electioneering which I despise.

I am led not only by the want of matter but by a cut I have just given my thumb & which makes writing tedious & disagreeable, to conclude; with assurances of Affecte regard I am, Js. Madison Jr



RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:304–5.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> For which see Virginia Delegates to Randolph, October 4, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> For an analysis of Madison's election to the first federal Congress, see *ibid.*, pp. 301–4.

## Charles Thomson to the Board of Treasury

Gentlemen,                      Office of Secretary of Congress [October 17, 1788]<sup>1</sup>

In pursuance of your request signified to me in a note of this day from Mr. Duer, I transmit to you herewith enclosed a Copy of the Letter of 11 August 1788, from his Excellency the Governor of Virginia and of your Report thereon.<sup>2</sup>

With great Respect, I have the honor to be &c.,                      C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "The Honble. The Commisrs. of the Treasury."

<sup>1</sup> Date determined by Thomson's reference to William Duer's October 17 "note of this day," which is in PCC, item 78, 8:241–42.

<sup>2</sup> Duer had actually requested a letter "of the 3d Sept. 1788," the date Gov. Edmund Randolph's letter was referred by Congress to the board of treasury rather than the date it was written, for which see *JCC*, 34:495n; and PCC, item 71, 2:655–58. Governor Randolph had been concerned about "Arrearages of Pensions due to Invalides in the State of Virginia," which the board of treasury had reported on September 4, advising Congress that since it had already issued a similar clarification of the pension act for Connecticut, the same information could be sent to Virginia. *JCC*, 34:501. As Congress never mustered a quorum after October 10, 1788, no action could be taken on the treasury's recommendation. See also Thomson to the States, June 14, 1788.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Sir                                      *public*                                      New York 17th Octo. 1788.

The length and frequency of the Letters, on public Affairs, with which I have taken the Liberty of troubling you would require an Apologie was it not that I had rather submit to a charge on this Account than be suspected of neglect of Duty or Inattention to the Interest of the State. With this you will receive a Copy of the printed Journal of Congress to the 1st Inst. Near the End of the Journal you will find the Report of a Committee who have taken much Pains to understand the Administration of the Treasury.<sup>1</sup> The Operation of this Report compared with the Act of May 22nd may prove a salutary Lesson to Speculators & public Defaulters and may help to save our Constituents from the Tax of many a Dollar.

The Secretary of Congress has doubtless forwarded an Act of Sept. 16th respecting the Practice of transporting convicted malefactors from foreign Countries.<sup>2</sup> Inclosed is a Paper that respects a

late Importation of such People. On the last Year others had been Landed to the Eastward in Massachusits. Congress have complained to the British Court concerning the Cargo that was sent from New Providence; Perhaps a greater insult to any Nation could hardly have been offered.

On the 13th Inst I wrote you in much Haste a Letter which may not have come to Hand. The Object was to inform you that the Board of Commissioners for settling Accounts between the several States and the Union can hardly be ready to proceed to Business before Feby or perhaps March next. My Information induces me to believe that three or four of the States cannot have given in all their Claims when the Time expires in which the District Commissioners are at Liberty to receive Claims; hence it will follow that those States will desire the Indulgence of more Time. I think it probable that North Carolina may wish for more Time to deliver in her Claims, in this Case the Delegates certainly will not fail to move for such a Resolution on the first Intimation from the State and I presume that a longer Day might readily be obtained.

Our Affairs with the Western Indians wear a very gloomey Aspect. The Indians are coming very slowly to a Treaty, about this Time to be held at Muskingum and many of them have sent Word that they shall come Armed. The British at Detroit hearing of this Treaty have been giving the Indians considerable Presents though it was but a short Time since they had given them other Presents uncommonly large. A Party of Indians have lately attacked a Convoy of Provisions on the Wabash, killed ten continental Soldiers & wounded eight; they had some Weeks before that killed several continental Soldiers who were guarding Provisions. The Wabash Indians are daily bringing in Scalps. Genl. St. Clair the Governor of the Western Territory, who is holding the Treaty, has, in pursuance of a Vote of Congress requested of the Executive of Pennsylvania & Virginia to hold 1500 of their Militia in readiness to oppose the Indians & he has written to Congress some days ago that he fears the number mentioned will be insufficient.<sup>3</sup>

The British are tampering with the Indians on this Side and the Spaniards have lately, very exceptionably, presumed to hold a Treaty with Indians who live within the Territories of the United States. In this State of Indian Affairs, and considering that there is but a Hand-full of national Troops in Service, I think it clear that North Carolina must depend on her own Prudence or her own strength for the Measure of Peace that she may enjoy with the neighbouring Indians.

I have the Honour to be with the utmost Consideration, Sir, Your most obedient and very hble Servant,

Hu Williamson

RC (MH-H: bMS Am 1649.5).

<sup>1</sup> See Williamson to Johnston, October 1, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Thomson to the States, September 17.

<sup>3</sup> See Williamson to Johnston, October 13, note 4.

## Charles Thomson to John Curwen

Sir,<sup>1</sup>

New York Oct. 18. 1788

I embrace the first opportunity of transmitting to you the pamphlet which you wished to see.<sup>2</sup> My object in compiling these notes and having them printed was not to acquire fame, but to stimulate some of my intelligent friends in the country to deviate from the common mode of farming and to endeavour by their experiments and example to introduce a new and better mode of culture to reward the toils of the husbandman. I have therefore no hesitation in exposing my ignorance to one so well acquainted with the subject as you are, hoping that you will keep notes of your practice and favour this country which you have adopted for your own & which you see stands in great want of instruction with an account of your experiments & success.

Be pleased to make my compliments to Mrs Curwin & accept the assurance of the respect & esteem with which I am, Sir, Your obedient humble Servt,  
Cha Thomson

RC (Harriton Association, Harriton House, Bryn Mawr, Pa.).

<sup>1</sup> John Curwen was one of Thomson's Harriton neighbors.

<sup>2</sup> For Thomson's pamphlet *Notes on Farming*, which he had published in New York the previous year, see Thomson to George Morgan, July 28, 1787, note 1.

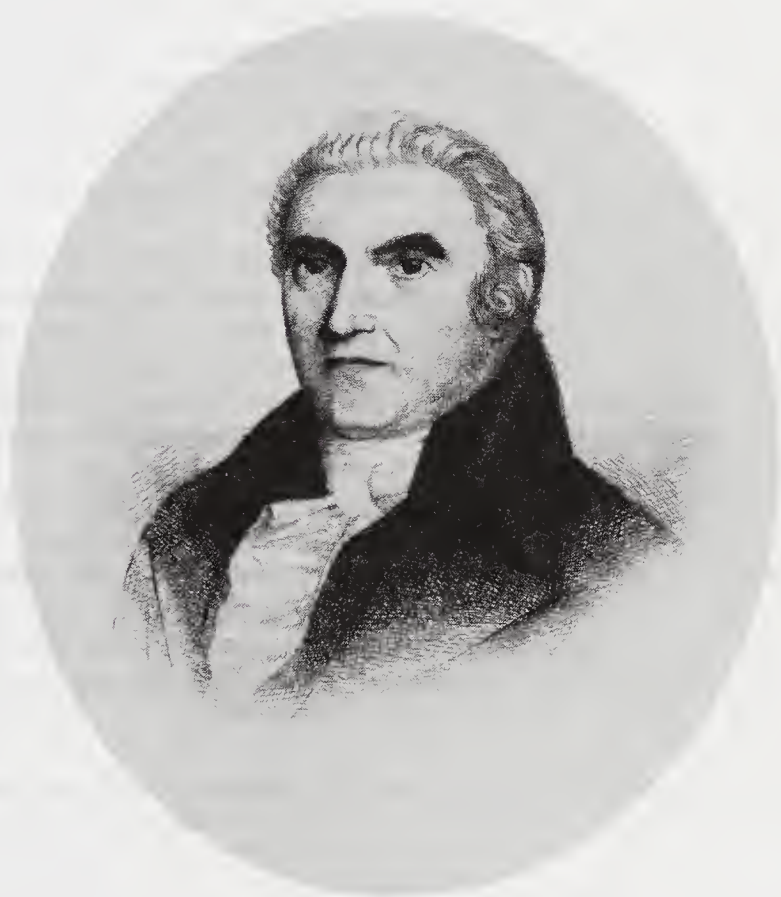
## Peleg Arnold to John Collins

Sir

New York Octr. 20th 1788

I have Inclosed herewith for the Information of your Excellency and the State The Journal of this year to the first Day of this Inst. The Secry. Informs that the part preceding this has been officially Transmitted. By the resolution of the 20th Sept.<sup>1</sup> you will find an Indent requisition on the States for the present year. I presume that Indents may be obtained on better Terms at this time then at a future time and that it will be for the Interest of the State to make timely Provision to Discharge her Quota of Indent Requisitions.

By the Resolution of the 9 & 13 Sept Three Commissioners are appointed in pursuance of the Ordinance of May 7th, 1787,<sup>2</sup> They being Impowered by Said Ordinance to admit claims against the Union that are not Supported by Vouchers (as theren set forth) on prenciples of Equity and Justice. If the State have any Such Claims I Suggest whether it will not be Necessary to appoint some Person having good Information of the Nature of them to attend the Commissioners after they meet in order to State to them the Nature of all Such Claims.



Peleg Arnold



As it will be but a Short time befor a New form of government will take place in the United States, and as the State which I have the Honour to represent have not thought proper to adopt that Form of Government, I Submit whether it is not Expedient for the State to take the Propos'd Constitution under Consideration and make their objections to the particular parts that are Incompatible to a good System of Government, and make Known To the States in the Union on what terms the State would Join them. This is a Subject on which I have Contemplated for a Considerable Time and it appears of Such Importance as to require United wisdom and mature Deliberation to enable the State to pursue Prudent Measures.<sup>3</sup>

The Federal Lands in the Western Country which on principles of g[o]od Policy must be appropriated as a fund for Sinking the National Debt, are Selling and preparing for Sale for that purpose. The Geographer is now in that Country Surveying, and measures have been taken to hold a Genel. Treaty with the Different Tribes of Indians Inhabiting those Lands in order (if Possible) to Establish a Perm[an]ent Peace and Extinguish their Claims to them.

I am under the Necessity of Informing That my Situation renders it Expedient for the State to make further Provision for my Support. Such Matters as are unfinish'd at the end of this Year, and others that concern the Union will be taken into Consideration by the Congress which are to assemble to [*i.e., the*] first Monday in Novr. Next. If it is the Desire of the Honle. assembly that I Should represent the State the next Year, I hope they will give Direction for one of my Colleagues to take his Seat.

With Sentements of Esteem I am Your Excellencys most obdt. and most Humble Servt,  
Peleg Arnold

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

<sup>1</sup> Actually 20th August, for which see JCC, 34:442; and Charles Thomson to the States, August 25.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, September 13.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of Rhode Island's struggle over whether to join the new federal government that was about to be implemented, see Polishook, *Rhode Island and the Union*, pp. 201-18.

## James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

N. York Octr. 20. 1788

I acknowledge with much pleasure your favor of the 6th instant.<sup>1</sup> The "balmy" nature of the resolutions concerning the Mississippi will I hope have the effect you suggest; though the wounds given to some & the pretext given to others by the proceedings which rendered them necessary, will not I fear be radically removed. The light in which the temporary seat of the new Government is viewed & represented by

those who were governed by antecedent jealousies of this end of the Union, is a natural one; and the apprehension of it was among the most persuasive reasons with me for contending with some earnestness for a less eccentric position. A certain degree of impartiality or the appearance of it, is necessary in the most despotic Governments. In republics, this may be considered as the vital principle of the administration. And in a *federal* Republic founded on local distinctions involving local jealousies, it ought to be attended to with a still more scrupulous exactness.

I am glad to find you concurring in the requisite expedients for preventing antifederal elections, and a premature Convention. The circular letter from this State has united and animated the efforts on the adverse side with respect to both these points. An early Convention threatens discord and mischief. It will be composed of the most heterogeneous characters—will be actuated by the party spirit reigning among their constituents—will comprehend men having insidious designs agst. the Union—and can scarcely therefore terminate in harmony or the public good. Let the enemies to the System wait until some experience shall have taken place, and the business will be conducted with more light as well as with less heat. In the mean time the other mode of amendments may be employed to quiet the fears of many by supplying those further guards for private rights which can do no harm to the system in the judgment even of its most partial friends, and will even be approved by others who have steadily supported it.

It appears from late foreign intelligence that war is likely to spread its flames still farther among the unfortunate inhabitants of the old world. France is certainly enough occupied already with her internal fermentations. At present the struggle is merely between the aristocracy and the monarchy. The only chance in favor of the people lies in the mutual attempts of the Competitors to make their side of the question the popular one. The late measures of the Court have that tendency. The nobility and Clergy who wish to accelerate the States General wish at the same time to have it formed on the antient model established on the feudal idea which excluded the people almost altogether. The Court has at length agreed to convene this assembly in May, but is endeavoring to counteract the aristocratic policy, by admitting the people to a greater share of representation. In both the parties there are some real friends to liberty who will probably take advantage of circumstances to promote their object. Of this description on the anti-court side is our friend the Marquis. It is not true I believe that he is in the Bastille but true that he is in *disgrace*, as the phrase there is.

I am Dear Sir with the most sincere esteem your Affecte friend &  
servt.,  
Js. Madison Jr

## James Madison to George Washington

Dear Sir

N. York Oct. 21. [17]88

I send you the inclosed paper chiefly for the sake of the Edict which fixes on May for the meeting of the States general in France. Letters from Mr Jefferson authenticate this document.<sup>1</sup> They mention also the disgrace as it is called of the Marquis.<sup>2</sup> The struggle at present in that Kingdom seems to lie entirely between the Monarchy & aristocracy, and the hopes of the people merely in the competition of their enemies for their favor. It is probable however that both the parties contain real friends to liberty who will make events subservient to their object.

The Count Moutier & the Marchioness Brehan are to set out this day for Mount Vernon. I take it for granted you are not only apprized of the intended visit, but of the time at which the guests may be expected.<sup>3</sup>

The State of Connecticut has made choice of Docr Johnson and Mr Elsworth for its Senators, and have referred that of its representatives to the people at large, every individual Citizen to vote for every Representative.

I have not heretofore acknowledged your last favor, nothing material having turned up for some time, and the purpose of Col. Carrington to see you on his way to Virginia superseding all the ordinary communications through the epistolary channel. It gives me much pleasure to find that both the opposition at first and finally the accession to the vote fixing N. York for the first meeting of the new Congress has your approbation. My fears that the measure would be made a handle of by the opposition are confirmed in some degree by my late information from Virga. Mr. Pendleton the Chancellor tells me he has already met taunts from that quarter on this specimen of Eastern equity & impartiality. Whether much noise will [be] made will depend on the policy which Mr. Henry may find it convenient to adopt. As N. York is at the head of his party, he may be induced by that circumstance not to make irritating reflections; though the fact is that the party in this which is with him are supposed to be indifferent & even secretly averse to the residence of Congress here. This however may not be known to him.

I am Dear Sir yours most respectfully & Affectly,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:309–10.

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear what "paper" Madison may have enclosed since none of the extant New York newspapers printed the August 8 *Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du Roi*, but in an August 11 letter to John Jay, Thomas Jefferson had enclosed a copy of the arrêt in French, a newspaper translation of the arrêt, and an August 12 issue of the *Gazette de France* which gave "some particulars of the action between the Russians & Swedes, the Mani-



festo of the Empress and the declaration of the court of Versailles as to the affair of Trincomalé," for which see PCC, item 87, 2:211–22; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 13:499–501.

<sup>2</sup> For accounts of the marquis de Lafayette's "disgrace" and Jefferson's correction of these mistaken reports in a letter to Madison of January 12, 1789, see Madison to Jefferson, October 8, note 2; and *ibid.*, pp. 403–7, 436–38.

<sup>3</sup> For the November 2–6 visit of the comte de Moustier and the marquise de Bréhan to Mount Vernon, see Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 1:35–38, 54–55.

## Jonathan Dayton to John Cleves Symmes

Dear Sir,

New York—October 22nd 1788

After long altercation & many difficulties & disputes with the board of Treasury altogether unexpected & unforeseen by us, we have at length mutually entered into & executed an instrument of writing, closing with & binding, the contract for your purchase on the Miami.<sup>1</sup> This did not take place finally until the 15th Inst. The general boundary is the same as mentioned by the board in their last letter to you, but other parts of the contract are more favorable, than you had stipulated for inasmuch as it expresses that the lands to be conveyed to you in consequence of the first & second payments shall lye along the whole breadth of the tract (viz. 20 miles) on the Ohio & thence so far up the Great Miami and the opposite parallel northeastern line as will include the quantities to be conveyed, (the different locations to be made compactedly & as nearly square as may be). This point, important to the settlement, we obtained by dint of perseverance the board continually insisting that they had agreed with you that your first & second locations should be laid along the great Miami, occupying a comparatively small front on the Ohio, & running the whole depth & to the extreme interior part, of the purchase.

As it seemed to be most agreeable to you, I have so managed the business relative to the application of the East Jersey company for the purchase of the little Miami tract, as that all progress therein will be suspended until I can hear more particularly from you or some other applicant for the same land should appear, which however I do not think likely to happen; but if it should, the Board have promised that they shall have preference in consequence of priority of application. It behooves us at this time most especially, while the public securities are yet low, to be diligent in our exertions to prepare for the second payment—that being made, & our deed obtained, we need feel very little concern as to the residue, since nobody would chuse to purchase in our rear, cut off & thrown at a distance, as they would be, by our settlement, from the immediate navigation of the Ohio. As a foundation to proceed upon in endeavouring to gain associates & as an induce-



ment for the people of this country to become so, it is proper & indeed necessary that we should have certain communications from you upon the spot, such as a plat or map as particular & exact as time, season & circumstances will admit, together with a general description of it's soil, face &c, drawn from direct observation. The strokes lately given by the savages to two or three of your parties however inconsiderable in themselves will nevertheless serve to damp the spirit of emigration beyond the Ohio, & there is reason to apprehend from the unfriendly aspect & disposition which some of the neighboring tribes seem to bear towards you, that their enmity may too soon break out into action & not only check the sales of shares in the first instance here, but (what is of much more consequence) retard or prevent a quiet lodgment there.

We are likely to be very much embarrassed for want of a list of the Proprietors of the certificates lodged by you, to direct us in the issue of the Indents. I must intreat you to send it to me without delay & direct where it may be found, as it does not appear to be in the treasury where you acquainted me you supposed you had left it.

Major Platt has this day given me notice that he holds your order for about 3000 Dollars Indents, which I shall discharge next week when we draw them.

I wish to know what encouragement you meet with from the people of Kentucke, & whether they are disposed to become purchasers & settlers with you. They are the kind of men whom, most of all, you need, hardy, enterprizing & accustomed to the Indian operation & warfare.

The federal year is so near it's expiration, that we now no longer make a house, altho' a few weeks ago, the representation was more compleat than had been known before since 1776.

It is to me very doubtful whether we shall have nine states on the floor again between this & the meeting of the new Congress, however much the situation of our affairs in the west or the turn & state of European politics may require it.

The people in their rage for the new constitution, seem to act as if the whole business of the union, nay every thing besides should give way to, or stand still until, it's operation, and they many of them really think, that with a kind of *magic process* it will, at the instant of it's commencement rid us of all our embarrassments, & make our circumstances flourishing. Altho' strongly prepossessed & very partial in favor of that system, (especially when compared with the present) I cannot nevertheless go all lengths with such enthusiasts. *Time* & a variety & succession of political indiscretions have brought upon us the calamities we are experiencing, and nothing but *time* & a series of wise, prudential management and political economy will extricate us from them.

In order to counterbalance the evil predictions of it's enemies, the favourers of the new government have been lead to utter prophecies



RC (NjP: Straus Collection). Addressed: "His Excellency The President of New Hampshire." In the hand of Roger Alden and signed by Charles Thomson.

<sup>1</sup> For this July 28, 1785, circular letter requesting the states to supply 13 copies of their statutes enacted since 1774, see these *Letters*, 22:537–38.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 29:582–83.

<sup>3</sup> This same statement also appears in the letters written to the governors of Rhode Island, Maryland, and North Carolina (none was written to New Jersey or Virginia). In his letters to the other seven states, Thomson at this point listed the acts he had already received from each of them and then requested that copies of the remaining "previous & subsequent laws" be forwarded as soon as convenient.

From Massachusetts, he had received "Acts and Laws beginning with those of 1781, and ending with those passed in July 1785."

From Connecticut, "the volume of Your Acts and laws which was published in 1784."

From New York, "Acts passed at the second meeting of the 8th session of the legislature beginning at chap. 19, & ending with chap 90."

From Pennsylvania, "the volume printed in 1782 containing the laws then in force passed between Sept. 1775 & Oct. 1781, also three pamphlets containing laws passed in 1784 & 1785 beginning with Chap. CLXIII & ending with chap. CCXLII."

From Delaware, "the laws passed in the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th & 11th sessions of Your legislature beginning with Octr. 1781 and ending with Feby. 1786."

From South Carolina, "Acts beginning with Jany 1782, and continuing on regularly to March 1787."

From Georgia, "three pamphlets. . . which contain each a law for preventing improper or disaffected persons emigrating from other States, and becoming citizens of Your State passed in August 1782, one passed in Jany 1784, & six in Feby. 1784." PCC, item 18B, fols. 171–75.

<sup>4</sup> For the enclosed act calling upon the states to repeal all laws "repugnant to the treaty of Peace," see Thomson to the States, April 13, 1787.

## William Irvine to Abraham Baldwin

Dear Sir

New York Octr. 23d 1788

You will receive herewith Copies of letters which have passed between the Board of Treasury and myself.<sup>1</sup> I hope the footing on which the business now stands will give you satisfaction, be this as it may I could not get it better fixed, & there was a time when I did not expect to have it so well. I have written this day to Mr. Gilman,<sup>2</sup> in which I request his explicit answer, whether he can attend on the day named or if not on what day he can. I have also said to him I take for granted you will write him, that as it is indispensably necessary each should know the determination of the other both of you should write to me when you have agreed—as I can attend on the day appointed, if agreeable to you. Many reasons might be urged in favor of the propriety of meeting at the time appointed, but you are too sensible of it to need these.

As I can not do any thing more that I know of by staying longer at present, shall set out for Carlisle in a few days,<sup>3</sup> where I will expect to be favored with a line from you soon. I need not add that the delin-



quency, neglect, or refusal, of one overturns the whole—under the present *firm* as effectually as if all these declined.<sup>4</sup>

I am with great esteem, Dear Sir, Your Obedt. Servant,

Copy

Wm. Irvine

Tr (PHi: Caryl Roberts Irvine Collection). In the hand of William Irvine.

<sup>1</sup> Enclosures not found; but for the context of this letter and the business that passed between Irvine and the Board of Treasury, see Irvine to Baldwin, October 12, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> Irvine's accounts with the Pennsylvania Council indicate that on October 28 he was paid "for his attendance as a Member of Congress until the twenty seventh day of October 1788 inclusively." Gratz Collection, PHi.

<sup>4</sup> Baldwin returned the following reply to Irvine November 15.

"I wrote to our unknown associate Mr. Gilman, immediately on the receipt of your letter, and requested him to write me, without delay, his determinations, as I should suspend all mine till I heard from him. I have been ever since with great impatience waiting his answer, Whether he is playing the politician with us, and means to say nothing till he knows what this assembly does, which is now in session, or whether he was absent on the arrival of his brother, is yet to be explained, for I have not heard a word from him. I came here yesterday in hopes of finding some information from him. It is with great reluctance I put off my journey, but I must know what is to be done, or what is not to be done, before I set out. I have not had time to look round here yet. I observe they are making the old city hall a most pompous seat of federal government, they will not be so cautious in using the word permanent, the next time the subject is discussed.

"I am told there is none of our old corps here but the President and Williamson. I will write you again as soon as I have found any thing to say." Roger Curry Collection, Bloomington, Ind.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My Dear friend

Ocr. 28—[17]88.

I inclose herewith two pamphlets on the questions agitated in France. They are written by the Marquis Condorcet, and contain more correct information than has been communicated to the public through any other channel.<sup>1</sup>

I inclose also a Gazette containing observations on Manufactures by our acquaintance Mr. T. Coxe.<sup>2</sup> You will probably think them worth handing to the Printer for republication. Another Gazette gives you the current information from Europe. The change in the French Ministry is believed, and is a proof of the critical distress for money which pressed the Court.

The public mind seems not to be yet settled on the Vice President. The question has been supposed to lie between Hancock & Adams. The former is far the more popular man in N. England, but he has declared to his lady, *it is said*, that she had once been the first in America, & he wd. never make her the second. On the other hand, Adams has signified, *it is said*, that he will serve the public in no other office. I



disbelieve neither of these anecdotes. At the same time it is very possible they may be given out for particular purposes.

I wish you to give my respects to Mr J. Page, and to let him have the perusal of the Pamphlets after you have used them.

Yrs. Affecly.,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:320.

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the marquis de Condorcet's *Lettres d'un citoyen des États-Unis, à un Français, sur les affaires présentes* and his *Sentimens d'un républicain, sur les assemblées provinciales et les États-généreaux*. . . , which had been published in Paris and again in Philadelphia in 1788.

<sup>2</sup> Tench Coxe's essay on manufactures had appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of October 22 under the pseudonym "An American Citizen" and was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for October 29.

## James Madison to Eliza House Trist

New York Ocr. 29 [1788].

At the date of my last on Friday<sup>1</sup> was a week since which I have not recd. and answer, I expected by this time to have been in Philada. My plan has been impeded by several circumstances. The only insuperable one has been a continued indisposition which has at length terminated in a complaint which has been promoted by my sedentary life, and which incapacitates me for travelling.<sup>2</sup> I am at present having medical relief, and shall leave this as soon as I can. I calculate on some pretty early day in the approaching week. John will not accompany me, nor probably have much further connection with any corporeal beings; though he enjoys the fallacious hope of being soon recovered, and is fondly persuaded that some little transitory & variable symptom is the only obstacle to it. He was removed to quarters which will cost me less, where he will be less disturbed & where he will less incommode others. I have an order for his admission into the Almshouse, but for several reasons I chose rather to submit to the expense, at least for a while, than to avail myself of that resource.

I have heard nothing lately from Mr. Randolph. He quits the Government about this time and goes into the assembly. It is not impossible that he may be succeeded by your friend Col. Grayson, though the event will depend on several contingencies. I have heard from Mr. Jefferson as late as the 12th of August. He was then well and by his silence leaves it to be inferred that his whole family was so. Adieu,

Js Madison Jr

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Madison had long been afflicted with hemorrhoids.

## Samuel A. Otis to Nathan Dane

Dear Sir

New York 29 Octr 1788

In your determination to relinquish political pursuits I am glad to find you have not involved your political friends in the same resolution, which, until your favor 22d come to hand this day I began to apprehend. Be assured I shall omit no opportunity of evincing "my desires to keep up a communication." I presume by this time the Court are assembling, and from various circumstances, I can easily suppose, modes as well as elections, are very uncertain. I presume from the circumstance of Mr Kings going post haste to Boston, he is also amongst the Candidates.<sup>1</sup> From intimations, that not all the middle states will vote for Mr H, & that some of the Southern will vote for Mr Randolph, it remains doubtful who will be V President.

Your determination to sitt down to your private business I have given you my sentiments upon. Five or six years application will make you more independent, that anything the USA can give you in that time, And when you have a wish for public employment, you may make your own terms. When I see how much more every way independent, the private man is, How much freer from anxiety, toil, & mortification, than the crouded, studious, busy man of the public, at his best state is, I cannot but wonder at any mans counting public employment who can live without; And in this sentiment I dont speak the language of disappointment; I have been favord by my Country beyond my exp[ect]ations, And know I have numerous friends still disposed to push me forward;<sup>2</sup> Neither am I old or sick; yet this truth is long since strongly marked on my mind, and because I cannot use better words, pronounce the pursuits, vanity & vexation. Vain however as they may be, I suspect my friend will plunge anew into them, before the time I have prescribed above; & it will be no surprise to find him engaged in opening the spring Campaign.

Brother Thacher has left me several days since,<sup>3</sup> and not being more than two states represented, nor more than 4 or 5 members here, & no prospect of new Congress until Decemr, I determine on Monday, accompanied by Doctr Tucker, to sett off for Massachusetts. Mr Smith Letter was safely delivered.

You had probably with you the report of the Comit on board of Tresury. Williamson was very sanguine to have it printed in the Journals,<sup>4</sup> as in business which might do the Committee some honor, But they made a shocking blunder in the report, of the amt more than 300,000 dolls.; & so hurried was the business lest another day should occasion deficiency of nine states, that Congress accepted the report, & the blunder is printed in all the Journals; by which it appears, there is 300,000 dolls in the Chest, when there is not a shilling.<sup>5</sup> Moreover the Comit reported that B of Tresury exceeded their orders in con-

tracting for the forty five ton Copper premium upon 300 tons with Jarvis;<sup>6</sup> This the board think themselves indelicately used in; And had I noticed it, in the single cursory reading with which I was favored, I should have made my feeble opposition; Because I think the power was strongly implied, & if it was erroneous, I think being an error of Judgment should have been more delicately treated.

Inter nos, Hascal is here,<sup>7</sup> he intimates that our state will suffer for want of exertion in our Committee, he has however filed the accounts. Also I had a hint that the ordinance for appointing the three Commissioners, is some how or other so cooked, that the Penobscott business, altho consolidated at £116,000, will be thrown out by that Board. Farther, the Resolve for depreciation passing several days only after our troops first disbanded, we are like to have a dispute about that also. So true is it, in public & in private Concerns, that the free horse is ridden to death. The expenditures of our Board of War, the great disproportion of men are had in the field, The astonishing loss by old money, and want of alertness in bringing forward accts with regularity & in season, will hang like a millstone about the neck of Massachusetts for ages.

Two Ideas are impressed upon my mind, upon which I want your opinion, One is, the expediency of assuming the State debts, Another is the appointment of a competent accountant, if such one can be found, acquainted with the business, to advocate our claims before the board.

Mr Osgood is again drooping, I think his complaints obstinate.

Compliments to all friends from yr most H. Svt,

Sam A [Otis]

RC (DLC: Dane Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The Massachusetts legislature was about to take up proposals for electing senators, representatives, and presidential electors under the new federal Constitution, for which see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:476–511. For Rufus King's candidacy for a Massachusetts seat in the new Congress, see *ibid.*, pp. 447–48, 506n, 512–13, 521–24, 571.

<sup>2</sup> Otis had been reelected as a delegate to Congress for the following congressional year and signified his acceptance of the appointment in a November 10 letter to the secretary of the Massachusetts Senate, which is in Unpassed Senate Documents, M–Ar. A similar letter of acceptance from Theodore Sedgwick to senate president Samuel Phillips, dated October 30, is also in the same collection.

<sup>3</sup> George Thatcher was last recorded attending Congress on October 21.

<sup>4</sup> See Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston, October 1, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> For this board of treasury report on federal receipts and expenditures since November 1, 1784, see *JCC*, 34:554–70. For the errors Williamson called attention to, see *ibid.*, pp. 554n.4, 559nn.1–2, 560n.1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 567.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently Jonathan Haskell.



## John Armstrong, Jr. to Alida Livingston

Friday 30th, Octob. [1788]

Your letter of the 23d, for which I know not how to thank you either as I ought or as I wish, did not reach me 'till Wednesday, & then at so late an hour as to prevent my using the post of Thursday in acknowledging it's receipt & if possible in atoneing for my silence.<sup>1</sup>

If Alida there was any insincerity in that omission, it was surely of a very venial sort, & may be class'd with those pious frauds that (in all events) have an apology in their object, & (if successfull) a justification in their effect. I know your sensibility—I was persuaded of your affection & I ask'd myself whether I did not owe to the latter some care of the former. Could your sollicitude & sighs have either abated my fever or remov'd my pain, it would have been right to have told them—but as the reverse would have been their effect, I thought (but I may have mistaken) that duty was on the side of silence. In this doubt of my own reasonings as well as in compliance with your wishes my conduct hereafter shall be different, & as I admit your right to know all, it shall be my business to conceal nothing. 'Tis true then that I have been a good deal indispos'd—but not dangerously so. My fever often remitted & sometimes intermitted & all my Other symptoms seem to have been govern'd by that. 'Tis rather unfortunate that the great remedy in all such cases, is no remedy to me, as from some cause or other quite unknown to myself & I beleive quite inexplicable to the faculty, the bark of all things most disagrees with my constitution. I have therefore been Obliged to lay it aside & to depend on regimen, & the (in general) less efficacious applications of Camomile, Vitriol &c. &c. Their operation is slow, but friendly, & already enables me to go abroad (with caution) & to live a little in society. This too is not without its effect, & join'd to the approach of the cold weather, which has my most hearty wellcome, will I hope soon enable me to enjoy a pleasure I have so long promis'd myself, & so anxiously wish'd for. Beleive me my dear girl nothing can make me more sollicitous than I am to do away any anxiety of your's on the score of distance—nor can I possibly have an encreas'd sense of your Mama's kindness nor of the attentions which in any situation, I should meet with at Clermont. The moment therefore that my physicians pronounce it safe, I shall set out to thank you personally for all your care & kindness—this I have every reason to hope for in a few days. You now have a most scrupulously exact account of what my indisposition has been, & what it is—& will I hope, like myself, find no room to be alarm'd about it. 'Till I can fix a day for leaving Town, I shall continue to write



by every opportunity, & should you not hear from me thus punctually place it to the account of the post office—not to any relapse into illness. I must entreat you to remember this.

Jones's apparent silence had no doubt a strange aspect to Mrs. Montgomery, anxious as she must have been, on the subject of her destiny for the winter. She surely cannot (with all her devotion for the Country of St Patrick) be displeas'd with the manner in which the winds & waves & other circumstances have determin'd it. A spring Voyage will be a thousand times more Agreeable as well as safe; & (with her motives for making any), convenience & pleasure ought to be studied as well as meer security.

Sunday 2d Nov., 5 O'Clock in the Evg.

I have waited with much anxiety for a letter from you 'till this moment. The post has but now come in—but I forgive his delay, for he brings me three, (of the 26th, 27th & 30th). By what I wrote on Friday you will find that your's of the 23d have been receivd. Your Mama's packet came in time for John. He did not set off[f] till to-day.

A word or two in answer to your three favors.

My mind would be at ease, were I sure your's was so. It was the effect of my last letters "to relieve you from pain—to restore you to tranquility." Will you promise that it shall be the effect of this "to releive you from apprehension & to restore you to chearfullness," also? If an assurance, that my complaint has ceased to be *more than troublesome*, will accomplish this, I now make it most seriously & sincerely. I this morning sent for my Physician to ask him whether he thought I could risque the journey—his answer was that "should the weather continue fine for a few days longer, so far from being dangerous, the journey would be proper, & servicable." I rode 15 or 16 miles to-day, & am the better for doing so. What I have most to complain of now is the disagreeable but necessary restriction of diet & exercise. I have appetite but dare not eat, & when the sun refuses to shine, I'm a close prisoner 'till his humor changes.

You ask if "business will not prevent my sharing your fire-side [. . .] Winter." I possitively answer, no. However inconvenient on the score of business—I will share it. But is it determin'd that you stay?

And the poor bird is still a Captive. "His wings are clipp'd & he can Neither support himself against famine, nor protect himself against the Hawk." How fruitfull is Tyranny in apologies for itself—first create an inability to live out of chains, & then Use that inability as an argument against striking them off. My curiosity (not my compassion) lead me some days ago to visit two beautiful captives of the same kind. They were the Flamingos of the West Indies. (If Buffon is at the Manor you will find an interesting description of them.) 'Tis a lover & his Mistress—nor has romance anything to exceed his attachment or

her fidelity. He is the captive of force or fraud—she of choice. “Slavery with him she exclaim’d is better than liberty without him.” The possessor of my heart shall be the leader & companion of “my fortunes.” Such is the story they tell. Be this as it may—they are two of the handsomest & most interesting figures I ever saw. Not the less so perhaps for looking as if they had a sense of their Misfortunes.

My complements to all the ladies. Tell Mrs. M. that I saw Jones yesterday—that he then said he would write—but his letter has not yet come. He is well. You may venture to write again & indeed till we meet.<sup>2</sup> It can at most be but a letter return’d, not lost. I am with all possible affection & respect, Your  
J Armstrong jr.

RC (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> Armstrong had also explained in a brief letter to Alida of October 28 that “for two posts back I have been but able to write a line or two.” Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Armstrong also wrote to Alida again on November 5 and 8 explaining the progress of his recovery and plans for his next visit to her family’s Clermont estate while Congress was out of session. Ibid.

## James Madison’s Answers to the Queries of the Comte de Moustier

[October 30, 1788]<sup>1</sup>

1. Quelle est l’opinion des habitans les plus instruits de la Virginie, sur le Contrat de la ferme avec Mons. Rob. Morris; et quel est le Systeme qu’ils voudroient y substituer?

1. It is not easy to give a precise answer to this question; many of the best informed not having been led to communicate their opinions, and others having been directly or indirectly interested on one side or the other. It seems to have been rather the prevailing opinion that the Contract was more hurtful to the price of Tobacco, than a supply of the Farmers Genl by purchases made in the English or other Foreign Markets. This opinion must be founded on a supposition that the mercantile sellers in Europe could more easily combine and counteract the monopoly than the Planters of America. It does not appear that those who dislike the contract have particularly turned their thoughts to a system proper to be substituted. The general idea seems to have been that some arrangement in France disarming the monopoly there of its influence, direct or indirect, on the market here could alone effectually answer the purpose.

2. Ne pourrions nous pas fournir à très bon marchè le gros lainage pour l’habillement des Negres?

2. The manufacture of this article being extremely simple & easily accomodated to the use, the event of a competition must depend on

the comparative price of the material. The cloathing of Negroes is made of the coarsest materials. It is at present supplied in part by family manufacture, especially where a few negroes only belong to the same master, and this resource is daily increasing. Principal part however comes from G. Britain and if no foreign competition interferes, this must be the case for a considerable time.

3. Quels sont en general les objets de commerce, dont il pourroit être interessant d'encourager l'importation, soit en France soit aux Antilles?

3. Virginia produces Tobacco, Wheat, Indian Corn, Lumber, Salt-provisions, coal, Iron, Hemp, tar, pitch, turpentine, flax seed. Ship-building can be carried on also advantageously. It is the interest of Virginia to find encouragement for all these articles; and of France to give encouragement so far at least as she does not herself produce them. Tobacco, naval Stores, ready-built Vessels, flax-seed—and occasionally wheat and flour also, are wanted in France. Flour, Bread, Indian corn, salt provisions, lumber and ready built vessels of inferior size, are adapted to the wants of the Islands.

4. Quelles sont d'un autre cotè les marchandizes du Royaume ou des Isles, dont les Virginiens paroissent avoir le plus grand besoin?

4. As Virginia does not manufacture, and consumes less or more of a very great variety of articles, she may be considered as wanting most of the French Manufactures recommended by their quality and price. At present the coarser woollens of France are inferior to those of Britain, and her coarser linens to those of Germany. In the articles of hardware & leather, the English have also greatly the advantage. Wines, brandies, oyl, Fruits—silks, cambricks, Lawns, printed goods, glass, Kid Gloves, ribbons, superfine broad-Cloaths &c are articles which may be best obtained from France. The Goods imported as valued at the ports of delivery, between Sept. 1, 86 & July 20, 87 amounted to 949,444.00—7 excluding Salt—distilled Spirits, Wine, Malt liquors, Cheese, Tea, Sugar, Coffee. These paid a duty ad quantitatum & therefore the value does not appear. It need not be remarked that in all cases the entries subject to duty fall short of the truth.

The productions of the Islands most wanted in Virginia are Sugar & Coffee. (Between Sept. 1, 86—& July 20, 87 were entered 2,126,673 lb. Sugar—& 147,591 of Coffee.) Molasses also is wanted; and Taffia perhaps in a small degree. Cotton is raised in Virginia as far it is needed for domestic manufacture.

5. Est-il vraisemblable que les eaux de vie de France fassent tomber entierement le Rum des Isles? A quoi peut se monter la consommation annuelle des vins de France en Virginie?

5. It would be very difficult for brandy *entirely* to supplant Rum. A moderate preference however would soon make it a formidable rival. The small encouragement hitherto given to brandy has had a very



sensible effect in promoting the use of it, and as antecedent habits become weakened the use will spread of itself. The brandies (doubtless from France with very trifling exceptions) entered on the Custom House books between Sepr. 1, 86 & July 20, 87 amounted to 10,630 Gallons; and it is conjectured that the direct importations not entered with the considerable quantity introduced by the way of Maryland where the duty has been lower, may amount to half as much. The rum entered within that period amounted to 499,083 Gallons. The Gin to 9102½ Gals. & the cordials & other spirits to 4169½ Gals.

The Wines entered within the above periods amounted to 109,948 Gals. on which quantity abt. 40,000 Gals. were French.

6. Se sert-on beaucoup du sel de France pour les salaisons et que faut-il faire pour en rendre l'usage plus commun?

6. French salt is little if at all used in Virginia. The eye is displeased at its colour, and the supposition is favored by that circumstance that it is dirty and inferior to the British & other White Salt. The objection suggests the means of rendering the use more common.

7. La Virga. commencetelle à exporter elle-même ses denrées, et quelle est la proportion de sa navigation avec celle des autres nations pour le transport des Tabacs et autres articles?

7. Of the Vessels entered between the above dates—The American amounted to

26,705 Tons

The British & those of other nations  
not in alliance

26,903.

The French & those of other nations  
in alliance

2,664.

The law having required no other discriminations, the Custom House books do not furnish a more particular answer.

8. Comme les Americains desirent beaucoup d'obtenir de nouvelles faveurs dans nos Antilles, que pourroient-ils proposer pour faciliter un arrangement de cette nature sans trop prejudicier aux avantages que la France ne cesse de tirer de ses Colonies?

8. The answer to this important question, ought to be the result of much information as well as consideration. At present Mr. M. is not prepared with such an one. When ever he shall have formed an opinion on the subject which he thinks worth the attention of Ct. M. it shall be communicated.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Endorsed by Madison: "Answers to queries of the Count Moustier—sent Oct. 30. 1788." Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:324–28.

<sup>1</sup> Although Madison sent a fair copy of the following answers regarding Franco-American commerce to Moustier this day (see endorsement) in response to questions addressed to him in a letter of March 2 (see *ibid.*, 10:551–52), he had undoubtedly compiled them over a much longer period of time based largely on information supplied him in July by Thomas Pleasants, Jr., which reached him in late August. See *ibid.*, 11:201–7.



## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

N York Novr. 2. 1788

I recd. yesterday your favor of the 23d Ult.<sup>1</sup> The first countenance of the Assembly corresponds with the picture which my imagination had formed of it. The views of the greater part of the opposition to the fœderal Government, and particularly of its principal leader, have ever since the Convention, been regarded by me as permanently hostile, and likely to produce every effort that might endanger or embarrass it. The defects which drew forth objections from many quarters, were evidently of little consequence in the eye of Mr. H—ry. His own arguments proved it. His enmity was levelled, as he did not scruple to insinuate agst the *whole System*; and the destruction of the whole System, I take to be still the secret wish of his heart, and the real object of his pursuit. If temperate and rational alterations only were his plan, is it conceivable that his coalition and patronage would be extended to men whose particular ideas on the subject must differ more from his own than those of others who share most liberally in his hatred?

My last letter<sup>2</sup> with Col. Carrington's communications to which it referred, will have sufficiently explained my sentiments with regard to the Legislative service under the new Constitution. My first wish is to see the Government put into quiet and successful operation; and to afford any service, that may be acceptable from me, for that purpose. My second wish, if that were to be consulted, would prefer, for reasons formerly hinted, an opportunity of contributing that service in the House of Reps. rather than in the Senate; provided the opportunity be attainable from the spontaneous suffrage of the Constituents: Should the real friends to the Constitution think this preference inconsistent with my primary object, as Col. Carrington tells me is the case with some who are entitled to peculiar respect; and view my renouncing it as of any material consequence, I shall not hesitate to comply. You will not infer from the freedom with which these observations are made, that I am in the least unaware of the probability that whatever my inclinations or those of my friends may be, they are likely to be of little avail in the present case. I take it for certain that a clear majority of the Assembly are enemies to the Govt. and I have no reason to suppose that I can be less obnoxious than others on the opposite side. An election into the Senate therefore can hardly come into question. I know also that a good deal will depend on the arrangements for the election of the other branch; and that much may depend moreover on steps to be taken by the Candidates which will not be taken by me. Here again therefore there must be great uncertainty, if not improbability of my election. With these circumstances in view, it is impossible that I can be the dupe of false calculations, even if I were in other cases disposed to indulge them. I trust it is equally im-

possible for the result whatever it may be, to rob me of any reflections which enter into the internal fund of comfort & happiness. Popular favor or disfavor, is no criterion of the character maintained with those whose esteem an honorable ambition must court. Much less can it be a criterion of that maintained with ones self. And when the Spirit of party directs the public voice, it must be a little mind indeed that can suffer in its own estimation, or apprehend danger of suffering in that of others.

The Sepr. British Packet arrived yesterday, but I do not find that she makes any addition to the Stock of European intelligence. The change in the French Ministry is the only event of late date of much consequence; and that had arrived through several other channels. I do not know that it is even yet authenticated; but it seems to be doubted by no one, particularly among those who can best decide on its credibility.

With the utmost affection I am my dear Sir, Yrs. Sincerely,  
Js. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:328–30.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 313–14.

<sup>2</sup> Madison is referring to his letter of October 17 rather than that of October 28.

## James Madison to George Turberville

Dear Sir

N. York Novr. 2. 1788.

Your favor of the 20th Ult. not having got into my hands in time to be acknowledged by the last mail, I have now the additional pleasure of acknowledging along with it your favor of the 24 which I recd. yesterday.<sup>1</sup>

You wish to know my sentiments on the project of another general Convention as suggested by New York. I shall give them to you with great frankness, though I am aware they may not coincide with those in fashion at Richmond or even with your own.<sup>2</sup> I am not of the number if there be any such, who think the Constitution, lately adopted, a faultless work. On the Contrary there are amendments wch. I wished it to have received before it issued from the place in which it was formed. These amendments I still think ought to be made according to the apparent sense of America, and some of them at least I presume will be made. There are others, concerning which doubts are entertained by many, and which have both advocates and opponents on each side of the main question. These I think ought to receive the light of actual experiment, before it would be prudent to admit them into the Constitution. With respect to the first class, the only question is which of the two modes provided be most eligible for the discussion

and adoption of them. The objections agst. a Convention which give a preference to the other mode in my judgment are the following. 1. It will add to the difference among the States on the merits, another and an unnecessary difference concerning the mode. There are amendments which in themselves will probably be agreed to by all the States, and pretty certainly by the requisite proportion of them. If they be contended for in the mode of a Convention, there are unquestionably a number of States who will be so averse and apprehensive as to the mode, that they will reject the merits rather than agree to the mode. A convention therefore does not appear to be the most convenient or probable channel for getting to the object. 2. A convention cannot be called without the unanimous consent of the parties who are to be bound by it, if first principles are to be recurred to; or without the previous application of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the State legislatures, if the forms of the Constitution are to be pursued. The difficulties in either of these cases must evidently be much greater than will attend the origination of amendments in Congress, which may be done at the instance of a single State Legislature, or even without a single instruction on the subject. 3. If a General Convention were to take place for the avowed and sole purpose of revising the Constitution, it would naturally consider itself as having a greater latitude than the Congress appointed to administer and support as well as to amend the system; it would consequently give greater agitation to the public mind; an election into it would be courted by the most violent partizans on both sides; it wd. probably consist of the most heterogeneous characters; would be the very focus of that flame which has already too much heated men of all parties; would no doubt contain individuals of insidious views, who under the mask of seeking alterations popular in some parts but inadmissible in other parts of the Union might have a dangerous opportunity of sapping the very foundations of the fabric. Under all these circumstances it seems scarcely to be presumeable that the deliberations of the body could be conducted in harmony, or terminate in the general good. Having witnessed the difficulties and dangers experienced by the first Convention which assembled under every propitious circumstance, I should tremble for the result of a Second, meeting in the present temper of America, and under all the disadvantages I have mentioned. 4. It is not unworthy of consideration that the prospect of a second Convention would be viewed by all Europe as a dark and threatening Cloud hanging over the Constitution just established, and perhaps over the Union itself; and wd. therefore suspend at least the advantages this great event has promised us on that side. It is a well known fact that this event has filled that quarter of the Globe with equal wonder and veneration, that its influence is already secretly but powerfully working in favor of liberty in France, and it is fairly to be inferred that the final event there may be materially affected by the prospect of things here. We are not sufficiently sensible



of the importance of the example which this Country may give to the world: nor sufficiently attentive to the advantages we may reap from the late reform, if we avoid bringg. it into danger. The last loan in Holland and that alone, saved the U.S. from Bankruptcy in Europe; and that loan was obtained from a belief that the Constitution then depending wd. be certainly speedily, quietly, and finally established, & by that means put America into a permanent capacity to discharge with honor & punctuality all her engagements.

I am Dr. Sir, Yours

Js. Madison Jr

FC (DLC: Madison Papers). Endorsed by Madison: "Copy in substance of a letter to G. L. Turberville Eqr." Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:330–32.

<sup>1</sup> For these two letters, see *ibid.*, pp. 309, 316–17.

<sup>2</sup> Madison's political supporters in Richmond intended to publish this letter to counter the charges of Patrick Henry's allies that Madison opposed amending the Constitution. Printing the letter, according to Richard Bland Lee, "will vindicate your character from the aspersions of those who from their enmity to the Constitution have inlisted themselves adversaries to you—and are making every exertion however unmanly to exclude you from the house of Representatives." Madison, however, withheld his permission. See *ibid.*, pp. 346–48, 368, 391–93, 396.

## Charles Thomson to the States

Sir,

Office of Secy of Congress, Novr. 4. 1788

I have now the honor to transmit to your Exy herewith enclosed two copies of the Journal of Congress from the 20th of August to the end of the federal year, one for the executive the other for the legislative department of government. As a few months more will close the journal of *the United States in Congress assembled* and the proceedings of last year would make but a small volume I mean to include both in one and defer binding up the volume till the first of March next,<sup>1</sup> at which time proceedings will commence under the New Constitution.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellencys Most Obedient & Most humble servant.

Cha Thomson

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). RC (MdAA: Red Books).

<sup>1</sup> See Thomson to the States, March 18, 1789.

## James Madison to James Monroe

Dear Sir

N York. Novr. 5. [17]88

I have your favor of the 26 Ult.<sup>1</sup> The reflection you make on the Resolutions concerning the Mississip is not an unnatural one under



the impressions left on your mind by the former proceedings on that subject. The Resolutions were certainly & bona fide, meant however to counteract the tendency of those proceedings, and hand over the subject to the new Government under favorable circumstances. A declaration that the right was an *Essential* one & ought to be supported *as such*, was thought sufficiently forcible and unequivocal. It would not have done to have put an absolute bar to a temporary forbearance, because that might have stood in the way of any arrangement suspending the use for ever so short a time, and ever so beneficial & desirable to the Western peoples themselves. The impossibility of mistaking the object of the Resolution is strengthened in the case by the unpublished Resolution expressly interdicting further negotiations with Spain. Gardoqui it seems considers the proceeding as putting an end to his views, and says he shall in consequence of it return to Spain. What think you of the following project to which he gives his countenance. George Morgan of N. Jersey has proposed that a large tract of several hundred miles extent on the West side of the Mississippi shall be granted to emigrants from the U.S. who are to receive from Spain each about 20 Dollrs. bounty, a Settlement in land, and to enjoy certain immunities as free men, but in general to be Spanish Subjects: to be under Spanish laws, and be the instruments of Spanish policy. Gardoqui gives serious encouragement to the scheme, and Morgan is taking preparatory steps on his part.<sup>2</sup> I give you this in confidence because I have recd. some parts of it under that veil, and have not as yet sufficiently ascertained the circumstances relating to other parts. A watchful eye ought to be kept on the machinations of Spain. Your bargain with Col. Nicholas involves circumstances of which I am not a competent judge. I sincerely wish it may answer all your calculations. The salubrity of Charlottesville & its neighbourhood to Monticello are advantages which in any result, will make the bargain valuable to you.

We have no late information from Europe, nor any thing from any domestic quarter worth mentioning.

Your letter to your brother will go as you desire by the British Packet which sails today. The letter to Mr. Jefferson was not inclosed as you intended. The delay is not of much consequence as there is no opportunity [of it being?] sent. The French Packets have for some time been discon[tinued].

I saw the amiable family with which you are connected last evening and have the pleasure to inform you & Mrs. Monroe that they are all well. My best respects wait on her with assurances to yourself, of the sincere esteem & affection with wch. I am Dear Sir, Yr Obedt. freind & servt.,

Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:332–33.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 317–18.

<sup>2</sup> For George Morgan's negotiations with Diego de Gardoqui and Louisiana governor Estevan Miró over the 15 million acre colony of New Madrid and the failure of the project in late 1789, see Max Savelle, *George Morgan: Colony Builder* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 200–228.

## James Madison to George Washington

Dear Sir

N. York Novr. 5th. 1788

The inclosed memorandum was put into my hands by Mr. St. John the French Consul. He is a very worthy man & entitled by his philanthropy and zealous patronage of whatever he deems useful, to much esteem and regard. You will therefore oblige me by putting it in my power to afford him the little gratification he asks.<sup>1</sup> I have another request to trouble you with, which concerns myself. Col. H. Lee tells me that he has purchased the tract of land thro' which the Canal at the great falls is to run, and on which the bason will be, for £4,000. The tract contains 500 Acres only and is under the incumbrance of a rent of £150 Sterlg. per annum; but on the other hand derives from its situation, as he supposes, a certain prospect of becoming immensely valuable. He paints it in short as the seat of an early Town, the lots of which will be immediately productive, and possessing other peculiar advantages which make the bargain inestimable. In addition to many instances of his friendship he tenders me a part in it, and urges my acceptance on grounds of advantage to myself alone. I am thoroughly persuaded that I am indebted for the proposal to the most disinterested and affectionate motives, but knowing that the fervor with which he pursues his objects sometimes affects the estimate he forms of them, and being in no condition to make hazardous experiments, it is adviseable for me to have the sanction of other judgments to his opinions. You are well acquainted with the situation and can at once decide whether it presents the material and certain advantages on which Col. Lee calculates. A *general intimation* therefore of the light in which the matter strikes you, will lay me under a very particular obligation. I am by no means sure, that in any result it will be in my power to profit by Col. Lee's friendship, but it may be of some consequence whether the opportunity be worth attending to or not.

My information from Richmond is very unpropitious to federal policy. Yours is no doubt more full and more recent. A decided and malignant majority may do many things of a disagreeable nature; but I trust the Constitution is too firmly established to be now materially vulnerable. The elections for the Legislatures of Penna., N. Jersey, & Maryland ensure measures of contrary complexion in those States. Indeed Virginia is the only instance among the ratifying States in which the Politics of the Legislature are at variance with the sense of

the people expressed by their representatives in Convention. We hear nothing from Massachs. or N. Hampshire since the Meeting of their General Courts. It is understood that in both the appointments & arra[n]gements for the Government will be calculated to support and as far as possible to dignify it. The public conversation seems to be not yet settled on the Vice President. Mr. Hancock & Mr. Adams have been most talked of. The former *it is said* rejects the idea of any secondary Station; and the latter does not unite the suffrages of his own State, and is unpopular in many other places. As other Candidates however are not likely to present themselves, and New England will be considered as having strong pretensions, it seems not improbable that the question will lie between the Gentlemen abovenamed. Mr. Jay & Genl. Knox have been mentioned; but it is supposed that neither of them will exchange their present situations for an unprofitable dignity.

I shall leave this in a day or two, but am not yet finally determined how far my journey may be continued Southward.<sup>2</sup> A few lines on the subject above mentioned will either find me in Philada. or be there taken care of for me. Should any thing occur there or elsewhere worth your attention it shall be duly communicated by Dear Sir your very respectful and Affectionate Servant, Js. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:334–35.

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed memorandum from St. Jean de Crèvecoeur has not been found but it concerned the planting and cultivation of the sulla seeds that he had sent to Washington the year before. See *ibid.*, pp. 350–51, 370.

<sup>2</sup> In accounts submitted to the Virginia treasurer in December 1788 (Continental Congress Papers, Vi), Madison claimed \$816 for “travelling to & service in Congress from July 1st to Novr. 3, being 125 days” and for “returning from Congress—11 days.” For his full accounts for 1787–88, see *ibid.*, pp. 373–76.

## Alexander Hamilton to Theodore Sedgwick

Dear Sir

New York, Novr. 9. 1788

Your last letter but one met me at Albany attending Court;<sup>1</sup> from whence I am but just returned. Yours of the 2d instant is this moment handed me.<sup>2</sup>

I am very sorry for the scism you hint at among the Fœderalists; but I have so much confidence in the good management of the fast friends of the constitution that I hope no ill consequences will ensue from that disagreement. It will however be worthy of great care to avoid suffering a difference of opinion on collateral points to produce any serious division between those who have hitherto drawn together in the great national question. Permit me to add that I do not think you should allow any line to be run between those who wish to trust al-



terations to future experience and those who are desirous of them at the present juncture. The rage for amendments is in my opinion rather to be parried by address than encountered with open force. And I should therefore be loth to learn that your parties have been arranged professedly upon the distinction I have mentioned. The *mode* in which amendments may best be made and twenty other matters may serve as pretexts for avoiding the evil and securing the good.

On the question between Mr. H—— and Mr. A——<sup>3</sup> Mr. King will probably have informed you that I have upon the whole concluded that the latter ought to be supported. My measures will be taken accordingly. I had but one scruple; but after mature consideration I have relinquished it. Mr. A to a sound understanding has *always* appeared to me to add an ardent love for the public good; and as his further knowlege of the world seems to have corrected those jealousies which he is represented to have once been influenced by I trust nothing of the kind suggested in my former letter will disturb the harmony of the administration.

Let me continue to hear from you and believe me to be with very great esteem & regard, Yr. friend & servt, A Hamilton

RC (DLC: Hamilton Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Hamilton to Sedgwick, October 9, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:228.

<sup>3</sup> John Hancock and John Adams.

## Cyrus Griffin to Thomas Matthews

Sir<sup>1</sup> November 22d. 1788.

Be so obliging to inform the House of Delegates that I shall continue in New York to execute the important Trust with which the general Assembly are pleased to honor me.<sup>2</sup>

I receive this further Mark of their Confidence with gratitude and pleasure & will endeavor to answer the expectations of my Country.

I have the honor to be Sir, with great official & personal Respect,  
Your most obedt. humble servt., Cyrus Griffin

RC (Vi: Executive Communications).

<sup>1</sup> Matthews had been elected speaker at the June session of the Virginia House of Delegates.

<sup>2</sup> Griffin, John Brown, John Dawson, James Madison, and Mann Page had been elected on October 31 to serve in the brief remaining session of the Confederation Congress from November 3, 1788, to March 4, 1789, for which see *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia* [October 20–December 30, 1788] (Richmond: T. W. White, 1828), p. 18. Griffin had presented his credentials on November 15. See *JCC*, 34:604.



## Roger Alden to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Dear sir,

New York. Novr. 23d. 1788.

I am confident that no Act in the secret Journal warrants the opinion—the Governor is not empowered to purchase or dispose of lands for the public—all negotiations of this kind are transacted at the treasury Office. In treaties he can purchase the Indian rights within those limits which the U.S pretend to claim by state cessions. I cannot say how far the public Act of June 6th may excite Genl. Parson's fears<sup>1</sup>—having more knowledge of the tract, You can Judge better than me, the operation of the Orders given to the Geographer. I have the pleasure to enclose the first pamphlet of the Journal—and am, with sincerity, Your friend & Humbl servt.,

R. Alden

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> This June 6, 1788, act (1) directed the geographer of the United States "to ascertain . . . the boundary line between the United States and the States of New York and Massachusetts agreeably to the deeds of cession of the said States," and (2) authorized the sale of lands west of the newly established western Pennsylvania boundary line on Lake Erie. Apparently Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons' fears pertained to the opening of the latter area to sale, for which see *JCC*, 34:57–58, 83–84, 203. See also Pennsylvania Delegates to Benjamin Franklin, June 6, 1788.

## James Madison to George Washington

Dear Sir

Philada. Decr 2d 1788

The information conveyed in your favor of the 17th ulto.<sup>1</sup> lays me under great obligations. It was by no means my wish to have imposed the task of so full and particular a view of the subject. The general result in your own mind was all that I had in contemplation.

One of the papers herewith inclosed will shew you the state of the election for the Senate in Massts.<sup>2</sup> It was understood here that Mr. Bowdoin was appointed & I have transmitted the error to some of my correspondents. N. Hampshire has made choice of President Langdon & Judge Bartlett. N Jersey of Mr. Patterson and Docr. Elmer. Delaware of Mr. Read and Mr. Bassett. South Carolina has postponed her choice till January. Mr. Izard, Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. Butler and Mr. C. Pinkney are the subjects of conversation. Penna. alone has arrived at the elections for the other branch. The entire result is not yet known; but a sufficient number of the Counties have been heard from to warrant a confidence that 7 out of the 8, and a probability that the whole eight, will be found in the federal ticket. This prospect is on the whole auspicious; and shews the folly of Virga if the measures of the legislature are to be taken for the sense of the State in urging another

Convention at this time. The real friends to the object professed by the leaders at Richmond, ought to see that the only hope of obtaining alterations lies in not aiming at too many, and in being conciliatory as to the mode.

I came to this City with a view either to return to New York or proceed to Virginia as circumstances might require. I was not sure that the spirit of party might not take pleasure in superseding the opportunity of remaining longer in N. York. That I find has not been the case and a task which I had assigned myself for the winter, or rather a part of it, would be favored by a situation in which I could have access to the papers of Congress. On this account, a return to N York for the ensuing fraction of a year would not be inconvenient.<sup>3</sup> But I am pressed much on several quarters to try the effect of presence on the district into which I fall, for electing a Representative; and am apprehensive that an omission of that expedient, may eventually expose me to blame. At the same time I have an extreme distaste to steps having an electioneering appearance, altho' they should lead to an appointment in which I am disposed to serve the public; and am very dubious moreover whether any step which might seem to denote a solicitude on my part would not be as likely to operate against as in favor of my pretensions. In this situation, I am not clearly & finally decided as to the part which ought to be taken. When I see the counties with which Orange is associated, I shall perhaps be more able to form some estimates which should influence my determination. This information I hourly expect, and in case it should induce me to continue my course to Virginia, I shall leave this immediately, or at least as soon as I can bear the journey. I have for some time past been much indisposed with the piles. They have not yet entirely gone off; and may possibly detain me some days longer than the season would otherwise admit.

With every sentiment of esteem & affection, I am Dear Sir, your Mo.  
Obed. hble servt.,  
Js. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:376–78.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 349–51; and Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 1:112–15. For Madison's use of the "information" supplied by Washington concerning Henry Lee's purchase of 500 acres of land at Great Falls, Va., and Madison's rejection of Lee's offer to join him in developing the property, see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:371–72.

<sup>2</sup> Not found, but for speculation on which enclosed newspaper may have contained this information, see *ibid.*, p. 378n.

<sup>3</sup> Madison is referring to his October 31 reelection to the Confederation Congress for the "fraction of a year" from November 3, 1788, to March 4, 1789, for which see Cyrus Griffin to Thomas Matthews, November 22, note 2. In a letter of November 23 to Edmund Randolph from Philadelphia, Madison had also discussed his political prospects. "My present situation embarrasses me somewhat. When I left N. York, I not only expected that the Choice for the Senate would be as it is, but was apprehensive that the spirit of party might chuse to add the supposed mortification of dropping my name from the deputation to Congress for the fraction of a year remaining. I accordingly left

that place under arrangements which did not require my return. At the same time, I had it in view, if left entirely to my option, to pass the winter or part of it there; being desirous of employing some of the time in matters which need access to the papers of Congress, & supposing moreover that I should be there master more of my time than in Virginia. The opportunity of executing my plan is given me I find by one of the votes of the Assembly. On the other hand I am now pressed by some of my friends to repair to Virginia, as a requisite expedient for counteracting the machinations agst. my election into the H. of Reps. To this again I am extremely disinclined. . . . It will have an electioneering appearance which I always despised and wish to shun. And as I should shew myself in Orange only, where there will probably be little difficulty, my presence could have no very favorable effect: Whilst it is very possible that such a mark of solicitude strengthened by my not declining a reappointment to Congress, and now declining to serve in it, might by a dextrous misinterpretation, be made to operate on the other side. These considerations are strong inducements to join my colleagues at N. York, and leave things to their own course in Virginia." Madison Papers, DLC; and Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:362–63. For conjecture concerning the project Madison wished to undertake which required "access to the papers of Congress," see *ibid.*, p. 363n.1.

## John Armstrong, Jr. to Tench Coxe

Sir,

3d. Decem. 1788.

On the first subject of your late letter I can advise nothing certainly. It will be rather extraordinary if we have a Congress 'till the Middle of Jany. I infer this from the experience of the last year, & the declining importance both of the body & the business.

On the Other, I have already written to the S.E. Council;<sup>1</sup> & Irwin promis'd to add some information which it was easier to give in person, than on paper. I suppose the Comptroller<sup>2</sup> to be possess'd of both. It will be impossible for us to divine what the present Congress may do—but if they meet in the same spirit (on this point) in which the last parted—it is quite a lost hope to aim at a farther extension of the term for settlement. But it may be as necessary in politics, as religion, to hope against probability, & to endeavor things absurd & impossible.

I am with respect, your Obedt. servant, J Armstrong jr.

RC (PHi: Coxè Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> Pennsylvania comptroller John Nicholson.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Decr. 8. 1788.

This will be handed to you by Mr. Gouverneur Morris who will embark in a few days for Havre, from whence he will proceed immediately to Paris. He is already well known to you by character; and as far



as there may be a defect of personal acquaintance I beg leave to supply it by this introduction.

My two last were of Oct. 8 & 17th. They furnished a State of our affairs as they then stood. I shall here add the particulars of most consequence, which have since taken place; remembering however that many details will be most conveniently gathered from the conversation of Mr. Morris who is thoroughly possessed of American transactions.

Notwithstanding the formidable opposition made to the New federal Government, first in order to prevent its adoption, and since in order to place its administration in the hands of disaffected men, there is now both a certainty of its peaceable commencement in March next, and a flattering prospect that it will be administered by men who will give it a fair trial. General Washington will certainly be called to the Executive department. Mr. Adams, who is {pledged to support him}<sup>1</sup> will probably be the vice president. The enemies to the Government, at the head & the most inveterate, of whom, is Mr. Henry, are laying a train for the election of Governour Clinton, but it cannot succeed unless the federal votes be more dispersed than can well happen. Of the seven States which have appointed their Senators, Virginia alone will have antifederal members in that branch. Those of N. Hampshire are President Langdon & Judge Bartlett—of Massachusetts Mr. Strong and Mr. Dalton—of Connecticut Doctr. Johnson and Mr. Elsworth—of N. Jersey Mr. Patterson and Mr. Elmer—of Penna. Mr. R. Morris and Mr. McClay—of Delaware Mr. Geo. Reed and Mr. Bassett—of Virginia Mr. R. H. Lee and Col. Grayson. Here is already a majority of the ratifying States on the side of the Constitution. And it is not doubted that it will be reinforced by the appointments of Maryland, S. Carolina and Georgia. As one branch of the Legislature of N. York is attached to the Constitution, it is not improbable that one of the Senators from that State also will be added to the majority. In the House of Representatives the proportion of antifederal members will of course be greater, but can not, if present appearances are to be trusted, amount to a majority, or even a very formidable minority. The election for this branch has taken place as yet no where except in Penna. and here the returns are not yet come in from all the Counties. It is certain however that seven out of the eight, and probable that the whole eight representatives will bear the federal stamp. Even in Virginia where the enemies to the Government form  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the *legislature* it is computed that more than half the number of Representatives, who will be elected by the *people*, formed into districts for the purpose, will be of the same stamp. By some it is computed that 7 out of the 10, allotted to that State, will be opposed to the politics of the present Legislature.

The questions which divide the public at present relate 1. to the extent of the amendments that ought to be made to the Constitution. 2.



to the mode in which they ought to be made. The friends of the Constitution, some from an approbation of particular amendments, others from a spirit of conciliation, are generally agreed that the System should be revised. But they wish the revisal to be carried no farther than to supply additional guards for liberty, without abridging the sum of power transferred from the States to the general Government or altering previous to trial, the particular structure of the latter and are fixed in opposition to the risk of another Convention, whilst the purpose can be as well answered, by the other mode provided for introducing amendments. Those who have opposed the Constitution, are on the other hand, zealous for a second Convention, and for a revisal which may either not be restrained at all, or extend at least as far as alterations have been proposed by any State. Some of this class are, no doubt, friends to an effective Government, and even to the substance of the particular Government in question. It is equally certain that there are others, who urge a Second Convention with the insidious hope, of throwing all things into Confusion, and of subverting the fabric just established, if not the Union itself. If the first Congress embrace the policy which circumstances mark out, they will not fail to propose of themselves, every desirable safeguard for popular rights; and by thus separating the well meaning from the designing opponents, fix on the latter their true character, and give to the Government its due popularity and stability.

{<sup>2</sup>Moustier proves a most unlucky appointment}. He is {unsocial proud} and {niggardly and betrays a sort of fastidiousness toward this country}. He {suffers also from his illicit connection with Madame de Brehan} which is {universally known} and {offensive to American manners—she} is {perfectly soured toward this country}. The {ladies of New York} (a {few within the official circle excepted}) have for some {time withdrawn their attentions from her. She knows the cause}, is {deeply stung by it, views every thing thro the medium of rancor} and {conveys her impressions to her paramour over whom she exercises despotic sway}. Latterly {their time has [been]} chiefly {spent in [traveling]}<sup>3</sup>. The first {visit was to an Indian treaty at Fort Schuyler} and {thence to the Oneida town}. The {next to Boston} and {thence to N. Hampshire}. The {last to Mount Vernon from which} they but {lately returned}. On {their journeys} it is {said they often neglect the} most obvious {precautions for veiling their intimacy}. At {Boston he im}prudently {suffered etiquette to prevent even} an {interview with Governor Hancock}. The {inhabitants taking part with the governor} neither {visited nor invited the count}. They were the less apprehensive of a misinter{pretation of the neglect as the} most {cordial intercourse} had {just preceded between the town} and {the French squadron}. Both the {count and the marchioness are particularly unpopular among their countrymen here}. Such of them as are not under {restraint make very

free remarks} and are {anxious for a new diplomatic arrangement}. It is but right to add to these {particulars that there is reason to believe} that unlucky {impressions were made on the count at his first [*arrival?*]} probably {by de la Forest the consul a cunning disciple I} take it {of Marbois's politics} and by something in {his communications with Jay} which {he considered as the effect of coldness} and {sourness toward France}.

I am a stranger to the {errand on which G. Morris goes to Europe}. It {relates I presume to the affairs of R. Morris} which {are still much deranged}.<sup>4</sup>

I have received and paid the draught in favor of Doctr. Ramsay; I had before paid the order in favor of Mr. Thomson, immediately on the receipt of your letter. About 220 dollars of the balance due on the last state of our account, were left in Virginia for the use of your Nephews. There are a few lesser sums which stand on my side of the account which I shall take credit for, when you can find leisure to forward another statement of your friendly advances for me.

I shall leave this place in a day or two for Virga. where my friends who wish me to co-operate in putting our political machine into activity as a member of the House of Representatives, press me to attend. They made me a candidate for the Senate, for which I had not allotted my pretensions. The attempt was defeated by Mr. Henry who is omnipotent in the present legislature and who added to the expeditents common on such occasions, a public philippic agst. my federal principles. He has taken equal pains in forming the Counties into districts for the election of Reps. to associate with Orange such as are most devoted to his politics, and most likely to be swayed by the prejudices excited agst. me. From the best information I have of the prevailing temper of the district, I conclude that my going to Virga will answer no other purpose than to satisfy the Opinions and intreaties of my friends. The trip is in itself very disagreeable both on account of its electioneering appearance, and the sacrifice of the winter for which I had assigned a task which the intermission of Congressional business would have made convenient at New York.

With the Sincerst affection & the highest esteem, I am, Dear Sir yrs.,  
Js. Madison Jr

[P.S.] The letter herewith inclosed for Mr. Gordon<sup>5</sup> is from Mr. Cyrus Griffin. The other from Mr. Macarty An American Citizen settled in France, but at present here on business.<sup>6</sup> He appears to be a very worthy man & I have promised to recommend his letter to your care, as a certain channel of conveyance.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:381–84.

<sup>1</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in cipher.

<sup>2</sup> After his letters to Jefferson had been returned to him later in life, Madison inserted an asterisk before Moustier's name and wrote in the margin: "See letter May 23 & 27, 1789. for a more favorable view of him & Mad. Brehan," for which see *ibid.*, 12:182–83, 185–86.

<sup>3</sup> Bracketed addition supplied by Jefferson for cipher omitted by Madison.

<sup>4</sup> For Gouverneur Morris's European "errand," which began with an attempt "to restore the badly deteriorated affairs of his friend Robert Morris, and to advance his own fortunes," but which later included a speculative scheme to "purchase virtually the entire domestic debt of the United States," see E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 264–67. See also Max M. Mintz, *Gouverneur Morris and the American Revolution* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 205–28.

<sup>5</sup> That is, William Gordon.

<sup>6</sup> William Macarty, who had settled in L'Orient in 1781. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 12:604–5.

## David Gelston to John Smith

Dear Sir,

New York Decr. 19th, 1788

I catch the present minute to scratch you one line by our Mutual Friend Doctor Gardiner.<sup>1</sup> We are well—hold on upon your right as a Member of the Assembly—choose your Senators to the great Court of the Nation as you have hitherto Chooosen Delegates to Congress—or in some mode equally Republican<sup>2</sup>—as to Fœderal principles or by whatever name it may [be] called I know nothing off—in a word let all your deliberations and all your Votes be truly Republican, advantageous & beneficale to your Country. I have not time to give you particular directions. Let me know what you are about—be minute—be particular—precise in your information. I don't like your Broad Hints. It may be—& perhaps—& possibly &c &c &c. It is so courtly, so like apeing the great Man. I have not time to add another word, only that I am your assured Friend,

David Gelston<sup>3</sup>

RC (NHi: John Smith of Mastic Collection). Addressed: "John Smith Esquire. Hon'd by N. Gardiner Esq., Albany."

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Nathaniel Gardiner, a New York assemblyman representing Suffolk County.

<sup>2</sup> Gelston also discussed this subject again in letters he wrote to Smith on January 1 and 9, which are in *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 3:259–60, 313–14.

<sup>3</sup> New York elected Gelston, John Hathorn, Samuel Jones, Philip Pell, and Abraham Yates delegates to Congress on December 16. Gelston attended and submitted his credentials to Secretary Charles Thomson on February 18; Pell, the last delegate recorded as attending under the Confederation Congress, appeared on March 2. See *JCC*, 34:605, 614–15.

## Cyrus Griffin to George Read

My dear sir

N York, December 1788.

I am solicited by Mr. John Livingston and his friends to ask your Interest for him as clerk of the Senate under the new Constitution; he has acted as my secretary while president of Congress, is sensible, and writes a good hand.<sup>1</sup>

I flatter myself with the pleasure of seeing you in N York before I quit it—I hope some time in March.

I have the honor to be, with real friendship & regard, your affet.  
humble servant,  
C Griffin

RC (De-Ar: General Reference Collection).

<sup>1</sup> John Robert Livingston (1755–1851), brother of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York, had served as secretary to the president of Congress since 1786 under Nathaniel Gorham, Arthur St. Clair, and Griffin, for which see PCC, item 141, 1:119, 247, 293, 2:503. On January 18, 1789, Livingston wrote to former New Hampshire delegate John Langdon advancing himself “as a Candidate for the Secretaryship to the Federal Senate. . . being descended from a family of unblemished attachment to the interests of the Union” (Herbert E. Klingelhofer Collection, Bethesda, Md., 1995), but the newly-formed U.S. Senate selected Samuel A. Otis to be its secretary with Benjamin Bankson as principal clerk. See *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 1:ix. Livingston later wrote to President Washington seeking office but, like other members of the Livingston family, he received no federal appointment. See Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 2:394–95.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear Sir:

New York, 5th January, '89.

Your favor of the 11th ult. came to hand three days ago. The post in cold weather seems to move slowly. I am very glad that the subject of the new Constitution is to be again before the citizens of North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> Presuming that the same cause that prevented your attendance at the last meeting of the Assembly will prevent you from attending at the next Convention and Assembly, I shall, in such case only, assure the inhabitants of Edenton of my readiness to serve them; but if you can make it convenient to attend as the representative of that town, which I heartily wish, I shall offer to serve some of the counties as delegate in the Convention only. I have, as you may believe, the business much at heart, and wish to add my small mite to the endeavors of our friends.



Mrs. Williamson,<sup>2</sup> who has at this instant been inquiring to whom I am writing, and been informed that I am writing to an inhabitant of Edenton, who is a particular friend, and one of the best men, as well as best lawyers in America, says that either of these circumstances would induce her to present you with her compliments, but all of them united engage her to request that I would present you with a tender of her esteem, &c. Hu. Williamson.

MS not found; reprinted from McRee, *Iredell Correspondence*, 2:248.

<sup>1</sup> Following North Carolina's rejection of the federal Constitution in August, a call for a second state convention was adopted November 30, 1788, although it did not actually convene until November 16, 1789.

<sup>2</sup> For Williamson's recent marriage, see John Dawson to James Madison, January 29?, note 7.

## Robert Barnwell to John Kean

Dr Sir

New York Jan 10 1789.

I did myself the pleasure of writing you sometime ago<sup>1</sup> which letter I hope you have received as it contained the agreeable information of the good health of all of your relations and acquaintances whom I knew, since then I have had the satisfaction of being introduced to a number of valuable characters, and amongst them though at the head in my opinion is Mr. Jay, from some cause unknown to my self I had ever entertained the highest estimation of the Ability and Principle of this gentleman. Neither his Official writings nor his conversation gave me room to think this predilection misplaced. The most happy talent in the distribution of his Subjects, the closest reasoning and the most impartial Reports combine to render him the most proper person for the Office which he holds, and on seing him and hearing him speak (the purity of his language excepted) could I believe the transmigration of souls. I could readily distinguish the same Spirit and appearance which belonged to and inspired a Hamden and a Pym.

The Politicks of this State are at present particularly interesting. The spirit of Party might be said to rage here. The Senate and house of Representatives, now sitting at Albany, are devided in sentiment upon the mode of choosing Senators and Electors, the Senate have a Fœderal majority of four in twelve, the other house an Anti-Fœderal majority of eight in thirty two. The latter are for choosing the above-mentioned persons according to the principle of the State Constitution. The Senate stickle for the appointment of one Senator and half

of the Electors. In the one case they will devide and consequently almost render useless their representation. In the other the vote of the State will be entirely and invariably opposed to the New Government. The Men of character, ability and Fœderal principles in this City expect and hope that the Senate will not yield, in which case the probability is, that they will neither appoint Senators or Electors, and even this is here considered as being better than the suffering of the unaccommodating Anti-Fœderal spirit to commix with the Government. This is certainly a subject of considerable import both as it respects the State and the Union. As it respects the State, because it has established a System of party gover[n]ment which most certainly will tinge every transaction unconnected or not with the New Government, and as it relates to the Union, because it will snag into their consideration the question so much disliked of the powers which are vested in their Representatives of direction, the Times, Manners and places of holding and conducting elections. A Question of the most forbidding aspect and of the most painfull tendency. This interesting business will be, soon, or rather is decided upon already. Although no intelligence has been here received of it, in a few days we shall hear its issue and as I cannot delay the dispatch of this letter, I will do myself what I am apprehensive the writing to you can alone make the pleasure of informing you of it by the next opportunity. You doubtless wish to hear whether we have made a Congress and what we are like to do. The backwardness of the neighbouring Members hath hitherto prevented us from forming a house, although we expect it daily. Should we be able to proceed to business, a question of considerable importance will I imagine be gone into upon the subject of an agreement relating to the delivery of Fugitives on our part and that of Spain. I had a conversation with Mr Jay a few days ago on this point and he seems to make not the least doubt, but that Don D. de Gardoqui will treat upon this seperately from a general treaty. This to us would be as important in its consequences as it was unexpected on my part. This is so generally spoken of that I do not think it improper to speak of to you. You will do me the favor to say nothing about it, if you perceive an impropriety. I meant to have said something more but the opportunity presses and I have but time to request my most respectful compliments to Mrs Kean and to assure you, With how much Sincerity I am  
Your Humble Servt, Robt Barnwell

RC (NNC: Jay Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found. Barnwell had presented his credentials to Congress on January 1. See *JCC*, 34:605, 610n.2; and *PCC*, item 179, 2:10–11.

## Samuel A. Otis to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Dear Sir

New York Jany 12th 1789

Agreeably to your request I inform you that So Carolina, Verginia, Pensilvania & N Jersey are represented in Congress & that Massachusetts & N Carolina probably will be in a few days; Other Delegates are expected & I wish to see Connecticut upon the ground.

I congratulate you upon your election to a seat in the New Government.<sup>1</sup> I am disappointed in mine contrary to well grounded expectations; upon which having been long practised in public affairs, my misfortunes peculiar, & my commercial prospects at an end, I am induced to solicit public favor.<sup>2</sup> I find Mr Thomson will not accept of being Clerk of the Senate, to which, or the Clerkship of the House, I am advised to offer myself a Candidate,<sup>3</sup> And in either of which your friendship and influence would go far to further my views, which have never extended thro life than a decent subsistence, and which now bounds my most sanguine wishes or aspiring hopes. Should you Sir approve my proposition as it relates to either of the appointments, and being a stranger to some of your honorable Colleagues, would mention my pretensions, it would confer an obligation.

The Conduct of Clinton & the assembly is alarming, his opposition is open, decided & formidable.

You will present me very respectfully to Mrs Wadsworth & your agreeable family & beleive me with esteem & respect, Your most humble Sert,

Sam. A. Otis

RC (PHi: Dreer Members of Congress Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For Wadsworth's election to the United States House of Representatives by the Connecticut Assembly on January 6, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 2:43–44.

<sup>2</sup> For Otis' rejection by the Massachusetts voters for a seat in the new United States House of Representatives, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:544, 547–48, 569, 609. In the course of the campaign, Otis' 1785 bankruptcy had been turned against him and became an issue in determining the outcome. *Ibid.*, pp. 550–52.

<sup>3</sup> For Otis' quest for a position in the new United States Senate and his appointment as its secretary on April 8, a position he held until his death in 1814, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, vol. 15 (forthcoming).

## Tench Coxe to Benjamin Rush

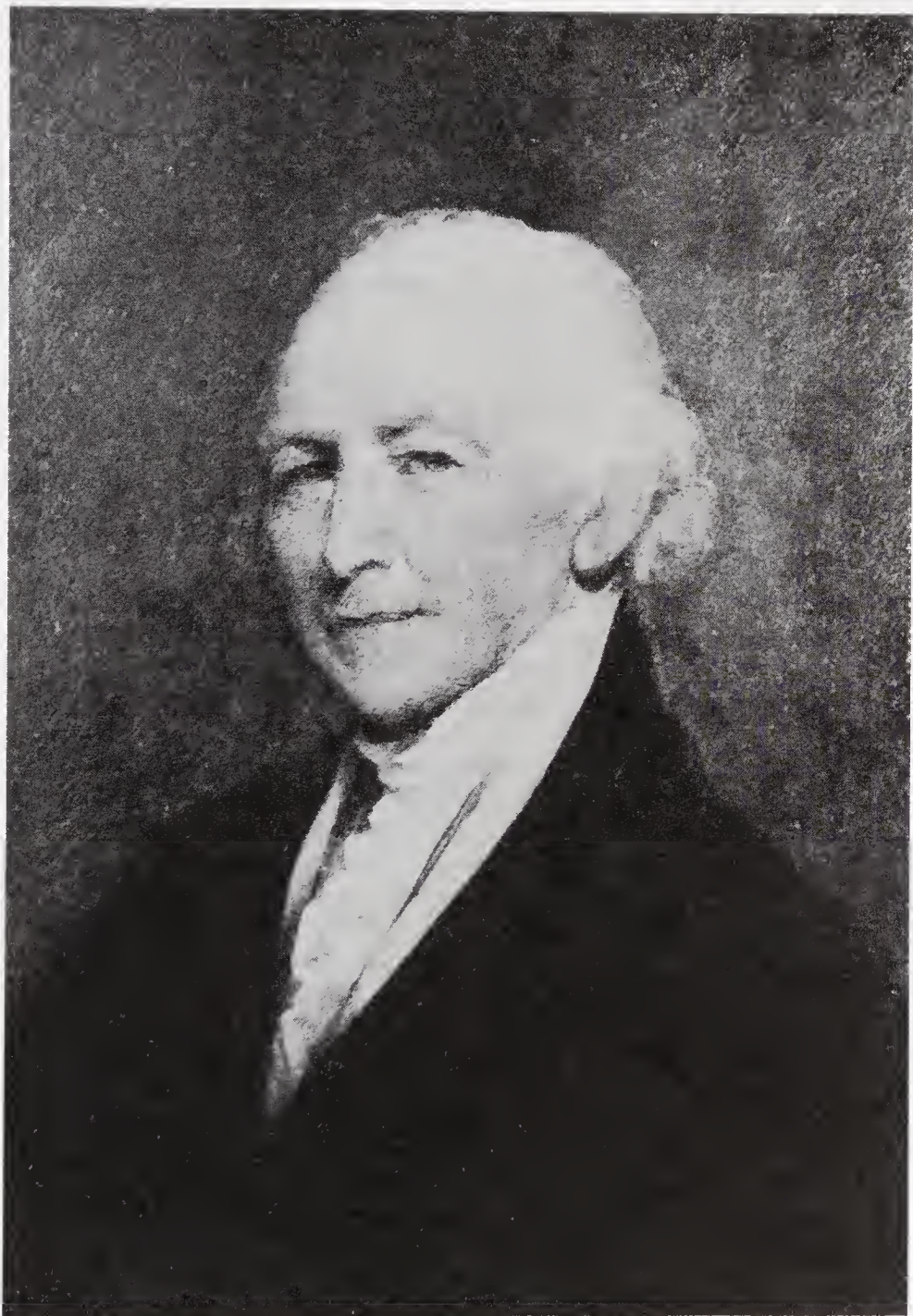
Dear Sir

New York. Jany 13th 1788 [*i.e.*, 1789]

My Engagements in Society here interfere much with my Attentions to my friends in Philad. Nothing else prevented my writing you by this days post. It is probable however I may have more to communicate in Consequence.

I find Mr. Adams much spoken of here as V.P. but I think he will lose votes in some places from a fear that he will be put too near the





Samuel A. Otis



Genl. If there were danger of that I should be against him, but Virginias pride, interest & affections will secure her antifederal votes in favor of Gen. W. & render her rejection of him impossible. I have come to believe Mr. Adams's friends are taking pains to secure his Election. Whatever appears in his favor should be now very sensible and moderate—not calculated for popular impression. I wish to be *perfectly unknown* & unobserved, but I shall not omit to promote him.

New York has again clog'd the federal System by suspending her election of Senators & Electors.<sup>1</sup> It is thought by many here the Senate will give way. I doubt it much. The Scene of emotion at Albany is almost as great as that at Poughkeepsie was.

It appears probably that Massachusetts will be very long in fixing their Electors & Reps. for it seems there must be a Majority of the whole voters.

I have recd. a letter from Maryland from wch. I find they want information about the person proposed as V.P. I have answered it as you will suppose. What I mention on this point of the V.P. *confine* to Mr. Wilson, and request him to say Nothing of me.

It is rumored here that the Election for Reps. in South Cara. has not gone very well. Four are said to be lost, but I cannot believe it.

My reception here has been polite, respectful and very cordial. A few military men have mentioned the publications with pointed disapprobation.

I find our Senators & Representatives & the general Conduct of the Cause in Pennsa. extremely agreeable here. The city election for Electors seemed to create delight. While several states shew a Jealousy of Pennsa., all seem to esteem & rely on her wisdom & strength and to expect much from the Influence of her example.

Four States are represented & three in part. A Quorum from seven will be here by the 20th—when a president will be chosen. Mr. Wadsworth has been mentioned to me. I have some wishes on this Subject of which more hereafter.

We have no European News. Jersey has given us six federalists as electors, & Connecticut has given us federalists as Representatives & Electors. That state is much to be relied on. Since the Pennsylvania & Connecticut elections have gone so well it is impossible two thirds can be brought to require a Convention on any dangerous Amendments.

I find by accounts just recd. that there is reason to believe 5 of the Massachusetts returns will be complete, & federal—the other three must be tried over again.

I wish our papers were a little milder on the Subject of New York. It does harm here among the foreign people & men in Government. Give this hint to Mr. Brown—and tho our friend Mr. Hall is a chaste printer—it may not be amiss to mention it to him—at the same give my respects to him.

I find the Subject of manufactures will require a delicate hand to manage them with the Union at large. I fear the interference of the legislature of Pennsa. will be found necessary to maintain ours at first. But say Nothing of this for it will require explanation.<sup>2</sup>

With my respectf. comps. to Mrs. R, I am Yr. affecte. friend & Serv,  
Tench Coxe<sup>3</sup>

RC (PPL: Rush Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For New York's failure to elect presidential electors and United States Senators during its 1788–89 legislative session, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 3:196–97, 217ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rush's January 19 reply to Coxe is in the Coxe Papers, PHi.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe also wrote a brief business letter on January 21 to "Joseph Clay Esquire, Savannah in Georgia," enclosing a bill of exchange for \$1,500 drawn by Abraham Baldwin on Robert Forsyth of Augusta. Coxe Collection, PHarH.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir

New York 19th Jany 1789

Yours of the 20th ult did not come to Hand 'till on the 17th Inst. I consider myself flattered by the additional Proof our State has given of their Confidence in my Disposition to serve them. Certainly the Duties of an Agent in settling old & intricate Accounts are not so agreeable to my feelings as some other Commissions with which I have been honoured by the State, but I conceive that the State is deeply interested in the faithful Discharge of these Duties and in Cases where the public may be profited by any Service of mine I shall never shun an Office meerly because it is laborious. I shall therefore accept of the Appointment and in Discharge of the same shall try to deserve the approbation of the State.<sup>1</sup> The general Commissioners of Congress are just arrived in Town & are as I think to enter on the Duties of their Office on this day.<sup>2</sup> I hope that no Time will be lost in forwarding the Charges and Vouchers of our State.

I have the Honour to be with the utmost Consideration Dear, sir,  
Your most obedt & very hble Servt.,  
Hu Williamson

RC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> For the appointment on December 3 of Williamson and Abisha Thomas as agents "to attend the settlement of accounts with the United States," see the proceedings of the North Carolina General Assembly "begun. . . on the Third Day of November [1788]," *Journal of the Senate*, p. 35, *Journal of the House of Commons*, p. 47, DLC(ESR). See also *N.C. State Records*, 21:511, 571.

<sup>2</sup> For the appointment of these three Continental commissioners, see Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, September 13, 1788. For the oath of office Abraham Baldwin, John Taylor Gilman, and William Irvine subscribed to January 19, 1789, entering upon their duties as "Commissioners for settling the accounts between the United states and Individual states," see PCC, item 195, fol. 354.

## Samuel A. Otis to Paine Wingate

Dear Sir

New York Jan'y 20 1789

Permit me to congratulate you upon your appointment to a Seat in the federal Senate,<sup>1</sup> & to avail myself of that friendship with which you have long honored me. Being disappointed in my election as one of the Massachusetts Representatives,<sup>2</sup> to which I had some pretensions & the fairest prospects, my friends have given me some expectation of success in being appointed Clerk of the Senate, as I am informed Mr Thomson will not accept of that appointment; But in prosecution of this object I know I have various interests to reconcile & some Competitors. I therefore only request your consideration of my pretensions without committing yourself. I have not the honor of an intimacy with Mr Langdon but have requested a friend to mention my views, Which if you should approve, you would oblige me also to mention to that honorable Gentleman.

My commercial plans you are sensible have been unsuccessful, & altho I have striven hard against the stream of adversity it seems to bear me down, & with dispositions to be employed I am quite out of business. I will not be my own encomiast but rest the business.

I expected Congress would have been in session before this time but am disappointed, by the 1st of the next month there will or ought to be a Congress.

The assembly of this State will I am apprehensive give all possible opposition to the new Government. You know the character of Mr Clinton & his influence rather seems to encrease.

With my Compliments to Mr Gillman I am, Dear Sir, Your friend & Most huml Sert,

Sam. A. Otis

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For Wingate's election to the United States Senate January 3, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:783-84, 803-5, 812-13.

<sup>2</sup> See Otis to Jeremiah Wadsworth, January 12, note 2.

## Tench Coxe to Alexander Hamilton

Dear Sir

23d January 89

Our city are about applying to the legislature for an incorporation, and among other lights have availed themselves of the corporation act of your city. As experience points out many defects, wch. do not at first strike the observation, you will very much oblige me by noting such things as you would advise us to avoid. If there are any matters

which have been omitted, or if there are any clauses in the act of extraordinary Value I would wish your notes to extend to them. These notes may be brief, and will be in time, if your engagements permit you to make them by the 28th or 30th instant.<sup>1</sup>

I am, Sir, very respectfully, Yr. mo. obedt. h. Servt.,

Tench Coxe

RC (NHi); reprinted from Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:247.

<sup>1</sup> No response from Hamilton is known. Ibid.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear Sir

New York 24th Jany 1789

Having read the inclosed more than once as you may conclude from its Dress, I verily thought that I had forwarded it to you long since for it contains some good Funnical Remarks. If it has not hitherto appeard in Edenton be so good as hand it to the Govr. after you have had your Laugh.

The Genl. Assembly of this State after spending near 2 months in pure wrangling, during which Time many of them have had the felicity to make a clear saving of one Dlr per day, have at length agreed to divide the state into six Election Districts for the choice of Representatives in the new Congress.<sup>1</sup> They cannot yet agree about the mode of chusing Senators. The House of commons want to have all Antis & the Senate wish to have at least one of the Congress Senators a federal Man.

Some Time ago I wrote you that in Case our State should agree to try the Effects of a new Convention I should be glad to take a Seat in the same if chosen. There can be no great Harm in saying that Edenton may be more effectively represented both in Convention & Assembly than by its present Member. To the best of my Recollection the Convention sits very near the Time when the superiour Court of Newbern sits. I have nevertheless some Hope that there is not an absolute Interference and that you will be able to represent our Town in the Convention though probably not in the Assembly. I am very indifferent about whether I am in the Assembly or not, my Object is the Convention but I would also of choice serve in the Assembly also, for if the Constitution is adopted some interesting Business comes on before the Assembly. If you can serve Edenton in both Capacities, so much the better for the public & in that Case I shall offer for one of the Counties in Convention only and I think the competition for that particular Office will not be very great. If you can serve for the Convention only, I shall be glad to serve the Town in the Assembly & shall offer to serve one of the Counties, as in the other Case, in Conven-



tion. I have not yet determined for which of the Counties I should offer with greatest Prospect of Success. If Captn. Collins should not be disposed to serve for Tyrrell or if his Business should make it inconvenient for him to attend I presume that with the Interest of the Lake Company I might secure an Election for the Convention in that County. In our own County of Chowan the double Representation will doubtless engage the chief competition but there will probably be sundry Candidates even for the two additional Seats in the Convention. I shall thank you for your advice on the whole of this Business.

Be pleased present Mrs Iredell & the other Ladies in your Family with my Respects & believe me to be with great Esteem, Dr sir, Your obedt servt.,  
Hu Williamson

RC (NhD: Iredell Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> See *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 3:219n, 232–33, 239, 257, 266–67, 278, 301–2.

## Tench Coxe to Thomas Mifflin

Sir,

New York, 26th Jan'y, 1789.

I had the honor of writing you a very few lines shortly after my arrival.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gorham having arr'd since,<sup>2</sup> we have five states, and every reason to expect there will be seven in a week or ten days.

The State of New York have not yet appointed Senators; nor does it appear probable they will appoint this Session. The day of electing Representatives, I am assured is fixed on the 2d Tuesday in March; as the Government is appointed to meet on the 4th, they probably will be some days unrepresented in the house rep's. This may be favourable to the removal of Congress.

In a conversation last Night with Mr. Gorham, I find he and Mr. Philips,<sup>3</sup> who purchased of Massachusetts, all the lands between the line of pre-emption and the western bounds of New York, are of opinion that the words of the New York cession to Congress do not operate a transfer of the lands east of Erie to Congress, and of course that the jurisdiction remains in New York and that the property is vested in them under the grant of New York to Massachusetts—'Tis certain that the grant or cession of New York discovers a considerable deficiency of Geographical information, which you will easily see, Sir, by recurring to it. The substance is that New York is to continue her South line along our North line to the end of the latter and so far *beyond* it as to throw a particular part of the Western Waters (the western Bend of Lake Ontario), 20 miles east of a line to be run from the extremity of the South line aforesaid to the 45th degree of N. Latitude. It is now ascertained, that the 20 miles east of the place in contemplation will be contained within a line that will fall far on this side Erie. The question

will be, what will be the Consequence of this geographical Error? My opinion on a slight examination is, that it will leave our purchase good. Mr. Gorham seems desirous, if the law proves theirs to sell to Pennsylvania, but it is necessary that we remember their doctrine deprives us of the Jurisdiction, for New York most probably will not part with it. I think it proper to add further that Mr. Gorham raised a question, whether the grant of the Jurisdiction to Penns'a by Congress was valid. These loose hints, Sir, upon so important a point are not fit in form, at least, for the public Eye, but it is necessary, that you, and the other superior characters in our government should be apprized of the difficulty which is attempted to be raised.

The purchase made of the Indians by Mr. Gorham & Co., (part of their whole purchase of the state) begins at our 82d mile stone, and runs along our N. line to the 124th, and then runs due N. to the great Fork of the Genesee river. The tract of country is about 42 miles E. & W., & about 70 miles N. & S., computed to contain 2 millions of acres, divided into Townships of 6 miles Squares about one hundred in number. Of these Townships 35 are sold lying on the N.E. quarter principally, the remainder being on the Genesee River. Those on our line are yet unsold. It appears clear to me that the most accessible Market for this part of their purchase must be down the Tioga, which renders the settlement of that country a beneficial thing to us in regard to commerce, as it evidently is also in regard to defence from the Indians. They sell in specie from 14d to 18d lawful per acre, with the Townships only run out, so that the expence of subdividing remains.

The accounts of the situation of the King of Great Britain renders his death, at this moment, highly probable, and his restoration to any vigor of mind or body (if he should live), almost impossible. A dropsical disease, accompanied with symptoms of excessive taint in his blood, and with disorder in his mind, has invaded his whole muscular system. The derangement of the funds of England, whose public credit has been most ingeniously and wonderfully extended, as her debts became alarmingly great, appears to me a very probable Consequence of a change of Kings with its usual consequences a change of Ministers, principles and systems. By letters of the 21st of Novem., from Bristol, the British King was not dead at that time.

I have the honor of being, very respectfully, your Excellency's most obedt. & most humble Servant,

Tench Coxe

MS not found; reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:539–40.

<sup>1</sup> Not found. According to Secretary Charles Thomson's journal Coxe arrived January 10. *JCC*, 34:605.

<sup>2</sup> For Nathaniel Gorham's arrival this date, see *ibid*. Although there is no other official record of his attendance during the Congress of 1788–89, Gorham later claimed compensation for attendance as a Massachusetts delegate from December 20, 1788 to March 19, 1789, for which he was paid in full July 11, 1789. Carson Collection, PP.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Oliver Phelps. See Samuel A. Otis to James Warren, April 24, 1788, note 2.

## Tench Coxe to James Madison

Dear Sir,

New York 27th. Jan'y 1789.

I have been here about a Fortnight during which time we have not made a Congress. So. Carolina, Virga, Pennsa, N. Jersey, & Massachusetts are represented. There is one Member from each of the States of Rhode Island, N. Carolina & Georgia, but none from New Hampshire, Connecticut, N. York, Delaware or Maryland. I very much wish we may make a house in a week or ten days, as I think the Appearance in Europe, & perhaps even here, of the old Congress being in full operation and tranquilly yielding the seats to the new would have a good effect. The misrepresentations in Europe have been extremely gross, and must have an unfavorable effect upon Emigration in the poorer ranks of life. Col. Wadsworth has been mentiond as President. I respect him much, but I wish to give appearance to the old System by a Character of rather more celebrity. Mr. Adams would meet my Judgment better than any member of the present house. The principal Objection is his Absence, which I fear will deprive him of his chance.

The federal business in Pennsa. is happily closed. Our Electors, & Senators are all federal, & seven of our Reps.<sup>1</sup>—the eighth is a German, so that I doubt not he will feel the influence of the federalism of his countrymen which is actual, and he will also I think, from being rather fond of public office, feel the federalism of the state. His Sentiments were doubting if not opposed to the Constitution. He is a man of private virtue, some Patriotism & judgment, and not ignorant of the Affairs of Pennsylvania. In our state politics he has been a constitutionalist latterly a mild one, that is a prudent politician.

The State of New York still retain their impressions against the Constitution. They still decline to elect Senators upon legislative principles, and I think an absence of two of the Senate is, from Appearances determined on to avoid the precedent of conceding their due legislative independence. They will have two antifdlts, and no Merchant on their Senate. Massachussets & Pennsa. alone have attended to mercantile character in the Senate,<sup>2</sup> which will assist in obviating the Objections to the commercial powers of that body. This is in favor of the Constitution, but possibly not so favorable to the interests of the Union as if there were five or six merchants. The practice under the Constitution will, in my opinion, be more agreeable to the Opposition in many other particulars than their leaders are aware of. In this particular instance it is fortunate that our Senator is a man of extensive political information, and landed property and, tho a practical Merchant, a friend to a pretty free System of Trade. I do not think the most captious agriculturist in the Senate will find Mr. Morris tenacious of any principle that will be injurious to the landed interest.



The election of New Jersey for Electors is federal.<sup>3</sup> This with the choice of their Senators augurs well with regard to the reps. I do not find any doubt that there will be two fedts. among them, most probably three and I think very probably four. The federalism of Jersey, and its obligations and inducements to adhere to the union & a vigorous system of federal politics, will be a pretty strong Security for the good Conduct of her Representatives.

The re-election of a federalist for a Senator by New Hampshire is a symptom of the continuance of the Acquiescence of that State in the Constitution. Mr. Wingate I mean in the room of Mr. Bartlett.<sup>4</sup> I find too they think of Mr. Adams as V.P. which also shews there is no violent discontent. There are good Symptoms also in the Elections so far as known here. Massachussetts seems also to evince feelings equally favorable, and Connecticut still more. I understand however from Dr. Johnson that the latter State mean to remove all their Senators & reps. from all state offices. This tho merely from general republican reasons will probably lose us an individual or two of the Senate & house of Reps. Mr. Ellsworth, and I think Mr. Sherman are of the state Judiciary. They will be great losses to the government, if they adhere to their state Appointments. Delaware has given us federalists altogether, and I believe Maryland.<sup>5</sup> From this detail, of wch. I presume you knew the greater part before I think the Government will be well supported from the North side of the Powtowmack, even in the house of Reps. New York by her districts will have two federalists & very able ones I hope.

The Election of Virga. is an Object of great Anxiety with me—not that I hope or fear much, for I presume the ticket will have a very moderate portion of federalism. But, Sir, when [*I*] examine the list of representatives & see how few are yet returned and how few are likely to be returned to that house, who are able to take the lead in a scene of that kind I confess I feel some apprehensions about the advantages the opposition may gain from the Speakers of your state, and the greatest solicitude lest we should be deprived of that support which your ticket may give us. I most sincerely hope this will find your own election secured. The Senate was in my mind not the place in which the cause required you to be in any point of view, but one that there seemed little probability that your legislature would favor the pretensions of any federalist unless they would elect you. Your election would be a gain therefore, wch. could not perhaps be otherwise secured, but the Senate was never the place where my fears rested. I therefore felt little regret at the issue of the choice by your state.<sup>6</sup> The house of Representatives is a scene of the utmost importance.<sup>7</sup> If happily conducted little is to be feared—if it proves unfriendly great talents—great exertions—great public estimation in favor of our leading friends will be necessary to prevent the most serious evils—if it cannot



be induced to countenance the constitution the unanimity of the Senate would, under present circumstance avail but little.

The election of the President seems likely to be unanimous. It is perhaps the greatest personal point that will ever occur in this Country, that it be secure—and I feel the most cordial satisfaction in considering it beyond all hazard. The Office of V.P. seems destined for Mr. Adams, who will have nearly all Pennsa, Delaware & New England, probably Jersey. Mr. Rutledge I understand will be pushed by S. Carolina, and Mr Jay who is the only candidate besides that is talked off [of] will have but little support in this Matter left. He appears to have no Views himself. Tho well qualified for more important station than the proper Duties of the VP. render that yet I think it would be wrong to draw him for the Office of foreign affairs. Our treaties are all unformed—he alone knows the whole Negotiations—he is among the very few who have been in the way of qualifying themselves for foreign negotiation. He is much esteemed in Pennsa. but her votes & influence would be exerted against him in the present state of the question on the seat of Government. Mr. Adams is esteemed by the people—has high ideas of Government—is a friend to property—will take the feelings of New England with him—has been used to the forms of legislative & diplomatic business—he is a man of a pure private Character, & has knowledge & abilities beyond the proper duties of a V.P. which indeed are not very important. He will lose few votes, I think from the North side of Maryland (where also he is seriously thought of) but from an apprehension that he may outrun the genl. or hazard the election of the latter. This tho in my mind a very small hazard indeed I am pleased to observe is foreseen, and will be attended to.

Mr. Dawson assures me this letter will reach you if sent to the Office at Fredericksburg which is the Reason of my sending that way. I am with very great truth, dear Sir, yr. respectful & aff. h. Servt.,

Tench Coxe

RC (DLC: Madison Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the Pennsylvania elections for presidential electors, Senators, and Representatives, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:232–34.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe's reference is to the election of Tristram Dalton in Massachusetts and Robert Morris in Pennsylvania. *Ibid.*, pp. 293, 421–22, 511–12, 746–47.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 3:6–7, 29, 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:770, 783–84.

<sup>5</sup> For the Delaware and Maryland elections for United States Senators and Representatives, see *ibid.*, 2:74–75, 83–84, 146–54, 209–13.

<sup>6</sup> The Virginia House of Delegates had nominated Madison, William Grayson, and Richard Henry Lee “to be ballotted for as Senator to the Congress of the United States,” and the Senate had elected Grayson and Lee on November 8, 1788. *Ibid.*, pp. 280–82.

<sup>7</sup> For Madison's election to the House of Representatives, see *ibid.*, pp. 311–49.

## John Jay to Arthur St. Clair

Dear Sir

New York 28 Jany 1789

I was a few Days ago honored with Your's of the 13 of last month.<sup>1</sup> It contains much useful Information, and there is Reason to regret that the foederal Government is so circumstanced as not to be in capacity to take the measures which their affairs require.

A Sufficient number of Delegates to form a Congress not being convened, I thought it my Duty to consult those who are here,<sup>2</sup> on the answer proper to be given to that Part of your Letter which respects Conolly.<sup>3</sup> They are of opinion with me, That a watchful Eye should be kept over him; and if found chargeable with the Practices you mention (either within *your* Jurisdiction, or that of one of the States) that he should be apprehended, and delivered to the State in which the offences may be committed, together with the Evidence of them—but if the offences should be committed within *your* Jurisdiction, it will be best to detain him until Congress shall give orders on the Subject.

There not being any foederal Tribunal, nor *general* Laws for defining and punishing Treason against the united States—nor a congress sitting, nor likely soon to be convened, are Reasons for leaving such offenders to the Judicatures of the States in which their offences may be committed, until the new Governmt. shall be in operation.

We think it best that your Suspicions and Intentions respecting Conolly, should be kept as secret as possible. The less he is put on his Guard the better; and if he should be apprehended, it would be expedient to endeavour to take his Papers also.

As his apprehension would probably occasion national Inquiries and Discussions, previous Attention should be paid to the obtaining and establishing satisfactory Proof of the facts with which he may be charged.

I promise myself the Pleasure of writing to you again by the next Post,<sup>4</sup> and with Sentiments of great Esteem & Regard I am, Dear Sir,  
Your most obt. & hble Servt,

John Jay

RC (DLC: Peter Force Miscellany).

<sup>1</sup> St. Clair's December 13 letter is in PCC, item 150, 3:509–16; and Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 2:166–70.

<sup>2</sup> For the states represented at this time, see the preceding entry and John Dawson to James Madison, January 29.

<sup>3</sup> St. Clair had reported that Col. John Connolly (ca. 1743–1813), a former Pennsylvania loyalist and now lieutenant-governor of Detroit, had been sent by Lord Dorchester (Guy Carleton), the governor-general of Canada, “to tamper with the People of Kentucky and induce them to throw themselves into the Arms of Great Britain, and to assure them of protection and Support in that Measure—if that cannot be brought about,

to stimulate them to Hostilities against the Spaniards, and at [any] rate to detach them from the united States." For Connolly's western intrigues see *DAB*, supplement 1; and Percy B. Caley, "The Life Adventures of Lieutenant-Colonel John Connolly: the Story of a Tory," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 11 (Oct. 1928): 245-54.

<sup>4</sup> Jay's inability to respond more positively to St. Clair because of Congress' moribund state after October 10, 1788, also had a parallel in his foreign correspondence with United States officials abroad, such as Thomas Jefferson at Paris, William Carmichael at Madrid, Charles W. F. Dumas at The Hague, and with the French, Spanish, and Dutch ministers at New York, the comte de Moustier, Diego de Gardoqui, and Pieter Franco van Berckel, for which see PCC, item 120, 4:3-4, 6-13, 36-37, item 121, fols. 310-19.

## Tench Coxe to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir

Jan'y 29th 1789

I have recd. your favors per the post to which I shall attend.<sup>1</sup> I shall immediately forward Mr. Adams's letter and do what you wish to Col. Smith who requested it of me.

It will be proper that Mr. Clymer & Mr. Fitzsimons know that I have discovered that there is some idea of attempting to declare their seats in the State legislature vacant on accot. of their election to the fed. house.<sup>2</sup> This information must not be extended far as coming from me. Mr. Wilson I think should be consulted. The argument is Clearly in favor of their right to their present seats—they are only representatives in Congress *elect*, when sworn in there their present seats will be vacated.

The Senators of New York will lessen their Majority of fed[eralis]ts. I think by two voluntary absences, and obtain by that method two Senators for Congress among whom there will be neither federalism nor mercantile knowlege most probably.

I think the cause appears in a good way. There will be a pretty large portion of federalism in the house of reps. This state I think will certainly have two fedsts. and the chance is of more from the favorable mode of electing. It was strange in the Opposition to consent to this mode, but Quam [. . .] Jurdere &ca.

It appears by documents I have obtained here that the exports of New York in 1788 were worth £630,000 paper, or about £567,000 of our Specie. Among these is a large quantity of flour from the Delaware & Chessapeake.

This letter is not meant as answer to your two favors, which at the first leisure I shall attend to.

With respectf. comps. to Mrs. Rush, I am, dear Sir, yr. affectionate  
frd & servt.,

Tench Coxe

[P.S.] When you have read the enclosed give them with my respects to Mr. Brown.

RC (PPL: Rush Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Letters from Rush to Coxe dated January 19 and 25 are in the Coxe Papers, PHI.

<sup>2</sup> For the suggestion that the elections of George Clymer and Thomas FitzSimons were under attack primarily because of their close association with Robert Morris, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:377n.2.

## John Dawson to James Madison

Dear sir

[January 29<sup>?</sup> 1789]<sup>1</sup>

Since I wrote you<sup>2</sup> nothing worthy your attention has presented itself; We have now six states on the floor viz Massachusetts-bay, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, S. Carolina and Virginia; and a member from Rhode Island, North Carolina & Georgia—another member from Rhode Island is on his way and one from N.C. in Pennsylvania. Connecticut, you know can come in at any time; we therefore expect in three or four days to have nine states represented. Colo Wardsworth, I think will be chosen President.

I have lately receivd an address from the convention of Kentucky, respecting the navigation of the Mississippi;<sup>3</sup> this will be laid before Congress on their meeting; you are well aware of the difficulties which will attend this business; especially as there will not be more than nine states represented, some of which are in favour of the surrender of the river to Spain, in which number I am sorry to include South Carolina. The business of Colo Morgan, with the Court of Spain,<sup>4</sup> which you mentiond to me at Philadelphia I find much more important than I at first apprehended; in my opinion it will prove an interesting era in the American history & furnisheth many arguments for U. States insisting on the free navigation of the Mississippi. I have lately seen some letters from Hutchins, and there remains not a dout but the emigrations to the New Madrid will be very great. How long these neighbours will prove friendly to Spain, or how soon she will have cause to repent of her policy is very doubtful, & can only be determind by time. We are told, & I presume you heard it before you left this that a negociation is on foot between France & Spain by which New Orleans & the Floridas are to be exchan[ge]d for some of the French Islands. Shoud this event take place, and France pursues that line of policy which she has hitherto observd, it may prove highly beneficial to our western country, as well as to that Kingdom.

No packet is yet arrivd from Europe. Private accounts say that Mr. Fox is gone up to the house of Lords, as Lord Holland.

In consequence of a dispute which has taken place, & which has continued for three weeks between the two houses of assembly it is expected that there will not be any Senators to the New Government, appointed by this State. The house of delegates, in which there is a



large majority unfriendly to the Govert. wish to make the choice by Joint ballot, and the Senate insist, that *one* nominated by them shall be elected. How this dispute will end I cannot say, but expect the fear of the seat of Govert. being removd from this place will induce both sides to be less obstinate than otherwise they woud be.<sup>5</sup>

We hear from Massachusetts, that in their late election, only one person, (Mr Thacher) was chosen, their act requiring a majority of the whole to make good an appointment.<sup>6</sup> This game may continue for some time, as the friends on all sides will become warmer, & the second election is not confind to the two Candidates who had the most votes, but is on the same plan, as the first.

Williamson, from N.C. was marrid a few days since to a Miss Apthorp, a beautiful girl, about twenty two.<sup>7</sup> She appears much pleasd with her bargain—may she never repent. The Marchioness charges me to present her best wishes to you. Yr. Friend, J Dawson

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:410–11.

<sup>1</sup> The date of this letter may be conjectured from Dawson's enumeration of New York as the sixth state in attendance when David Gelston was joined at this time by Philip Pell (although they did not submit their credentials until February 18 and March 2 respectively. *JCC*, 34:605). Cf. the first paragraphs in this letter and Tench Coxe's January 27 letter to Madison. In addition, the contents of this letter and the following letter from Dawson to Governor Randolph are quite similar.

<sup>2</sup> Not found, but apparently a letter written the preceding month after his arrival in New York. In his expense account with Virginia, Dawson claimed 114 days service from November 10, 1788, to March 4, 1789, which included 15 days of travel to and from Congress. *Continental Congress Papers*, Vi. He had presented his credentials to Charles Thomson on December 1. *JCC*, 34:604, 610n.

<sup>3</sup> See the following entry, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> For which, see Madison to James Monroe, November 5, 1788, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> For the eventual election of Rufus King and Philip Schuyler to the U.S. Senate by a special July session of the New York legislature, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 3:513–56.

<sup>6</sup> For the results of the first Massachusetts election, in which George Thatcher and three others were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives while candidates from four other districts remained stalemated, see *ibid.*, 1:624.

<sup>7</sup> The January 3 marriage of 53-year old Hugh Williamson to Maria Apthorpe, daughter of Charles Ward Apthorpe, a wealthy New York merchant, had been announced in the *New York Journal* for January 8. *DAB* (q.v. Williamson).

## John Dawson to Beverley Randolph

Sir

New York. January 29th, 1789.

Accept my grateful thanks for your friendly letter of the 14 Int. which I received by yesterdays Post.

The states of Massachusetts bay, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia and South Carolina are now represented,<sup>1</sup> and altho they do

not make a congress, yet I consider it incumbent on me to communicate to the Executive of our State, some transactions which have come to my Knowledge.

I have receivd an address to Congress from the Convention of Kentucky on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi, coverd by a letter from the President.<sup>2</sup> This will be presented at the earliest moment, & in answer to the Presidents letter I have observd that it cannot, with propriety, be acted on by the present Congress, as there will not be *more* than nine states represented, some of which have ever been in favour of the surrender of that river to Spain.

Colo Morgan, who was in treaty with Congress for a large tract of land, on the Mississippi, being disgusted at some conditions annexd to the ordinance, which he thought illiberal, has enterd into a plan with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister at this place, for settling a large tract of land, to be bounded by the parellel of Cape Cinque Homme on the North; the parellel of the mouth of St. Francis's river on the South; the Mississippi river on the East, and extending West two degrees of latitude, containing a country as fine in Soil and superior in trade to any in America.<sup>3</sup> This transaction, I consider of the most interesting nature, and on which will probably produce a remarkable Era in the American history, as a door will be open'd through which the United States will loose many thousands of her best citizens. We have certain information that Morgan has already enterd into engagements with the most respectable characters, and the most useful farmers and tradesmen to go to New Madrid with him on the next year and a number of judicious people are gone with him to reconnoiter and survey the lands, on a plan far superior to that of Congress; and to lay out ground for a large city, as nearly opposite the mouth of the Ohio, as they shall judge expedient—added to these circumstances the most sound assurances of freedom in religious matters—a free navigation of the Mississippi to New Orleans clear of *all duties and taxes*; besides being entitled to all the commercial priviledges which the citizens of New Orleans enjoy in *any* of the King of Spain's rich dominions, are inducements sufficient to draw the attention of the industrious and enterprising—and altho the lands on the Ohio and its branches are very fine and productive, what benefit can be drawn from them more than a bare subsistence? without a market for their productions and consequently without commerce, the best inhabitants on these waters will emigrate to the equally good lands on the West side of the Mississippi, when peculiar priviledges will induce them to oppose other nations having the same advantages; hence discontents will arise at Kentucky &c against the goverment of the United States; a seperation will ensue and commercial and other treaties will be form'd between Spain and the Western Anglo Americans for their mutual advantage and security.

On yesterday the Secretary of foreign affairs laid before the attending members of Congress a letter from the Governor of the Western Territory, which containd information interesting to the Union in general and particularly to the state of Virginia.<sup>4</sup> The Gov. writes, that he has information on which he can depend that a Colo Conolly, who renderd himself fully conspicuous during the late war, has lately come from Detroit to Louisville—that the apparent object of his Journey is the settlement of some private accompts, but that he has good reason to believe that he is employd to Lord Dorchester, (from whom he has lately receivd a pension of £200 Stg in addition to his half pay) to induce the people of Kentucky either to form a Connection [*with*] Great Britain, or to commit hostilities on the Spaniards—that he has written to a number of persons, and has made some communications to Genl. Morgan.

You will readily perceive, sir, that for the want of a Congress and a fœderal tribunal, we coud do nothing decisive in this business. We however *advise*d the Secretary to write to Gov. St. Clair, and to *advise* him to keep a strict eye over Conolly, and if he found his suspicions well grounded to have him apprehended and delverd to *the State* in which he shoud be taken—and to be careful to have his papers &c securd, as *it woud* probably bring on a national discussion.

I doubt not but you before this have receivd the information which I now give, and have taken proper steps to secure Mr. Conolly, if the above mentiond suspicions are well founded. I, however, considerd it as my duty to make the communication especially as I think the business more properly belongs to a state, rather than the Continent—these circumstances will, I trust, render any apology for the length of this letter, unnecessary.

It still remains doubtful whether any Senators will the [*be*] appointed by this state; both houses adhering to their principle. They have however divided the state into districts for the choice of members to the lower house, and have not made residence necessary.

With sentiments of respect & esteem, I have the honour to be, Yr.  
Excellencys Most Ob hum Sert, J Dawson.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Neither the address to Congress from Kentucky's 7th statehood convention nor Pres. Samuel McDowell's covering letter are in PCC, but the proceedings of the convention, which had met from November 3–10, 1788, and its addresses to Congress and to the Virginia General Assembly were published in John Bradford's *Kentucky Gazette* for Saturday, January 30 [i.e., 31st], and Saturday, February 7. They were reprinted in William Littell's *Political Transactions In and Concerning Kentucky, From the First Settlement Thereof, Until It Became an Independent State, in June 1792* (Frankfort, 1806), pp. 103–8. For events surrounding the meeting of the convention, see Patricia Watlington, *The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779–1792* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 169–79.

<sup>3</sup> For George Morgan's "treaty with Congress" for two million acres of western land and his negotiations with Spain for the 15-million acre tract called New Madrid, see JCC,



34:151n.3, 152, 177–78, 181n.1, 213–17, 246n.1, 247–52, 267n.1, 275–76, 327n.4, 371–73, 414n.4, 431n, 466–68, 633; and James Madison to James Monroe, November 5, 1788, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> For Gov. Arthur St. Clair's December 13 letter to John Jay regarding the western mission of Col. John Connolly and Jay's response, see Jay to St. Clair, January 28.

## Tench Coxe to John Nicholson

Sir New York Jany 31st. 1789.

I beg to be informed by the first opportunity about the mode in which the state of Pennsylvania settled with the Militia. I have some reason to believe that some of the states have paid or charge the usual pay of a soldier, with every necessary allowance in Money or certificates to make up the Depreciation. If our Accounts are not so stated we shall suffer & the settlement will be unequal and unjust.

Messrs. Gorham, Phelps, Livingston & Co have effected Sales of 36 Townships (part of the grant of New York to Massachusetts[])] at 14 to 18 & even 22d per Acre, specie. It is supposed the Emigrants to this state in 1789 will be 5,000 men, women & children. They are peopling very fast indeed, but in all other respects, are in my Opinion far behind us. Their exports, tho they employ as much tonnage as we are not above £550,000 our Specie. Our flour is in quantity 3 times theirs—and their wheat more than ours. If you could favor me with a list of the exports of Pennsa. for 1787 and for 1788 I should be much obliged to you. I hope our State will pursue the business of roads & take up that of improving rivers. The Susquehannah, Delaware & Schuylkill should be attended to this Summer, if it were only to appoint people to explore.

When you favor me with a letter be good enough to let me know what Objects of any importance are likely to occupy the Legislature this Session.

With my comps. to Mrs. Nicholson, I am Sir, yr. respectf. h. Servant,  
Tench Coxe

RC (InU: Lafayette Collection). Addressed: "John Nicholson Esqr., Compt. genl., Philadelphia." Endorsed by Nicholson: "Recd Feby 4th 1788[9]."

## Samuel A. Otis to John Adams

Dear Sir New York Jany 31st 1789

Probably before this will reach you the election of *Vice President* will be determined, upon which I may venture to congratulate you Sir, as I hear of no Competitor of any importance.



Mrs Adams & Col Smith can give you a more minute acct of public affairs & particularly of the dispositions of the people of *this* State, having good information from your friend Mr Jay and others, than it is in my power to communicate. It is however but too notorious that Mr Clintons interest is powerfully exerted to impede the new Government. The Legislature cannot agree upon the mode of chusing Senators, nor is it expected they will early be represented in the Senate.

Five States only are represented in Congress altho I think it cannot be many days before we have seven & perhaps nine States. You are frequently enquired after & will be soon expected.

When I did myself the honor to write you last<sup>1</sup> I took the liberty to solicit your interest for the appointment to be Clerk of the Senate, And as I have encouragment from my friends of success, I hope you will excuse my reiterating the subject. R H Lee Esqr & R Izzard Esqr will as heretofore be much with you in politics, in the choice of men & adoption of measures; To those Gentlemen I am unknown; Could I obtain their voice I flatter myself in addition to my other friends it would give me success. If Sir you approve my views I should feel and at all times acknowledge the obligation if you would further them.<sup>2</sup>

But for the unprovoked malice of Mr H,<sup>3</sup> I should have been appointed Naval Officer for the port of Boston, The same influence prevented my election for Suffolk District. The Clerkship of either House is no object for a young man, but at any time, & in my circumstances, it would be important, being wholly out of business, & my commercial prospects at an end; However I must leave my pretensions to speak for themselves, & will not be burthensome with importunity. And after compliments to the family & Connexions subscribe with great sincerity, Sir, Your most obedient & Humble Servt, Sam. A. Otis

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For Otis' December 18 letter to Adams, which was written while he was still in Boston, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:569.

<sup>2</sup> See Otis to Jeremiah Wadsworth, January 12, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> That is, John Hancock.

## Abraham Clark to the Public

Mr. Kollock,

New York, February 1, 1789

*The following it is desired may find admission into your paper.*

To a person desirous of passing quietly through life with as little show and parade as possible, wishing rather to deserve esteem, than to obtain applause, any address to the public respecting himself, must be disagreeable, and, in some cases improper; yet in others, not only excusable but a duty. A charge, however false, which remains uncontra-

dicted is readily believed. Every man in public life must expect to pass through ill, as well as good report, and though his calumniators are often too insignificant to merit a reply, or even occasion any resentment, yet it may sometimes happen otherwise. At present I am attacked, not openly in the public prints that I have heard of, but in a secret manner by letters, certificates, &c. sent privately into every part of the state, containing gross misrepresentations, and the most palpable falshoods, in order to prejudice the minds of the citizens against me at the coming election, and prevent my being appointed to a confidential trust: A trust of so much importance to the citizens of New-Jersey, that a diffidence of my abilities to execute it in a proper manner to their advantage, forbids any attempt of mine to push myself into it. It is however my duty, as well in private as in public life, to remove every unjust and illiberal charge against me, more especially, as in the present case, when coming from persons who, if they had a disposition for it, might render useful services to the community; I need not name them, they are characters well known in Jersey, as is also the cause of their clamours which may be considered as very remote from their regard to the interest of the citizens of the state. Those letters and certificates I have mentioned though intended as private stabs, from their number and circulation are become public and very notorious. One of their insinuations is that I am antifoederal, and an enemy to the new government. The charge of antifœderalism is of so general and undefined a nature, that had it not been followed by that of an enemy to the government, I should not have thought it worthy of notice, as that epithet is frequently given to all those who dare venture to suspect the least defect in the Constitution, in which is included by far the greatest part of the inhabitants of the United States: How far this charge is applicable to me, I leave the impartial public to judge. That I used every means in my power in the different stations I filled, to obtain an efficient government, is well known and cannot be denied. When the plan of the new government appeared, I found it not such as I had wished and expected; I perceived, as I supposed, some parts of it bearing too hard upon the liberties of the people, and giving some unnecessary powers to those who were to administer it: This I never scrupled to mention when my opinion was desired. Notwithstanding my dislike to some parts, considering the situation the United States was in, and the provision made in the Constitution for amendments, I cheerfully gave my assistance to send it to the states for their consideration,<sup>1</sup> judging that New-Jersey, from its local situation and circumstances, could not with propriety reject it, notwithstanding its imperfections; presuming at the same time, that the new Congress would endeavor to amend it as soon as other important business for putting the government into operation would admit. This I yet hope and expect will, in a proper time, be effected in

Congress, but not by a future general convention, which would be inexpedient and dangerous to the union by leaving us without government for years to come. The story so industriously propogated, that I made offers to, and used endeavours with the Convention of Jersey to prevent their ratifying the Constitution, is so far from being true, that I never exchanged one word to my remembrance or belief, with any one member of our Convention on the subject of the Constitution, until long after its ratification, or ever wrote to one of them upon that subject; nor did I use any means whatever tending to a rejection of it, which I had a right to do if I thought proper, when the Constitution was under consideration; a right which I trust I shall at all times, if necessary, exercise without fear or scruple, when our liberties are the subject of deliberation. This in brief, as near as I can state it, is the sum total of my antifederalism and enmity to the new government, if any are pleased to call it such.

One of my opposers, in concurrence as I am told with others, has gone so far as to obtain or fabricate [a certificate]<sup>2</sup> which has been circulated through the state, certifying, that I had tendered state securities in discharge of a debt, there being a law for that purpose in certain cases; a silly charge if true, too trifling to be noticed, were it not that great things are expected from it by its publishers. The truth after all is, that I never was possessed of such a kind of certificate as the law authorized a tender of, and that I never by myself or by any other person, either tendered or offered a certificate of any kind in payment of a debt, or for sale, except for the purchase of land over the Ohio.

Another insinuation of those civil gentlemen, my opposers (from which they draw an inference that I shall promote dessentions in the government) is, that I am opposed to a certain gentleman<sup>3</sup> which it is expected will be the highest officer in the government: A gentleman high in my estimation, and who in preference to all others, I wish may have the appointment to that important station. This insinuation, I am told, is founded upon a supposed transaction in Congress many years ago, which I have good reason to believe never happened, and which I never heard any intimation of till a few months past.

In addition to the above, my letters are taken up and secreted, or the direction altered, and sent a contrary way to what was intended; in order to prevent a seasonable discovery of the nefarious practices of my enemies.

From this short statement of facts, which duty obliges me to make, the public will judge what kind of gentlemen I have to contend with; I shall not however, at this time, make any remarks upon their illiberal and indecent conduct, but leave them to such farther measures as they may think proper to pursue; they will no doubt continue very busy, and should they confine themselves to truth, or alledge that I have not abilities equal to the important trust of a representative, I



shall not contend with them. It is strange they should attempt to propagate falshoods about me, when, from the errors I have probably committed in a long course of public service, one would imagine they might have mustered up truths sufficient to publish to my disadvantage.

I must not conclude without observing, that the present is an important crisis; a new *⟨united⟩* untried<sup>4</sup> government is to be put into operation, every thing under providence, depends upon the persons who are to conduct it; for unless wisdom and cool deliberation direct our councils, dissensions will probably arise that may end in our final ruin; which may Heaven prevent, is the sincere prayer of the public's Most obedient and humble servant,  
Abra. Clark

Mr. Kollock,

Since I delivered you a piece for publication,<sup>5</sup> respecting certain matters propagated about me, in New-Jersey, I have been informed from such authority that I cannot doubt the truth of it, that it is announced in a public paper printed in Trenton, that I had declined serving as a representative to the new Congress. As I have not seen the paper, I am ignorant in what manner it is published, whether by a letter forged in my name, or information given by way of intelligence; be it in either way, it is wholly unauthorised, and void of truth, and is a new piece of villainy proceeding from the same source as the former, which I have taken notice of. Is this the way a certain gentleman,<sup>6</sup> once filling a high station, is to be brought forward in the election? And is he, (as may be expected from the connection) of the same principles with the chief author of the false reports against me? If so, and our representatives in general should be of the same cast, the commonality may indeed be brought to the state he supposes they ought to be. This I request you will insert in your paper, in contradiction to the report of my declining; in doing which you will oblige, Sir,  
Your humble servant,  
Abra. Clark<sup>7</sup>

Reprinted from Shepard Kollock's *New Jersey Journal* (Elizabethtown), February 4, 1789. Clark's letters also appeared in the February 10 issue of both Francis Childs' *New York Daily Advertiser*, and Shelly Arnett's *New Brunswick, N.J., Brunswick Gazette and Weekly Monitor*.

<sup>1</sup> That is, when Congress resolved September 28, 1787, to send the new Constitution to the states. *JCC*, 33:549.

<sup>2</sup> Bracketed words omitted but supplied in an "Errata" printed in the February 11 issue of the *Journal*.

<sup>3</sup> That is, George Washington.

<sup>4</sup> "Untried" substituted for "united" in the "Errata" printed in the February 11 issue of the *Journal*.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the above letter.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently Elias Boudinot.

<sup>7</sup> For the opposition to Clark's candidacy for election to the first federal Congress and his rejection by the voters, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 3:36, 91, 105, 109, 116–37.



## Tench Coxe to Thomas Mifflin

Dear Sir,

New York, 1st Feb. 1789

In addition to the letter Council will receive from our delegation,<sup>1</sup> I think it may be useful to give you some further information. As there is not yet a Congress, and there is not a certainty of seven states, I would submit the propriety of applying to the Secy. for foreign affairs to write to the Governor of Canada, for permission to enter the British country to make the necessary astronomical observations, & for information whether Mr. Ellicott can have the necessary supplies of provisions, boats &c., from the British posts. Mr. Gorman<sup>2</sup> of Massachusetts, who is among the purchasers of the cession of property by New York, to that State, is of opinion that difficulties might arise if our Geographers name (Capt. Hutchins and Jonson)<sup>3</sup> should appear, as he is considered by them in the light of an officer leaving their service in time of war. It may be well therefore if any thing should prevent Mr. Ellicotts going, to keep this Circumstance in mind. I find among the papers of Congress an application from Capt. Hutchins to them in June last,<sup>4</sup> to take up this Business, which would have been done in a few days, but when our delegates were prepared, there ceased to be a quorum of States. The delay of this matter till the new Government meets, will throw it into the great Mass of objects that will go before them. I therefore think it will be very proper that we apply to Mr. Jay, if council approve the step without the least delay. From a variety of very important considerations respecting the western Territories of the United States, I would strongly recommend to the Government of Pennsylvania, the intersection of the County of Northumberland by a land & water communication leading to lake Erie this year. This improvement is in itself so proper and necessary that it should be done on that ground alone, but the probable course of Events in the South western country, renders it highly advisable to move in it this spring.

I am dear Sir, your affectionate & respectf. servt.,

Tench Coxe

MS not found; reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:542-43.

<sup>1</sup> Pennsylvania Delegates to George Ross, February 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Nathaniel Gorham.

<sup>3</sup> The intrusion of "Jonson" is apparently a printer's error.

<sup>4</sup> This June 16 letter from Thomas Hutchins to Congress and its enclosure are in PCC, item 60, fols. 331-38.

## Tench Coxe to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir

New York Feb. 2d. 1789.

I enclose you a letter handed to me by Mr. John Livingston, which he informed me you were to deliver to Mr. McClay.

It appears next to certain New York will not appoint Electors.<sup>1</sup> If they have Senators they will possess neither federalism nor mercantile Talents, nor does it appear probable that they will have one mercantile man in their representation. Thus [*in*] the execution of the plan of Governmental laws, that there is no danger in comu[nica]ting commercial Arrangements to a bare Majority.

New England I have some reason to believe will be unanimous for Mr. Adams. Jersey & Maryland are yet undecided about him. They wish no other man, but fear to hazard the General's election. I congratulate you on the determination of the Maryland Election. Things look well. I do not fear that we shall have an *influential* Congress,  $\frac{2}{3}$  federalists.

I wish you would suggest to the gentlemen in Government the propriety of putting the inside of the state house in repair & of furnishing such Apartments as want it. Would it be possible to take out the floor between the Assembly Chamber & the room above so as to give it an airy appearance & to admit of a Gallery or pillars. Please to ascertain the height of the ceilings of each room. The house of reps. room here is 36 feet, & 2 more into the vault is 38 feet high. Over the Gallery which is only on the South side, is another Gallery for the Senate. I wish you would talk to some of our most active & zealous Gentlemen at once.

Our citizens ought to be very attentive to the Gentlemen, who come thro our place to the New Congress—which please also to mention—also to their ladies. Tis in this point alone New York injures & exceeds us.

I have been trying to ascertain the defects, that appear in practice, in the New York corporation, but I cannot find any body who has considered it with that view. How different a people are my fellow Citizens. It will take New York half a century to equal us in the sensible Modes of life & in politics & science, even if we stand still.

I see every day here the dangers and inconvenience of a want of information among the people at large. The want of federalism in this State arises principally from the Want of Knowledge among her Yeomanry. I therefore strongly recommend the establishment of free Schools in all the Counties (the city having already done it) and particularly among that invaluable body of our people the Germans.

I see my fellow Citizens have done me the honor to elect me again to the Manufacturing Board, which I shall stick to closely for. I daily see its advantages. Mr. Bingham ought to have been complimented with a Vice Presidents chair. I mentioned it before I came away & hoped it would have been attended to.

I wrote fully to Col. Smith and enclosed your letter for Braintree. That matter is all in a train to do well. I have been *not inactive*. I thank you much for that part of the letter that relates to me.

Was not Genl. Stewart<sup>2</sup> a candidate for the Manufacturing Board, I think I have seen *certain* Symptoms of such a desire.

I beg the favor of your not republishing any part of my letters, for in conversation I often must use the same Ideas & Language.

If the city can build their courthouse this year I hope they will do it—and that they will begin very early.

I am affectionately yrs,

Tench Coxe

[P.S.] Send the enclosed to Mr. Hall with my respects.

RC (PPL: Rush Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For New York's failure to elect presidential electors, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 2:217ff.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Walter Stewart, candidate for presidential elector for Pennsylvania. *Ibid.*, 1:319, 358, 427.

## Cyrus Griffin to Beverley Randolph

Sir

N York Feby. 2, 1789.

The papers delivered by Major Croghan shall be faithfully Canvassed when Congress may assemble—possibly the present week—after which a full state of the Business will be transmitted to your Excellency in Council.<sup>1</sup>

The Executives of some of the larger states have directed one of their delegates upon the same pay to remain here after the N Government convene in order to attend the board of Commissioners now sitting to explain the accounts &c.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it may be salutary in a high degree if your Excellency and the Council shall be of that opinion that think proper to entrust me I could have no objection to pass the Summer upon that business. Of all events the object is important.

I have the honor to be, sir, with profound regard, your excellency's obedient servant,

C Griffin

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

<sup>1</sup> These "papers" have not been identified, but Edmund C. Burnett (*Letters*, 8:821n.2) speculated that they included copies of the Virginia General Assembly's November 20 application to the new congress for a second constitutional convention which was taken up by the U.S. House of Representatives on May 5, for which see *Doc. Hist. of Ratif.*,

10:1761–68; *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 2:273–79; and *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 3:47–48. Since there was little reason to tender such an application to the Confederation Congress, a better explanation may lie in the identity of the bearer, Maj. William Croghan, who had assisted George Rogers Clark since 1784 in surveying Virginia military lands in Kentucky and Ohio. With Clark’s resignation in the fall of 1788, Croghan presumably travelled to Richmond to secure his own appointment as principal surveyor, which he received on December 29. Involved in the drive for Kentucky statehood, he apparently carried with him to Richmond and then to New York the addresses to the Virginia assembly and to Congress adopted by the 7th Kentucky statehood convention on November 10, for which see John Dawson to Randolph, January 29, note 2. See also *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 4:475–77; *Journals of the Virginia Council*, 5:26; and Samuel W. Thomas, “William Croghan, Sr. [1752–1822]: A Pioneer Kentucky Gentleman,” *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 43 (January 1969): 47–49.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston, January 19.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to George Ross

Sir, New York, Feby. 2d, 1789.

We have been honoured with a communication from the Executive Council of the 23d Ultimo.<sup>1</sup>

The same Ideas were suggested by the Geographer last summer, but no measures were adopted by Congress to facilitate the completion of that survey.

We have the honor to be, with very great regard, your most obedient and humble servants,

James R. Reid,

Tench Coxe.

MS not found; reprinted from *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 11:543.

<sup>1</sup> For vice president Ross’s January 23 letter to the Pennsylvania delegates, see *ibid.*, p. 537. Ross had asked the delegates to determine what steps had been taken by Congress to obtain permission from the governor of Canada for American surveyors to enter British-held territory “to make the necessary obseervations” for ascertaining the boundaries of the “triangle” of land recently obtained by Pennsylvania on Lake Erie. See also Tench Coxe to Thomas Mifflin, February 1.

## Samuel A. Otis to James Madison

Dear Sir New York Feby 4th 1789

The notice you have been pleased to honor me with I hope will apologize for this freedom upon a subject quite personal. I had the fairest prospect when I parted from you of an election for one of the Districts of Massachusetts, but as my life has been clouded with disappointment I failed here also in my expectations. I however contemplated the object rather as a precarious means of *subsistence*, my commercial prospects being at an end by a train of misfortunes,





lency's Letter of the 2d of December last accompanied with Copies of a Talk of the Cherokee Indians & of a Letter from Mr. McGillivray,<sup>1</sup> which we shall lay before Congress whenever an Opportunity occurs. At present there is not a House for doing Business, altho' for some time past we have had reason to expect the Attendance of a sufficient Number of States for that Purpose. We have also receiv'd your Excellency's Letter of the 20th of January with the List of Pensioners to whom Monies have been advanced by our State, & a Resolution of the Legislature respecting Bounty Lands to the Officers & Soldiers of the South Carolina Line. These Papers we shall deposit in the proper Offices.<sup>2</sup>

We are with respect, Sir, Your Excellency's Most obedt. Servts.,  
Thos. Tud. Tucker<sup>3</sup>

Ns Eveleigh

Robt Barnwell

RC (ScCoAH: Governor's Messages). Written by Tucker and signed by Tucker, Barnwell, and Eveleigh.

<sup>1</sup> Not in PCC.

<sup>2</sup> Not in PCC.

<sup>3</sup> Tucker also wrote a letter to Governor Pinckney this day thanking him for his January 7th notice of Tucker's "Election by the District of Ninety six to the House of Representatives of the United States." Governor's Messages, ScCoAH. And on February 17 Tucker wrote to his brother, St. George Tucker apologizing for a "procrastinating Disposition" in failing to respond to three letters from St. George, one "enclosing 3 Bills of Exchange on London for 50 Lbs. each." Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW.

## Tench Coxe to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir

New York Feb. 12th. 1789

I have your favor of the 5th and am glad to find our Electors will all attend.<sup>1</sup> I am convinced Jersey & Connecticut have thrown away a few votes from Mr Adams, and given him the rest and that Genl. W. will have the united voice of a free people—a transcendent honor infinitely beyond the proudest triumphs of ancient times.

Mr. Scotts resignation is very unfortunate and will probably let in Mr. Finlay<sup>2</sup> unless there is more sense of danger & greater exertion than I hope for. The federalists alas are men and discover sad proofs of it. Mr. Scott never having been sworn in was only a rep. elect. I am therefore clear the state legislature is competent without a writ from the fed. Government. I hope they will proceed in that way.

I am content about the Effects of the publications—and that perfectly—but while the freedom of speaking, writing and acting remains I shall find myself at liberty to pursue the public interests in my own

way. I trust my exertions in favor of this great cause have produced upon its issue as good effects as I ever hoped from them. I know they have injured my private interest materially. The public end I consider as obtained, and my duty calls me to pay better attention to my private concerns. Seriously entertaining these opinions I can dispense with powers & honors of a seat that would render me a slave & put me in a very responsible situation. I have solid reasons to assert my popularity has not been injured throughout the Union by the intemperance or injustice of my Enemies. I have very much to disclose to you on public men & public things when frequent Meetings shall give me the opportunity. In the mean time I continue to love you & my country.

Mr. Adams will undoubtedly be V Prest. Mr. Jay (*entre nous*) would not have objected I think—and is not without views of a higher situation at a future day. A good use may be made of this in the Business of the Government.

I have seen Mr Miller who is to call on me this day at One OClock, when I shall deliver your packet, & inform of your introduction to Mr. Dilly. The Ship will sail on Sunday.

I wish Mr. Scott may be persuaded to serve. His resignation is unfortunate. Tho I think we shall do very well even if Finlay gets in as things now appear.

The King of England remains insane and the regency seems very like to agitate the two houses extremely. Mr. Fox's doctrine is very wild, and equally dangerous to all future incumbents in the Sovereignty—to the lords & to the commons of GB. You may be assured that the *sober*, the *opulent* and the *patriotic* part of the Nation are extremely uneasy at the prospect of his governing the prince.

The private letters are very clear & full on this point.

I cannot help thinking the present moment an awful one to the English Nation—and one in which wisdom in America may be an infinite gain.

The accot. of the Germans I have had reprinted. It gives great pleasure here to see so much of the History [*of*] that invaluable body of our Citizens. I have spoken to a member of the German Society to send a number of copies thro each of their Members to Europe. Baron Steuben is their president, and I mean to wait upon him for the purpose. So far as the Germans have emigrated to this continent human happiness has been uniformly increased. Let us labor steadily & vigorously then in the prosecution of a measure which the soundest policy dictates, & benevolence & virtue commands.

I am, dr. Sir, your affectionate frd.,

Tench Coxe

RC (PPL; Rush Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Rush's February 5 letter is in the Coxe Papers, PHi; an extract has been printed in *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:401–2.

<sup>2</sup> Although Rush had reported that Thomas Scott had resigned as a Pennsylvania representative to the First Federal Congress, Scott only signified such a desire and did not actually do so. *Ibid.*, pp. 401–4, 408.

## James R. Reid to John Nicholson

Dear Sir,

12th. Feby. 1789 at N York

I wish to be informed on the following questions. Did the State of Pennsylvania become paymaster for all bona fide debts which should be brought against the Estates of persons attainted as far as the amount of the Sales should go? Those Estates having been sold for depreciated paper did the State obligate herself to discharge those debts in good money?<sup>1</sup> After that I shall take the liberty to ask *after* my friends, how does the Assembly go on—are they of one mind or are they a monster with one body and a multifarious head. I have improved much this winter in *commerce and manufactures*—they have been standing dishes with us—although generally brought *cold to table*. Oh Philadelphia! thou source of light and parent of genius; if better Stars had directed my birth, I should have breathed that happy air I should have opened my eyes in a land of light. I should have been entitled to the patrimony or at least a dividend—but alas! I am a half blood. Comparisons are always odious, but I must be indulged in comparing an old weather beaten Soldier worn down With misfortunes and battles—with the fine gentleman from behind the counter, an adept in urbanity and perfectly skilled in the polite art of bow making.

To be a little serious, we are really taught to believe that there is neither genius nor information out of Philadelphia.

I intended to have asked two short questions and you see where I have wandered.

Give my best respects to Mrs Nicholson and the other Ladies of my acquaintance. I am Dr. Sir Your freind & servant,

James R Reid

RC (PHC: Roberts Collection). Addressed: "John Nicholson Esquire, Comptroller General, Philadelphia." Endorsed: "Answered 6th March."

<sup>1</sup> Nicholson had been appointed Pennsylvania's escheator-general in 1787, a position that placed him in charge of the disposition of confiscated loyalist estates. For discussion of Nicholson's use of this office, which was enhanced by his position as comptroller-general and the appointment of his brother Samuel as deputy escheator-general, see Robert D. Arbuckle, *Pennsylvania Speculator and Patriot, The Entrepreneurial John Nicholson, 1757–1800* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), pp. 11–12, 23–24, 40–41.



## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear Sir

New York 12th Feby. 1789

Yours of 22nd ult came to hand by yesterdays Post. Mrs Dawson & her Daughter, whom I have just seen & to whom I delivered the message you sent, are in good Health and request me to present you and Family with their Respects. Mrs. Williamson says she considers herself flattered by the Wish that you and two or three other respectable Gentlemen have expressed of seeing her an Inhabitant of Edenton which by the way is the Place she has marked for her Residence but she says she is afraid that your Expectations may be founded on some Descriptions of her Qualities that are the Children of Flattery. I have written to sundry Friends that I shall offer for Edenton both in Assembly & Convention if you cannot serve, but, if you can serve the Town in Assembly then I will offer for some County in Convention only. Your Letter states a fact of which I was afraid viz that the courts will prevent you from serving in the Assembly. I think it probable that I may be at Home at or before the Election. Some farther Evidence as I take it respecting the Object of my late Appointmt. must be collected in the State which may require the attendance of Col. Thomas or myself.<sup>1</sup> Should this be the Case I shall try to come as I wish at the same Time to make some Arrangements for the settlement of my Family. By the Way I wish my growing attachment to domestic Life may not become too strong. I do not wish ever to possess that absolute Apathy and want of concern for the Interest of the Nation which I have often blamed in others on whose services their Country had a Claim.

Be so good as give furtherance to the inclosed & believe me to be with the most perfect Esteem, Dr sir, Your obedt servt.,

Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Charles E. Johnson Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For the appointment of Williamson and Abisha Thomas as agents for settling North Carolina's claims against the United States, see Williamson to Samuel Johnston, January 19, note 1.

## James R. Reid to Nicholas Gilman

Dear Sir,

New York 14th. Feby. 1789

I find an agreeable acquaintance in your Brother,<sup>1</sup> he is a well informed clever fellow. I hope soon to hear you have succeeded in your political views and shall expect to see you about the time of our death, we have not made a Congress as yet nor do I know whether we shall be able to make a will and testament. We have five States only.

I am thinking of putting up my helm to come about for an Office under the new Government. The Collector's in Pennsylvania is my object, I stand well with many of the Senators being personally acquainted with them, the good opinion of others must be effected by my friends, Mr. Windgate will not be unfavourable. I have not the smallest acquaintance with Mr. Langdon, fame makes me acquainted with his character and disposition, and paints him in an aimiable and flattering point of view. I therefore must solicit your exertions in my favor, I know it will not be an unpleasant task to you from our long and friendly acquaintance.

I have given ten years of the prime of my life to my Country—my circumstances are independant, I have leisure to attend to public business. God bless you, may you live to a good old age and beget many Sons and Daughters is the wish and prayer of Dr Sir your sincere friend and Obedt Servant,

James R. Reid

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> That is, John Taylor Gilman, who was one of the commissioners for settling the states' Continental accounts. See Charles Thomson to the Accounts Commissioners, September 13, 1788.

## Tench Coxe to Robert R. Livingston

Sir New York Feby 15th 1789

When I had last the honor of exchanging some letters with you on the Subject of the improvements in Pennsa. you expressed a wish to be informed of their progress in future.

The road from Tacona, (a mountain about 80 miles due north of Philada. & 20 miles West of Walpack Ferry on Delaware) to our common Boundary has been judiciously cut quite to our common boundary, which it strikes a few perches<sup>1</sup> West of the 5th mile stone. We have the best reason to believe it will be very soon joined to the road a little further North in your state. About ten miles South of our boundary this road branches to Tioga, wch. passage is cut also—the latter route is 62 miles, the former 70. The Tioga road for 15 miles at the E. end was found to be injudiciously cut, wherefore a branch road was immediately opend from a place Ten miles lower down the first on Tacona road to the place on the Tioga road where Salt Lick Creek crosses it, and this will be made fit for waggons very early this Year.

The state has sold in Consequence of these roads to which £1,000 paper (worth 2,000 Dollars) was given, about 250,000 Acres of land—about 100 New Engd. families have since bought or leased of the state or landholders, and are preparing to move and the attention of our swarming Counties has been considerably diverted from Kentucky &

Niagara. Encouraged by those Circumstances the state is now instituting further improvements of the same kind on that Quarter & extending their Views to a land & water Communication to lake Erie through our state, & to lake Ontario through the Tioga and the several lakes that give rise to the Seneca River. The enclosed Message from our Executive will shew you something of the business, which you will better comprehend when I inform you that the Swetard is a fine branch of Susquehannah & the Tulpohochen of Schuylkill, which approach without art or expence within 20 miles. The Navigation of the Delaware is another Object of Government & two very judicious Committees of landholders have been appointed to push that business, and the North portage, which is connected with it. Several other Objects of the same kind are in contemplation to all of which a reasonable pecuniary aid will be given by the legislature—as also by the exertions of the landholders. Pennsylvania is influenced by two Considerations in this business, one of which ought also to influence your state—and the other Affords very cogent reasons for exertions on your part. Our Government & people are alarmed at the great Emigrations to the Kentucky, Ohio & British lands. They see that laws cannot be made to restrain it, and if it were just to make them, that they could not be executed. They think therefore that it is indispensibly necessary to counterwork that Movement by every equitable measure. Opening roads thro the heart of our new Country, and thus exposing our unsettled Millions to the Eyes of these Emigrants, carrying conveniencies, knowlege and religion to their Doors by judicious and moderate expenditures.

In the second place we find that in pursuing this plan a new field of commerce is opened to us from the inattention of our Neighbours. The fur trade of lakes Erie & Ontario now go through the waters of S Laurence to the ports of Grt. Britain when they might be diverted by New York into her channels. The interests of the Union impel us to bring it into our state. The interests of Pennsylvania induce us to divert it from yours. I speak plainly, Sir, which is best in Matters of so much importance. Tis our wish, that you reach a common cause with us in competing with Kentucky & Niagara for settlers, & with Great Britain for the fur trade. Tis also our wish that you enter into a liberal Competition with us for that trade & for the commerce of those great tracts that lie on the Waters of Susquehannah and Delaware. As Pennsylvanians we should not say thus much, but as Citizens of two very congenial states & members of the same confederacy tis best to be open and make common cause when there is an Absolute common interest.

I have the honor of being, Sir, your mo. respectf. h. Servt.,

Tench Coxe<sup>2</sup>

[P.S.] A bill is now pending (and it is believed will pass) in our legislature to enable Aliens to purchase & hold lands in Pennsa.

RC (PHC: Roberts Autograph Collection).

<sup>1</sup> The perch is equal to the rod, or 16½ feet.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe also wrote a brief business letter to his partner in Philadelphia Nalbro Frazier on February 19, concluding: "Our law to enable Aliens to hold lands is approved here exceedingly & will be followed I hope. It will have a good Effect on our lands.

"We have Nothing new Here—except little details which prove the new Government perfectly safe. There is reason to believe the Senate will be unanimous against a Convention. The Reps. above 2 to 1." Coxe Papers, PHi.

## Charles Thomson to Samuel Huntington

Sir, Office of Secretary of Congress, Feby. 19th. 1789

I have just recd the letter which Your Excellency did me the honor to write on the 5th<sup>1</sup> together with the packet directed to the Honble. the President of the Senate to be appointed for the sole purpose of receiving, opening & counting the votes for President on the first Wednesday in March 1789. This packet I shall not fail to deliver as soon as the President is appointed.

With great respect &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). Addressed: "The Govr. of Connecticut."

<sup>1</sup> Governor Huntington's letter is in *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 2:50–51.

## Samuel A. Otis to John Adams

Dear Sir New York 21st Feb 1789

There being nothing very interesting in this quarter except what the papers contain I shall enclose them after informing you that General Washington & yourself have a majority of Votes even admitting those not known should be lost to you.<sup>1</sup>

Being quite at leisure if there are any arrangements you want made here befor Col Smith returns you may freely command.

Your friend & most humble Servant, Sam. A. Otis<sup>2</sup>

[P.S.] Compliments to Col Smith & the family.

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the electoral votes cast for George Washington and John Adams for President and Vice President of the United States, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 4:220–24.



<sup>2</sup> Otis also wrote the following brief letter to John Langdon, newly elected United States Senator for New Hampshire, on February 26.

"Agreeably to promise I have delivered the Letter to Willm Robinson, it was from Mr. Whipple & directed right.

"Oliver Ellsworth Esqr. I am a stranger to, I understand he has taken lodgings at the same house with your Honor. If you are pleased to approve my views, a word in season will benefit as well as oblige, Your Honors Most obedient Humble Servant, Sam. A. Otis." Alfred Langdon Elwyn, comp., *Letters by Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, and Others, Written before and during the Revolution* (Philadelphia: H. B. Ashmead, 1889), p. 89.

## Hugh Williamson to William Blount

Dear sir

New York 22nd Feby 1789

Inclosed are extracts or excuts from three News Papers. By the daily of 17th Inst you will see that I have taken some Liberties with a N Carolina Publication & contrived to work Col Robertson's Advertisement into an Article of Intelligence for the Benefit of our Western Friends.<sup>1</sup> Some other Papers have since taken the Article of Intelligence from the Daily Advertiser. In another Paper of 12th Inst you have a very sensible Letter of Mr Madison<sup>2</sup> which might reconcile any moderate Antifed to supporting a good federal man by his Vote &c.

In another Paper of 17th<sup>3</sup> you have an Article under the Alexandria Head respecting Kentucke People that looks serious and the more so because I think it probable. Considering how many Letters I write you do not expect they should each of them be long.

I am Dr Sr, Yrs,

Hu Williamson<sup>4</sup>

RC (Nc-Ar: Blount Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the "Extract of a Letter from Edenton, in North Carolina, January 22, 1789," that was printed in the February 17 issue of Francis Childs' New York *Daily Advertiser*.

<sup>2</sup> The February 12 issue of the *Daily Advertiser* contains a letter signed "James Madison, Jun." addressed to "Thomas Mann Randolph, Esq. Goochland," and dated "Louisa, January 1, 1789." It was dated January 13 in the text printed in the *Virginia Independent Chronicle*, for which see Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 11:415-17.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> Williamson also wrote a letter to Blount's brother John Gray Blount, the following day, reporting a recent rise in the prices of naval stores "in Consequence of the Troubles in Russia and the . . . Baltic," which is also in the Blount Papers, Nc-Ar.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Dear sir

New York 26th Feby. 1789

We have just received Letters from the western Country by which we

learn that a Treaty is concluded in behalf of the U.S. by Govr. Sinclair with numerous Tribes of Indians viz the Wiandots, Delawares, Chippewas, Ottowas, Potawatimas, Munsees, Sacs, and part of the Six Nations.<sup>1</sup> 27 Chiefs signed the Treaty. As this Treaty defeats the Hopes of Brant the half Blood who is so bitter an Enemy & so much attached to the British and has for some Time been attempting to form a general Indian-Confederacy, there is great Reason to hope that our western settlers will partake of the Benefits of this Treaty, for the Cherokees and Creeks have been invited to confederate and in Hopes of such Union it is more than probable that they have been the more turbulent. To the best of my Recollection The general Assembly at their session in Fayette Ville in the Year 1786 appointed Commissioners Genls. Rutherford, Person and some third Person were to review the Claims supposed to have been improperly settled by McCulloch, Hamford & Macken and make the proper Deductions &c. I am not informed that those Commissioners have finished or begun their work. Is it not absolutely necessary that they should finish those Accounts? Our State has a good Claim for Mony advanced or paid the Continental Line of the Army but we cannot with a good Grace charge all the Claims as good ones that were allowed by the Commissioners last mentioned after what has been published respecting that extraordinary Business. But some of the Claims were doubtless good and the State should not suffer the Loss of all. I submit to your Consideration whether the public Interest does not require that the Revisal of those Accounts be made as soon as possible.

With the utmost Consideration I have the Honour to be, Dr Sir,  
Your obedt. servt, Hu Williamson

RC (DNDAR: MS 2000X).

<sup>1</sup> For the two treaties negotiated by Gov. Arthur St. Clair with several Indian tribes at Fort Harmar and signed January 9, 1789, see Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 2:174–86.

## Tench Coxe to John Adams

Sir New York March 1. 1789

Having just recd. a letter from my friend Doctor Rush, which contained the enclosed packet for you,<sup>1</sup> I do myself the honor of covering it to you, lest Col. Smith should have left Massachussetts: and since I have taken this liberty, Sir, I will do myself the pleasure to add such information as I conceive it may be any pleasure to you to receive.

The returns from Virginia are recd. as far as nine, of whom six are friendly, three unfriendly to the Constitution. The Kentucky District is unknown. Hence it appears that the Dispositions of Virginia to the Constitution have become more favorable.

Private letters from S. Carolina confirm the probability of their running Mr. Rutlege as Vice president, but I have great pleasure, Sir, in congratulating you on the certainty of the election of a much more acceptable and proper character to that honorable Appointment.

A vessel from Georgia while I write brings information that Genl. Washington & you would have the votes of the presidential Electors, & that their reps. will probably be all federalists.

There seems no doubt that John Lawrence Esqr. and Ezra LHome-dieu Esqr. will represent the two southern districts of this state, tho it is uncertain whether any other person, friendly to the constitution will be carried in the other four Districts. Our last Advices render it doubtful whether the legislature will concur in any mode of electing Senators, but tis probable you will have later Advices than ours from Albany.

A law of great importance has passed in Pennsa. altering the nature of tenures. Any foreigner, not being at the time of purchase an enemy, may buy & hold lands in our state. In order to make this deviation from the feudal system safely, the law confines this right to the ensuing three years. There are yet 8 Millions of Acres of land to be sold by our state. Many of these great tracts are finely situated, & of extraordinary quality.

The following Gentlemen are arrived here. Of the federal Senate Messrs. Langdon, Wingate, Strong, Johnson, Ellsworth; and of the house of representatives Messrs. Thatcher, Gilman, Leonard, Gerry, Ames, Huntingdon, Tucker. Several others are mentioned by them, as to be here on the 3d.

The Jersey Election is not yet closed. There seems no doubt of their being well disposed as all the candidates are known to be friendly to the constitution, except one whom I know pretty well & from whom I have no fears.

With wisdom & temper, Sir, our prospects appear very comfortable, and I feel a very firm confidence that those indispensable qualities of good Governors will not be wanting.

With my most respectful Comps. to Mrs. Adams, &, if in Massachusetts, to Col. & Mrs. Smith, I have the honor of being, Sir, yr. most obedient humble Servant,

Tench Coxe<sup>2</sup>

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Rush's February 21 letter to Coxe enclosing a "packet" to be forwarded to Adams is in the Coxe Papers, PHi. For his letter to Adams of the same date, see Rush, *Letters* (Butterfield), 1:501-3.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe's last account with the state of Pennsylvania for his service as a delegate, which he submitted March 18, 1789, indicates that he claimed compensation "for seventeen days allowance as a delegate from the 16th Feby to the 5th March 1789 when I left New York." Gratz Collection, PHi.

## Samuel A. Otis to Caleb Strong

My Dear Sir

New York 2d. March 1789

I have written you several times upon the Subject of my appointment to be Clerk of the Honble Senate.<sup>1</sup> I recd no answer nor had I a right to expect one. I only wish a fair comparison of my pretensions with those of my Competitors, None of whom can plead experience & sufferings in the public service so great as my own. In fact they are all young men without much experience. Mr Alden the Son in Law of Doctr Johnson has been Deputy Secretary, But Sir to contrast this with the public departments I have filled is needless. Upon the scale of Liberality I am in no doubt I shall be viewed by the Honble Senate as I know I shall be by yourself & upon this footing I submit it.

I shall only add if you approve of my views that my Competitors are powerful & active. I know not whether the Election will be immediate or not but it would be much in my favor to pos[t]pone; as neither Mr Adams or Mr Dalton both my fast friends will be here under some d[ays].

Mr Mathew the bearer has been faithful & attentive as a Messenger to Congress & asks your patronage in that capacity to the Honble Senate.

I am, Dear Sir, With Esteem & Regard,

Sam. A. Otis

RC (CtHC: Thompson Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For Caleb Strong's election to the new United States Senate for Massachusetts, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 1:511–12, 514–18, 525.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear Sir:

New York, March 2d, 1789.

It has not been because I have any thing to write that I have taken up my pen; but to tell you, that my not writing frequently in future must be passed to account of not having the privilege of franking letters, after the 4th instant:<sup>1</sup> and I am conscious that very few of them are worth the trouble of reading, much less the expense of postage.

There has been a considerable debate among the citizens of New York whether a Lawyer or Merchant, both Federalists, shall represent this District in the new Congress.<sup>2</sup> The election comes on soon: it seems to be at length agreed to support the Lawyer. Gov. Clinton will be hard run: a moderate Antifed is started against him, &c.

Hu Williamson



MS not found; reprinted from McRee, *Iredell Correspondence*, 2:255.

<sup>1</sup> For which see also the following entry, note 2; and Williamson to Samuel Johnston, March 23, note 2, and April 27, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, district two of New York's six congressional districts, "the city and county of New-York, and part of West-Chester county." The lawyer was former congressional delegate John Laurance, the merchant was John Broome, president of the New York City Chamber of Commerce. See *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 3:192, 452, 558, 560. For Laurance's overwhelming victory, see *ibid.*, pp. 488–89.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Dear sir

New York 2nd March 1789

On the 4th inst. the Members of Congress under the new form of Government are to take their Seats & hitherto we have not made a Congress. Members from several States who ought to have attended under the original Form have been at Home attending to their Elections under the new Form hence we have not had more than six States together. Since the middle of October last I have not heard from my Colleague Dr. White. Had it been convenient for him to have attended I presume we should have obtained Permission for our State to deliver in the Remainder of her Claims. As Matters are circumstanced we must try to introduce them under an Act of June 24th last.<sup>1</sup> When Col. Thomas brings on the Papers we shall know what remains to be done and in Case the Board of Commissioners should hesitate about receiving any just & reasonable Claims such as are made by other States and allowed to them we shall not fail to apply for Redress to the new Congress.

I think it probable that my Privilege of franking Letters after to day may be disputed at the Post Office.<sup>2</sup> In such Case, considering how uninteresting my Letters generally are, I am persuaded you will admit that I ought to write less frequent, however I shall not fail to inform you of such Measures taken or seriously attempted to be taken in the new Congress as may seem in any manner to interest our State.

With Sentiments of the most perfect Respect, I have the Honour to be, Dear Sir, Your most obedt servt.,

Hu Williamson

RC (Nc–Ar: Governors' Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For which see *JCC*, 34:262–63. The "Act" specified that the states must submit their Continental claims "at least six months previous to the termination of the Office of the general board," which had been set at 18 months after the accounts commissioners had taken their oath of office, which was January 19, 1789. See *JCC*, 32:266; and Williamson to Johnston, January 19, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry, and Williamson to Johnston, March 23, note 2, and April 27, note 2.

## Charles Thomson to Unknown

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

New York March 7. 1789

I am sorry to inform you that the apprehensions suggested in my last<sup>2</sup> are realised. The delegates whom the states appointed to conduct the business of the Union in Congress till the meeting of the new government have not assembled in sufficient number to form a house, consequently there was no opportunity of laying your letter before them & getting it inserted on their minutes. I now wish to be informed what is to be done with it; whether you would desire it to remain among the other papers of the late Congress or to have it returned to you.

I shall wait your Orders: In the mean while Accept a fresh assurance of the sincere esteem & regard with which I am Dear Sir, Your old friend & humble Servant,

Cha Thomson

RC (MHi: Waterston Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.<sup>2</sup> Not found.

## Cyrus Griffin to Beverley Randolph

March 9th. 1789.

I am honored by your excellency's letter of the 13th of Feby<sup>1</sup> only this morning.

I did not understand that any person was appointed to come forward with the accounts of the State against the united States, or most certainly myself would not have been mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Colonel Davies is a man very proper to answer the purpose, and I think will be found extremely useful.<sup>3</sup>

The Board of Commissioners met on the 17th of January, and are now ready to act upon the business of their destination.<sup>4</sup>

I am favored also with the Returns of nine of the Representatives of Virginia enclosed by your excellency, which I shall deliver to Colonel White, the only member at present from that State.<sup>5</sup>

There are only eight Senators and 18 Representatives assembled—a very unfortunate thing.

Be so kind to accept the enclosed papers,<sup>6</sup> and to believe me with sincere respect and attachment, Your excellency's most obedient Servant,

C Griffin<sup>7</sup>

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not in PCC.

<sup>2</sup> See Griffin to Randolph, February 2.

<sup>3</sup> Col. William Davies, who had agreed in September 1788 to serve as commissioner for settling Virginia's Continental claims, arrived in New York April 22nd and wrote to Governor Randolph on April 23 and May 7 and 22, for which see *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 4:490-91, 596-97, 607, 622-23.

<sup>4</sup> See Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston, January 19, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Col. Alexander White of Virginia had taken his seat in the House of Representatives but was not joined by Samuel Griffin until March 17. See *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 3:3, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Not in Continental Congress Papers, Vi.

<sup>7</sup> In the expense accounts that he submitted to the Virginia treasurer, Griffin claimed continuous delegate service from November 1, 1787, to March 4, 1789, plus twenty days for travelling. Continental Congress Papers, Vi.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Sir

New York 9th March 1789

On the 4th inst. according to appointment sundry Members of the new Congress viz eight Senators and fourteen of the House of Representatives met at the public Buildings in this City;<sup>1</sup> Since that Time the Members of the old Congress have not attempted to form a House; some of them are in the new Congress, the Remainder are chiefly gon[e] Home.

You will observe by the printed Journal<sup>2</sup> that we have not, during the Winter, been able to form a Congress of seven States; whence it has not been in my Power to bring forward the Instruction which the last general Assembly of our State were pleased to give their Delegates.<sup>3</sup> It is true that seven States have been represented in Congress at one Time or another during the last three Months viz New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia & South Carolina but N. Hampshire, N York & N Jersey never chanced to be present together. The attending Members in general to whom I communicated the Purport of our Instructions were of the Opinion that the Request of the State should be granted and if I had been so fortunate as to have a Colleague I have no Doubt but that we should have obtain'd full Permission for the State to deliver in the Remainder of its Claims. Whatever Inclination I may have had occasionally to borrow a Holyday I have it in my Power to assure you, that from the Time I received the Instructions of the State, I have not been absent from the Chamber of Congress a single day at the usual Time of meeting, lest the forming of a Congress should chance to be prevented and the Interest of the State suffer by such Absence.

In Case the Board of Commissioners shall refuse to receive any new Vouchers or Claims that may be offered by the State I shall think it my

Duty to petition the new Congress on that Subject, but at present I do not think that we shall find any difficulty in having the whole of our Claims examined.

I formerly took the Liberty to mention that the Eastern States had very large Claims for Bounties in the recruiting Service. I have lately examined their Accounts and on some future Occasion shall give you the particulars.

You will observe that the Members of the new Congress hitherto arrived are chiefly from the Eastward & I presume that a House will be formed and several Officers chosen before the southern Members arrive. This may be the first of the distorted Effects to be expected from the Seat of Congress being far distant from the Center of the Union.

With the utmost Consideration, I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient and very hble Servant, Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Governors' Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 1:3, 3:3. The House of Representatives achieved a quorum April 1, the Senate April 6. *Ibid.*, 1:3-7, 3:3-7.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 34:604-5.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the December 21, 1788, North Carolina Assembly instruction "That the Delegates of this State . . . move in Congress for a full & explicit declaration that the right of the United States and each of them to the Navigation of the Mississippi is absolute & unalienable." *N.C. State Records*, 21:509-10.

## Charles Thomson to James Lovell

Dear Sir,

New York March 11. 1789

I have received your letters of the 17 Jany and the 20th of Feby. The first was delivered me by Mr Fenno who as you informed me was about attempting a living in a line of business wherein I might be serviceable to him.<sup>1</sup> His plan he did not explain to me nor have I yet seen it published, as you intimated would be the case, so that I do not know in what I can serve him or oblige you. Your last I had the honor to receive by Mr Ames and am glad to find you keep up your spirits.

I heartily wish you success in your application for being continued in the office you now hold.<sup>2</sup> You have this in your favour that you are in present possession which the lawyers say is eleven points of the law; and from the opinion I entertain of your industry, abilities, punctuality and integrity I am confident you will easily obtain vouchers of your worthiness to be continued. As to the report mentioned, which I never before heard of, I do not think it ought to discourage you in the least from writing & applying directly to the president general. I am persuaded from the goodness of his heart and head, Whatever impressions the letter you mention might have made at the time they are



now obliterated At least that they do not remain so strong as to prejudice him against your reasonable pretensions at this time.

How far it may be in my power to do you any service is altogether uncertain. The Office in which I have had the honour to serve the United States almost fifteen years is now at an End. Whether there is any other in which those who are to exercise the new government think I may be usefully and honorably employed I know not. It rests with them. If they have no farther use for me, I shall retire to my farm and pray for the success of their administration and the happiness and prosperity of a country which I have lived to see unfettered from the shackles of tyranny & put in a capacity of being great, glorious & happy. In whatever situation I am I shall always be happy in an opportunity of testifying the esteem & respect with which I am, Dear Sr,  
Your obedient humble servt,  
Cha Thomson

RC (MeHi: Fogg Collection).

<sup>1</sup> That is, John Fenno, a Bostonian who had recently moved to New York and on April 11, 1789, began publishing the *Gazette of the United States*, for the avowed purpose "of disseminating favorable sentiments of the federal Constitution and the Administration." *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Lovell, former delegate to Congress, 1777–82, and receiver of Continental taxes for Massachusetts, 1782–88, was collector of customs at Boston. He was appointed naval officer for the district of Boston and Charlestown August 3, 1789. See Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 3:94–98, 378.

## Charles Thomson to Winthrop Sargent

Sir,

New York March 11. 1789

I have received your favour of the 15 Jany<sup>1</sup> together with your official communications containing copies of the laws, acts & public records from the 9 July 1788 to 31 December inclusive.<sup>2</sup> I presume you consider the transactions with the Indians as not being a part of "the public records of the district" or "of the proceedings of the Governor in his executive department" and therefore have omitted sending them. But as by the resolution of the 3 Oct 1787, from and after the 14 Augst. last the powers, duties and emoluments of the superintendant of Indian Affairs are united with those of the governor, and by the resolution of the 5 of the same month Oct. 1787 in consequence of his office of Governor he was directed to hold a treaty with the Indians within the limits of the United states inhabiting the country northwest of the Ohio; and as the transactions with the Indians will be an important part of his duty, I submit it to his and your consideration whether it will not be proper for the future to make them a part of the Records of the district.<sup>3</sup> I have read attentively his honour's letters to the judges and am much pleased with them. I have examined the original entry of the Ordinance for the government of the terri-

tory of the United States Northwest of the river Ohio and in the sentence "The governor and judges or a majority of them &c" there is a comma after "governor" but none after "judges" so that his honor's conjecture is well founded, & his interpretation I apprehend right.

The new Congress is not yet formed, the badness of the roads having prevented the attendance of the Southern Members. As soon as they are in capacity to proceed to the execution of Business the laws which you have transmitted to me shall be laid before them. In the mean while accept the assurance of the esteem and regard with which I am, Sr, Your obedient humble servt., Cha Thomson

RC (MHi: Sargent Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Sargent's letter is in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, 2:187.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, 3:263–90.

<sup>3</sup> For Sargent's April 10 reply, see PCC, item 78, 21:493–98; and *ibid.*, 2:190–91. For Governor Arthur St. Clair's May 2 letter enclosing the treaties and "Minutes of the proceedings" related to them that Thomson desired, see *ibid.*, 2:191–93.

# Charles Thomson to the States

Sir                      Office of Secretary of Congress. March 18th. 1789.

I have now the honor to transmit to your Excellency herewith enclosed two Copies of the Thirteenth Volume which closes the Journal of the United States in Congress Assembled.<sup>1</sup>

That the Change which has been made with so much wisdom, order and Tranquility may Answer the end proposed, and promote and secure the happiness, prosperity and glory of the Union is my most fervent prayer.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Respect, Your Excellency's  
Most Obedient and Most humble servant, Cha Thomson

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Addressed: "His Excellency the Governor of Virginia." LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). "Circular."

<sup>1</sup> For which see *JCC*, 34:635.

## Charles Thomson to George Read

Dear Sir

I have received the favor of your letter of the 14th by Mr. Bassett, and shall be very happy to show him all the civilities in my power; but I am extremely mortified that you did not come with him. Those who feel for the honor and are solicitous for the happiness of this country are pained to the heart at the dilatory attendance of the members ap-

pointed to form the two houses, while those who are averse to the new constitution, and those who are unfriendly to the liberty, and, consequently, to the happiness and prosperity of this country, exult at our languor and inattention to the public concerns, and flatter themselves that we shall continue, as we have been for some time past, the scoff of our enemies. It is now almost three weeks since the day appointed for the meeting of the two houses and for commencing the operations under the new constitution, and there are not enough arrived to form either house and to count the ballots, to see who is elected President or Vice-President.<sup>1</sup> What must the world think of us? But what in particular mortifies me in respect to you is that there is every reason to believe your absence will alone, on Monday next, prevent the Senators from forming a house,<sup>2</sup> and at the same time there is reason to believe there will be a sufficient number to form the House of Representatives, so that the eyes of the continent will be turned on you, and all the great and important business of the Union be at a stand because you are not here. I must therefore, as a friend, intreat you to lay aside all lesser concerns and private business, and come on immediately. When the house is full, as your distance from home will not be great, and as the conveyance by the stage is easy, safe, and rapid when the roads are good, you may, I doubt not, obtain leave to return and settle any business you may leave unfinished.

Be pleased to present my compliments to your lady. I write in the confidence of friendship, being, with sincere regard, your old friend and humble servant,

Charles Thomson

MS not found; reprinted from William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), p. 474.

<sup>1</sup> For the counting of the electoral votes for President and Vice President at a joint session of Congress April 6, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 1:7–11; and *Doc. Hist. First Federal Elections*, 4:161–66.

<sup>2</sup> For the difficulty the Senate had in forming a quorum, which it first obtained April 6, and Read's first attendance April 14, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 1:3–7, 14.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir

New York 23 March 1789

Inclosed is a Letter<sup>1</sup> which you will be so good as forward to Col. Thomas. I have informed him that as the Board of Commissioners have been sitting some Time and the public Papers from our State and Virginia are come to Hand I should be glad to see him here, that by seeing what is done and comparing our Charges with those of other States we may determine Whether any thing remains to be done. Perhaps it may be necessary to make an Application to the new Congress on the Subject of remaining Claims but of this I can form no

Opinion before Col. Thomas shall arrive. Possibly we may find that other Proofs or Vouchers should be collected in the State in this Case I shall attempt that Labour in the Summer. As I have already been longer from Home than I expected when I left Edenton, it can not be doubted that I wish to devote a few days to private Concerns. I would not borrow so much as a Week from the Service of the State and I never have been charged with truanting. Hitherto I consider myself in the Service of the State as a Member of Congress & shall continue so to do till the new Government is in Operation, hence I claim the Right of franking Letters,<sup>2</sup> but in the mean while I attend diligently on the Board of Commissioners to see if possible whether a thorough acquaintance with the Charges of other States cannot be of some Use to us in the statement of our own. There is a Report in Town that the King of Spain is dead—one of his Sons & that son's Wife certainly are dead of the small Pox, at least Mr Gardoqui is in Mourning on that Account. If the King is dead we shall soon find other measures pursued respecting the Mississippi. On this Subject I have some Information that I cannot venture to commit to Paper without a Cypher. It is a Subject that so deeply concerns our State or many of its Citizens that I never lose Sight of it, and hope, on some Occasion to be able to shew that on this Head, I have done the State some Service.

I have the Honour to be, with the utmost Consideration, Dear Sir,  
Your most obedt servt.,Hu Williamson

RC (NjMoHP; Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> See Williamson to James Iredell, March 2, note 1.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

SirNew York 30th March 1789.

By a Vessel from Wilmington I received a Letter dated the 13th Inst. in which is the following Paragraph viz “The French Consul of this State<sup>1</sup> who you know resides here informs me that no Vessel from North Carolina will in future be admitted to enter any Port in the French West Indies unless they clear from the Port where he is to wit Wilmington.”

Though I had no Instructions on this Head I conceived that such a Measure should not be passed over without diligent Attention since it is probable that more than three fourths of our Vessels bound for the French West Indies pass out by Oc[r]acoke & to oblige those Vessels to call at Wilmington would be insufferable.

The present Situation of our State is doubtless some what singular as we are not formally in the Union and have no Claims under Treaty



to definite Privileges. In the mean Time knowing that the State is considered by foreigners as growing into much Importance and that they take for granted that we shall presently confederate I presumed that the Representations of a Delegate from North Carolina would not be neglected. Accordingly I prepared a Memorial on the Subject of the late Regulation which I put into the Hands of the Minister of France.<sup>2</sup> I also stated at some Length to the consul general of France<sup>3</sup> my Objections to that Measure. I shall not trouble you with a Transcript of those Papers for I am sure you will do me the Justice to believe that as a public Servant I endeavoured not to commit the Honour of the State. I must however observe in general that I never had Occasion to converse with those Gentlemen on any Subject respecting the commercial Interest of our State but they seemed desirous to meet our Wishes by promoting our Interest. With Respect to the Regulation in Question I have the Satisfaction to observe that you need not apprehend being troubled with the Complaints of our Merchants on that Subject. Our Trade will be permitted to move in its usual Channel till a better one can be formed and I think the Time is not very far distant when the Citizens of our State must profit considerably by commercial Regulations to which the Court of France will probably agree.

With the utmost Consideration, I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient and very humble Servant, Hu Williamson

RC (NHi: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Addressed: "His Excellency Samuel Johnston, Govr &c, Edenton. Free Hu Williamson."

<sup>1</sup> G. J. A. Ducher, who had succeeded Jean-Baptiste Petry as vice-consul at Wilmington, N.C., in January 1788. See *N.C. State Records*, 21:444–45; and Abraham P. Nasatir and Gary Elwyn Monell, *French Consuls in the United States: A Calendar of their Correspondence in the Archives Nationales* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1967), p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Elénore-François-Elie, comte Moustier. There is no mention of Williamson or North Carolina commerce in the dispatches of Moustier to the French foreign minister, the comte de Montmorin, for March or April 1789. *Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondance politique, États-Unis*, 34:34–39, 45–46, 53–60, 67–70.

<sup>3</sup> Antoine-René-Charles-Mathurin de la Forest.

## Charles Thomson to Robert Morris

Dear Sir

New York April 7. 1789

I cannot express the anxiety I feel on the determination I had taken to retire to private life while so many of my friends whom I love & esteem express such an earnest desire that I should continue in a public line. I am afraid they rate my abilities too high. Sure I am they rate them much higher than I do myself and more than they deserve. But such as they are to shew that I am not unwilling to devote them to the public service I will make this proposition: that the keeping of the

great seal with the duties thereto annexed & to be annexed, and the custody & care of the papers which belonged to the late Congress be committed to me, this office to be made the depository of the acts, laws and archives of Congress; that the same salary be continued to me which the late Congress granted me & my stile be Secretary of the Senate and of the United States or Congress; & that besides necessary clerks, I be allowed a deputy who, if it be the pleasure of the Senate, may be nominated or appointed by themselves to do the ordinary business of the house, so that I may not be under the necessity of attending except on special occasions and when the great business of the nation is under deliberation. If this proposition be approved by the Senate and acceptable I am ready to serve them to the utmost of my power. At least till the present government be organized & begin to take its due tone. If otherwise I must pursue my first determination and retire to the private walk but with an anxious wish & most earnest prayer that the measures of the present government may prove effectual to secure the tranquillity and promote the happiness and glory of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

With sentiments of the most sincere esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, dear Sir, Your most obedient & most humble servt,  
Cha Thomson<sup>2</sup>

FC (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

<sup>1</sup> For discussions of Thomson's ambivalence about retiring from public office and the determination of his political enemies to ensure that he not retain office under the new federal government, see Schlenther, *Charles Thomson*, pp. 186–95; and Bowling, "Good-bye 'Charle'," pp. 325–32. See also Thomson to the Joint Committee, April 30; and Thomson to Washington, July 23.

<sup>2</sup> This day Thomson also wrote the following letter to his wife Hannah just after setting out on a trip to Mount Vernon to notify George Washington of his election as President of the United States and to escort him back to New York for his inauguration, for which see Thomson to John Langdon, April 14 and April 24.

"The place from which this is dated ["Bergen, Tuesday evening April 7"] still in sight of New York will I hope set your mind at rest and convince you that I am not quite so imprudent as you think. . . .[P.S.] Wednesday 11 oClock. I am just safe over Hackinsak." Thomas Ewing Family Papers, DLC.

## Charles Thomson to John Langdon

Sir                                      Duplicate                                      Mount Vernon April 14. 1789

In obedience to the orders I received on the 6th of this Month, I left New York the next day and proceeding with unremitted diligence as fast as storms, tempests, bad roads & high swoln rivers would permit arrived at this place this Morning.<sup>1</sup> I found the general at home and after common compliments & salutations took an early opportunity to address him as follows.<sup>2</sup>

"Sr., The president of the Senate chosen for the special occasion having opened and counted the votes of the Electors in the presence of the Senate & the house of representatives, I was honoured with the commands of the Senate to wait upon your excellency with the information of your being elected to the office of President of the United States of America. This commission was entrusted to me on account of my having been long in the confidence of the late Congress & charged with the duties of one of the principal civil departments of government.

"I have now, Sir, to inform you that the proofs you have given of your patriotism and of your readiness to sacrifice domestic ease & private enjoyments to preserve the liberty & promote the happiness of your country did not permit the two houses to harbour a doubt of your undertaking this great, this important Office to which you are called not only by the unanimous votes of the electors, but by the voice of America. I have it therefore in command to accompany you to New York where the Senate and the house of representatives are convened for the despatch of public business.

"In executing this part of my commission where personal gratification coincides with duty I shall wait your time and be wholly governed by your convenience."

I then delivered your dispatches. To this [*the*] President, made a short reply<sup>3</sup> & concluded with informing me that he would be ready to set out the day after to morrow, and from the arrangements he has made in his mind of the daily stages it may be 7 or 8 days from that time before he reaches New York.

With my dutiful respects to the Senate, I have the honor to be, Sr,  
Your Most obedient and Most humble Servant,

Cha Thomson

RC (NhHi: Langdon-Elwyn Family Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

<sup>1</sup> The United States Senate had finally convened a quorum on April 6, whereupon John Langdon was selected president "for the sole purpose of opening the certificates and counting the votes of the Electors of the several States in the choice of a President and Vice President of the United States." Upon the completion of the balloting, "the Senate appointed Charles Thomson, Esq. to notify George Washington, Esq. of his election to the Office of President," and Langdon sent Thomson the following instructions.

"The Senate of the United States have appointed you to wait upon General Washington, with a certificate of his being elected to the Office of President of the United States of America. You will therefore prepare to set out as soon as possible, and apply to the Board of Treasury for such sums as you may judge necessary for the expenses of the journey." *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 1:7-9.

<sup>2</sup> See Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 2:54-55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

## Charles Thomson to John Langdon

Sir:

New York, April 24, 1789.

In pursuance of the orders I received from the Senate,<sup>1</sup> I left New York on Tuesday, the 7th of the present month; and though much impeded by tempestuous weather, bad roads, and the many large rivers I had to cross, yet, by unremitted diligence I reached Mount Vernon, the seat of his excellency General Washington, on Tuesday, the 14th, about 12 o'clock. I found his excellency at home; and after communicating to him the object of my mission and the substance of my instructions, I took an opportunity, on the day of my arrival, to address him as follows:

"Sir, the President of the Senate, chosen for the special occasion, having opened and counted the votes of the electors in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, I was honored with the commands of the Senate to wait upon your excellency with the information of your being elected to the office of President of the United States of America. This commission was intrusted to me on account of my having been long in the confidence of the late Congress, and charged with the duties of one of the principal civil departments of Government.

"I have now, sir, to inform you, that the proofs you have given of your patriotism, and of your readiness to sacrifice domestic ease and private enjoyment to preserve the liberty and promote the happiness of your country, did not permit the two Houses to harbor a doubt of your undertaking this great, this important office, to which you are called not only by the unanimous votes of the electors but by the voice of America; I have it therefore in command to accompany you to New York, where the Senate and House of Representatives are convened for the despatch of public business. In executing this part of my commission, where personal gratification coincides with duty, I shall wait your time, and be wholly governed by your convenience."

To this his excellency was pleased to make the following reply:<sup>2</sup>

"Sir, I have been long accustomed to entertain so great a respect for the opinion of my fellow-citizens, that the knowledge of their unanimous suffrages having been given in my favor, scarcely leaves me the alternative for an option. Whatever may have been my private feelings and sentiments, I believe I cannot give a greater evidence of my sensibility for the honor they have done me, than by accepting the appointment.

"I am much affected by this fresh proof of my country's esteem and confidence, that silence can best explain my gratitude—while I realize



the arduous nature of the task which is conferred on me, and feel my inability to perform it, I wish<sup>3</sup> there may not be reason for regretting the choice. All I can promise is, only that which can be accomplished by an honest zeal.

"Upon considering how long time some of the gentlemen of both Houses of Congress have been at New York, how anxiously desirous they must be to proceed to business, and how deeply the public mind appears to be impressed with the necessity of doing it immediately, I cannot find myself at liberty to delay my journey. I shall therefore be in readiness to set out the day after to-morrow, and shall be happy in the pleasure of your company; for you will permit me to say that it was a peculiar gratification to have received the communication from you."

His excellency set out accordingly on Thursday, the 16th. His progress was retarded by the tender and affectionate leave which his neighbors and friends took of him; by the congratulatory addresses which he was obliged to receive by the way; and by the testimonies of public esteem and joy, to which it was necessary for him to pay attention, in the several States through which he passed; but that this might occasion as little delay as possible, he commenced his journey every morning at sun-rise, continued it incessantly throughout the day, and supported the fatigues of it, eight days successively, till he reached this place.<sup>4</sup>

His happy and safe arrival here yesterday having terminated my commission, I submit my conduct in the execution of it to the judgment of the Senate, and have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

Charles Thomson

MS not found; reprinted from Walter Lowrie, et al., eds., *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States*, 38 vols. (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832-61), Miscellaneous, 1:5-6. Addressed: "The President of the Senate."

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>2</sup> For this exchange between Thomson and Washington, see also Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 2:54-57.

<sup>3</sup> At this point in Washington's original reply, the words "however that" appeared. For Thomson's suggestion that they be deleted in this report to the Senate, see the following entry; and *ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>4</sup> For Washington's triumphal journey from Mount Vernon to New York April 16-23, see *ibid.*, pp. 59-65, 77-87, 101-2, 105-10; Washington, *Diaries* (Jackson and Twohig), 5:445-48; and Freeman, *Washington*, 6:167-84.

## Charles Thomson to George Washington

Sir,

New York April 24. 1789

I intended to have waited upon you in person and submitted to your

inspection the enclosed report<sup>1</sup> which I have prepared to send to the Senate but by the interruption of visits I was not able to finish it until it was your time of receiving visits. I meant to have submitted to your consideration whither the words “however that” in the Answer with which you were pleased to honor me might not be omitted.<sup>2</sup>

If your Excellency should see any part of the report which is exceptionable or which you would wish altered & will permit me to visit you privately I will wait upon you at any time you will be pleased to fix.

In the mean time hoping your Excellency is recovered from the fatigues of your journey, I have the honor to be, With the most sincere Esteem and respect, Your Excellency’s Most Obedient and Most humble Servt,  
Cha Thomson

RC (DNA: PCC, item 49).

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>2</sup> The omission was made as Thomson suggested. See *ibid.*, note 3.

## Charles Thomson to Charles Pinckney

Sir, New york April 27th. 1789

Before I received the favor of your letter of — I had transmitted to you two sets of the Journal of Congress for 1788 one for the legislature the other for the Executive. My letter which accompanied them was dated the 18th of March;<sup>1</sup> and as there was no direct conveyance from this place I sent it to Philadelphia with a request to the Postmaster to forward it by the first Vessel from that port bound to Charleston under a Confidence that before this time you must have received them, I now send two Copies of the Journal for 1787 one for the Legislature the other for the executive branch of government. And to complete your own set I likewise send herewith the Journal for 1787 and 1788, and shall always be happy when I can have an opportunity of testifying the sincere esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obedient and Most Humble servant,

C.T.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). In the hand of John Fisher.

<sup>1</sup> See Thomson to the States, March 18.

## Hugh Williamson to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir, New York 27th. April. 1789.

With this you will receive Copies of the Laws of sundry States which

have been forwarded according to a Recommendation of Congress<sup>1</sup> for the use of the Legislature of Our State. I am not informed whether our State has returned like Copies of its Laws for the information of the Legislatures of other States.

On Thursday next the President of the United States G. Washington is to take the Oath and enter upon the Duties of his Office. The new form of Government will then have commenced and my privilege of Franking Letters as a Member of Congress will probably be disputed.<sup>2</sup> I should then apply myself wholly to the Business of the public Accounts but some Weeks must elapse before the Commissioners of the United States can make any progress. One member of that Board has just taken his seat in Congress as a Representative from Georgia (Mr. Baldwin) and by a special Vote of Congress any two of the Board are not allowed to act, unless the third is present. A third Commissioner must therefore be appointed by the President<sup>3</sup> and he is not Authorised to make such appointment, untill Congress shall have taken Measures for that purpose and as the Revenue System engages all their Attention at present some time must necessarily pass before the third Commissioner can be ready to Act; in the mean while I propose to visit N. Carolina and to collect some Evidence of which I think we may avail ourselves considerably in the settlement of our Accounts. I am the more convinced of the usefulness of such Evidence from the Rules that the Board of Commissioners have already laid down for their General Government respecting the claims of particular States. However attentive I have been to the Board of Commissioners you observe that I have hitherto considered myself a Member of Congress by which I might the better avail myself of any opportunity to serve the State by having access to all the Public Offices &c.

It is obvious that the Revenue System now before Congress must inevitably press with much weight on the Commerce of N. Carolina. The Duty of one Dollar per Hhd. on lime is calculated for the Meridian of Rhode Island and that on Spermaceti Candles, Cheese and Malt will have the like Operation: hitherto N. Carolina has been treated with more respect; they have only talked of duties on Naval Stores & Corn, I will try if possible to beg the Indulgence of another year.

The Foreign Tonnage Duty of half a Dollar per Ton must nip our trade, suppose that 500 Vessels clear annually from N. Carolina for other States in the Union, and the Number is much greater, these Vessels at 40 Tons must pay Ten Thousand Dollars Tonnage: by such a Tax the Value of our produce must be reduced; for we have not the Monopoly. In the mean time, I do not see any means by which this particular Grievance can be escaped or procrastinated. It is a Measure that would be of great use to us, if we were in the Union by promoting Ship building.

I have the Honor &c,

Hu Williamson

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 22:537–38.

<sup>2</sup> See Williamson to James Iredell, March 2, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> For Washington's appointment of John Kean to this post August 6, 1789, see Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 2:132n, 3:394.

## Charles Thomson's Draft Letter to Congress

[April 30? 1789]<sup>1</sup>

Having seen, to my inexpressible satisfaction, the rights & liberty of this country asserted and vindicated; its independence acknowledged and secured; peace restored and the national government amended so as to give a pleasing prospect of cementing & strengthening the union of the states, & of ensuring the enjoyment of those blessings which have been purchased with so much blood and treasure, I resolved to return to private life. To this cause which is now brought to so happy an issue a great part of my life has been devoted, without any other motive than an ardent love of liberty. When the dispute was fast verging to the decision of Arms, I took the station to which I was called, Without any solicitation on my part, by the unanimous choice of the Congress which met in 1774, and continued therein through all the trying scenes of the war down to this happy period. But after executing the duties of my station to the utmost of my abilities with integrity & fidelity for almost 15 years under the immediate eyes of the delegates from the several states & experiencing from them and from my country continual & constant proofs of their approbation & confidence; and after being honored, by the concurrence of both houses of this present Congress, with an appointment of the Senate to wait upon his Exy gen Washington with the information of his being elected to the Office of President of the United States of America,<sup>2</sup> & ordered to deliver him the despatches committed to my care containing the certificate of his election & to accompany him to this place; and this under an idea suggested to me that this was required of me as being still in the service of the United States & the fittest to perform this duty, I cannot conceal that I was struck with surprize at being passed by unnoticed in the arrangement made by a comee. who I understand were appointed to take order respecting the ceremonial for his inauguration, while some other officers under the late government were invited to attend that solemn occasion.<sup>3</sup> To what cause this has been owing I am altogether a stranger. I have heard it said that the comee. did not consider me in Office. But how does this accord with the conduct of the members of both houses who induced me to undertake the late journey? Or by what authority could the comee.



undertake to determine who are in or who out of office? Is the custody of the records of the late Congress & the keeping of the great Seal no Office? Or am I discharged from my Oath of office & these still left with me? No other reason that I have heard being assigned for this arbitrary arrangement of the comee. it is some consolation that it was not an act of the two houses—that, if I am rightly informed, it gave general dissatisfaction and that the circumstance of the houses not knowing it in time alone prevented its being rectified. But as these circumstances are not generally known and the act of the comee was public, may I not hope that something will be done to guard against its effects & that it may not lessen that esteem of my fellow citizens which I have so long enjoyed and which by a faithful & conscientious discharge of the duties enjoined me I have endeavoured to preserve as my chief reward? For with regard to the emoluments of office, they have had little weight with me, nor have I derived advantages from them. In my private fortune I have not only suffered in common with my fellow citizens by the casualties of the times & the calamities of the war, but have almost wholly neglected it to attend to the duties of my office. My necessary expences while in the public employ have considerably exceeded my salary so that after now almost fifteen years service my private fortune is lessened from what it was at the beginning of that period. But of this I do not complain, nor do I mention it with a view to any compensation. All I ask is that Justice may be done to my public character and that as soon as convenient I may be honorably released from the charge of the books, records, papers & archives of the late Congress which are still in my custody—from that of the Great Seal, the keeping of which was one of the duties of my Office—And the seal of the Admiralty which was committed to my care when that board was dissolved.<sup>4</sup> Thus standing fair in the esteem and confidence of my fellow citizens which I highly prize, I shall return to private life with only an anxious wish for the prosperity of my country and a fervent prayer that the measures of the present government may be planned with wisdom and so conducted as to prove effectual to secure the tranquility & promote the happiness and glory of the United States.

FC (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

<sup>1</sup> Date conjectured from the fact that Thomson is here protesting his exclusion from the ceremonial proceedings attending Washington's inauguration as President of the United States. The document appears to have been drafted as a letter of resignation but was never sent. Thomson undoubtedly recognized the futility of the gesture, although he was not yet entirely resigned to retirement or without friends who continued to work to find a place for him in the new government. See, for example, Thomson to John Vining, May 20. For the efforts of Thomson's foes to block the creation of a home department, which was seen as an effort to create such a place for him, see Bowling, "Good-by 'Charle'," pp. 327–30.

<sup>2</sup> See Thomson to John Langdon, April 14, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> For the appointment of this joint inaugural committee (Senators Tristram Dalton, Ralph Izard, and Richard Henry Lee; Representatives Fisher Ames, Egbert Benson,

Daniel Carroll, James Madison, and Roger Sherman), the ceremonials they developed, and Thomson's exclusion from the proceedings by his political enemies, particularly Lee, Izard, and Dalton, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 1:26–30; Bowling, "Good-by 'Charle'," pp. 325–27; and Schlenther, *Charles Thomson*, pp. 186–91. For these inaugural arrangements, see *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 1:29–33, and 8 (forthcoming): April 29–30; Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 2:152–57; and Freeman, *Washington*, 6:187–97.

<sup>4</sup> For the actual delivery of these records by Thomson to his long-time deputy secretary Roger Alden nearly three months later, see Thomson to Washington, July 23 and July 25.

## Charles Thomson to Sundry Printers

Sir (Circular) Office of Secretary of Congress May 1<sup>t</sup>. 1789

I request that you will transmit your Account for Newspapers to the first of May, and give directions to your correspondent in New-york to receive the balance due, and that you will please to send no more Newspapers to this Office after that date.<sup>1</sup>

To Daniel Fowle	N. Hampshire
Adams & Nourse	Massachusetts
Solomon Southwick	Rhodeisland
Josiah Meigs	Connecticut
Dunlap & Claypoole	Pennsylvania
Frederick Craig & Co.	Delaware
William Goddard	Maryland
Ann Timothy	South Carolina
James Johnston	Georgia.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18B). FC (DNA: PCC, item 49). In the hand of Roger Alden. Addressed: "To Mr Daniel Fowle [*The New-Hampshire Gazette, and General Advertiser*], Portsmouth, N Hampshire—forwarded by mail. Messrs. Adams & Nourse [*Independent Chronicle: and the Universal Advertiser*], Boston. Solomon Southwick [*The Newport Mercury*], New Port, Rhode Island. Josiah Meigs [*The New-Haven Gazette, and the Connecticut Magazine*], N Haven, Connecticut. Dunlap & Claypoole [*The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser*], Philadelphia. Frederic Craig & Co. [*The Delaware Gazette*], Wilmington, Delaware. William Goddard [*The Maryland Journal, and the Baltimore Advertiser*], Baltimore, Maryland. Mrs. Ann Timothy [*The State Gazette of South Carolina*], Charleston, S. Carolina. James Johnstone [*The Georgia Gazette*], Savannah, Georgia."

<sup>1</sup> For Thomson's subscriptions in behalf of Congress to various newspapers in the states, see these *Letters*, 22:43, 236–37, 244–45.

## Charles Thomson to William Samuel Johnson

Sir Office of Secretary of Congress, May 16<sup>th</sup>. 1789.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1781 An Ordinance was passed for establishing

Courts for the trial of Piracies and felonies committed on the high Seas.<sup>1</sup> By this Act it is Ordained that all who commit any piracy or felony on the high Seas, or who are charged as Accessories, shall be enquired of, tried & judged by grand & pettit Juries. And the Justices of the supreme or superior Courts of Judicature, and the Judge of the Court of Admiralty of the respective States, or any two or more of them are constituted and appointed Judges for hearing & trying such offenders.

That upon indictment, such order, process, judgment & execution shall be used, had, done & made, to and against every such person so being indicted, as against robbers, murderers, or other felons for robbery, murder, or other felony done upon land, as by the laws of the State (in which the trial shall be held) is accustomed. And the trial of the offence if denied by the Offender, shall be had by twelve lawful Men of the county, district or precinct—And such as shall be convicted of any such offence by verdict, confession or otherwise in the said Court, shall have & suffer such pains of death, losses of land, goods & chattles, or other punishment, and by the same Authority, as if they had been convicted and attainted of any robbery, felony or other of the said offences done upon the land, & shall be utterly excluded the benefit of Clergy, where the same is taken away or not admitted for such like offence within the body of a county, or on land where such trial shall be had.

A doubt having arisen whether from the words for establishing the Courts, a Court for the trial of piracy, &c, might not be held without the Judge of the Admiralty, and this being brought before Congress, An Ordinance was passed on the 4th of March 1783 to remove this doubt.<sup>2</sup> By this it was ordained that on all causes to be commenced a Judge of the Admiralty should be one of the Court.

Thus the business rested under the late Congress. It may be proper however to observe that on the 6th Sepr. 1785 in pursuance of a motion of Mr Pinckney,<sup>3</sup> the Secy for foreign Affairs was directed to report to Congress a draft of an Ordinance for instituting a Court for the punishment of piracies and felonies committed on the high Seas in the same manner in all the States. In consequence of this order the Secy made a report on the 29th of the same Month, of which I enclose a copy.<sup>4</sup>

On the 1st May 1786 this report was referred to a committee of five,<sup>5</sup> and this Committee was renewed on the 12th Feby. 1787, at which time it consisted of Mr Dane, Mr Johnson, Mr Kean, Mr King & Mr Benson,<sup>6</sup> but they never reported.

I have the honor to be, With great respect, Sir, Your Most obedient  
& Most humble Servt,

Cha Thomson

RC (DLC: Johnson Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For this ordinance, see these *Letters*, 17:170; and 19:354–56.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:164; and these *Letters*, 19:653, 655n.4.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 29:682.

<sup>4</sup> For John Jay's September 29, 1785, report, see *JCC*, 29:797–805, 928 (no. 501).

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 30:224n.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 32:42n.

## Charles Thomson to George Washington

Sir, New York May 19. 1789

I intended to have done myself the honor of waiting on you this evening but the dampness of the weather prevents my going abroad I therefore take the liberty of enclosing my opinion on the paragraph in the constitution which you were pleased to mention;<sup>1</sup> the result of my conference with Mr Jay on the subject of sea letters; and the lights I have received by examining the laws of Pensylvania and Massachusetts touching the Naval Officer and the collector of the customs or duties.

With the greatest respect I have the honor to be, May it please the president, Your most obedient & Most humble servant,

Cha Thomson

### E N C L O S U R E

On this clause of the Constitution touching the powers of the President viz. "He shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint Ambassadors, other public ministers and Consuls, judges of the supreme court and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for and which shall be established by law."<sup>2</sup> It appears that ambassadors, other public minister and consuls, and judges of the Supreme court are on the same footing, that is officers recognised by the Constitution & the existence of whose offices does not depend on, or require a law for their establishment, Though an Act will be necessary for their support: that as he has power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur, So treaties being made he may in consequence thereof at his discretion nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate appoint Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, consequent to such treaties. The last words "and which shall be established by law" appear by every rule of construction to be confined to "all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein (namely in the constitution) otherwise provided for.["]



## Touching the granting of Sea letters

On the 12 February 1788, Congress Resolved<sup>3</sup> That the Secretary for foreign [*affairs*] for the time being be and he is hereby authorised and directed upon application made to him for that purpose to grant in the usual form Sea-letters for any vessel or vessels owned entirely & navigated chiefly by citizens of the United States and bound on long and distant voyages at his discretion; provided always that it be made to appear to him by oath or affirmation or by such other evidence as shall by him be deemed Satisfactory by the person or persons applying therefor, that the vessel or vessels, for which such Sea letters shall be required, shall together with all and every part of her cargo be owned entirely and commanded by officers Citizens of the United States and shall be navigated for the most part by the same. That for this purpose the Secretary for foreign affairs be and he is hereby instructed to procure a sufficient number of blank Sea letters drafted in the usual form and signed by the president of Congress for the purpose aforesaid, and that the same when filled up be sealed with the seal of the United States, and certified by the Secretary of Congress.

The usual form of the Sea letters is as follows<sup>4</sup> Most serene, Serene, Most puissant, puissant, high illustrious, noble, honorable, venerable, wise, and prudent Emperors, kings, republics, princes, dukes, earls, barons, lords, burgomasters, counsellors, as also judges, officers, justiciaries and regents of all the good cities and places, whether ecclesiastical or secular, who shall see these patents, or hear them read.

[“]We the United States in Congress assembled make known that ——— captain of the ship called ——— is a citizen of the United States of America and that the ship which he commands belongs to citizens of the said United States and as we wish to see the said ——— prosper in his lawful affairs our prayer is to all the before mentioned and to each of them separately where the said ——— shall arrive with his vessel and cargo, that they may please to receive him with goodness and treat him in a becoming manner, permitting him upon the usual tolls and expences in passing and repassing, to pass, navigate and frequent the ports, passes and territories, to the end to transact his business where and in what manner he shall judge proper, whereof we will willingly be indebted. In testimony we have caused the great Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed Witness his Excellency ——— President of the United States in Congress assembled this ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord ——— & of the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America.”

Though there can be no doubt but that the President may in virtue of his powers grant Sea letters to vessels belonging to citizens of the United States bound on long and distant voyages, yet it does not appear from the foregoing resolution and form of Sea Letters that the Secretary for foreign affairs can now grant Sea letters in the usual form nor the Secretary of Congress seal and certify the same; nor that

the Sea letters now to be issued can run in the form prescribed. On consultation, both the Secretary of Congress and the Secretary for foreign affairs concur in this Opinion.

Touching the naval Office and  
the Office of Collector of the Customs in *Pensylvania*

By a law of Pensylvania passed the 10 Sept. 1778<sup>5</sup> Masters of vessels shall within 48 hours after arrival in port enter at a naval Office & make report, on oath, of all goods, wares & merchandize in such vessel, setting forth the packages, marks & numbers thereof and the nature of their contents & his own name and the name and burthen of the ship, and the names and abodes of the owner or owners thereof, the port or place where the cargo was shipped with the documents usually furnished in such place: Masters of Vessels outward bound are first to report to the said Office the intended voyage & before the vessels proceed to sail deliver, under oath to be administered by the Officer, a manifest of the outward cargos. All vessels belonging to subjects of the State to be registered in the said office, for which purpose one or more of the owners shall certify on oath or affirmation to the naval Officer the name, burthen, shape and Kind of vessel together with the name of the master, the place of construction and the name or names of the owner or owners thereof and the parts or shares they respectively hold in the same; and the naval officer shall register such vessel in a book kept for the purpose and furnish an attested copy of Such register.

The naval officer is paid by fees fixed by law for entering & clearing out, for entering registers & granting certificates thereof and for permits to unload.

By an act passed 23 Decr 1780<sup>6</sup> an impost as laid on goods imported, which impost was to be received by the naval Officer who was to keep a true account of his doings and once in every month pay over to the treasurer of the State the monies received, & once in every six Months or oftner if required settle with the State auditor; for this service he was allowed  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the Monies received & paid over and 2/ from the party executing any bond for each bond given for duties. It appears that by an Act passed the 15 March 1784 Sharp Delaney was appointed Collector.<sup>7</sup> This act is not in the office—But by an Act passed the 2 April 1785 entitled a supplement to the Acts for raising an impost and to secure more effectually the revenues arising from the same<sup>8</sup> it appears that both officers were continued and their duties as far as they relate to the collection of the impost are regulated as follows.

1. All goods imported are to be entered with the collector.
2. Such entry before permit is given for landing is to be examined & compared by the naval Officer with the manifest of the cargo lodged by the Master of the vessel at his office and a certificate of his approv-

ing the same to be sent to the collectors office & filed upon which the collector is to grant a permit for unloading.

3. The collector or deputy collector, or the naval officer or his deputy, on reasonable cause of suspicion, may open and examine any bale, box &c. and if fraud be discovered, the goods shall be forfeited one half thereof to the use of the State, the other half to him or them who made the seizure.

4. The book of register Kept by the naval officer for registering entries made at the collectors office, and the manifests lodged and filed in the naval office by the masters of vessels or a fair transcript thereof to be lodged in the comptrollers office as checks for the examination & settlement of the accounts of the collector.

The naval officer to be allowed six pence for every entry he examines and to take an oath for the faithful discharge of his duty.

The collector to give bond with sufficient sureties for faithfully accounting and paying over the money received.

A M[r] Phyle has been naval officer of the port of Philadelphia And Mr Sharp Delaney Collector of the said port.<sup>9</sup>

#### In the commonwealth of Massachusetts

By an act passed 1 Novr 1781<sup>10</sup> an excise is laid on wine, rum, brandy & teas and on wheel carriages and for the collection thereof one collector is to be annually appointed for each county.

By an act passed March 1782<sup>11</sup> persons importing wine, rum, brandy or teas, and all persons distilling spirituous liquors are prohibited from selling the same without permits so to do from the collector of excise or his deputy.

By an act passed Novr 1782<sup>12</sup> a new duty or excise was laid on a great number of articles therein specified, both imported and made in the state. No imported goods are to be landed without a permit from the naval officers or in case of no naval officer in the port from the collector of excise in the county, and where there is no naval officer, collector or deputy in the port, from the town clerk or a selectman. No permit for landing to be given by a naval officer till a manifest of the cargo, on oath, is lodged with him. Collectors and naval officers are empowered to seize.

The collector of each county is to account with the treasurer of the commonwealth for the money received for duties or penalties & to pay the same into the treasury quarterly.

The collectors appointed in the several counties under former acts are to receive & collect the duties mentioned in this act till others are chosen in their room. Suitable persons are to be appointed annually for executing the duties assigned to collectors with such allowances for their services as shall be determined when they shall be appointed.

On the 22 March 1783<sup>13</sup> an impost was laid on certain goods, wares and merchandize which was to be collected by the same officers in the



same manner and under the same regulations as prescribed in the Act of Novr 1782. A further impost was laid July 1784<sup>14</sup> And in addition to this another act was passed July 1785<sup>15</sup> laying an impost and excise on a great number of enumerated articles, which duties of impost and excise were to be collectd by the same persons and in the same manner as prescribed in the acts to which this is an Addition.

In July 1784 an Act was passed establishing naval offices in the several towns of Boston, Salem, Marblehead, Newburyport, Gloucester, Ipswich, Beverly, York, Penobscot, Pepperelborough, Falmouth, Booth bay, Goldborough, Machias, Passomoquaddy, Bath, Plymouth, Barnstable, Dartmouth, Dighton, Edgar town & Sherburne in Nantucket.<sup>16</sup>

The naval officers are to give bond & be sworn; their duties are to grant registers for and to enter and clear out vessels; to take manifests on oath of cargoes imported or exported & keep records thereof; to grant bills of health to take bonds required; to secure duties on the lading of vessels hovering on the coasts; to make a weekly return to the county collector of the vessels entered or cleared at their offices, with Copies of the manifests of the cargoes; and every six months to render to the secretary of the state a fair transcript of the entries & clearances & manifests of cargoes. And by an Act of the 2d of the same Month they are to receive and account for a duty of tonnage laid for support of light houses.<sup>17</sup> An act of the same month regulates the fees to be received by the naval officers and prescribes the forms or registers, clearances, permits &c. to be used in the Offices.<sup>18</sup>

From these acts it appears that the impost and excise are blended & collected by the same officers and that for the collection of them there is a collector for each county in the commonwealth; And that besides the collectors office there is a naval office for entering and clearing Vessels &c.

The propriety of keeping up both offices and the necessity of the naval officer being an Officer of the United States is apparent from these considerations.

1. The naval officer can greatly assist the collector of the duties and furnish the best documents to check the accounts of the collector.

2. He can keep a register of the vessels belonging to Citizens of the United States & enforce the acts of Navigation.

3. He is the proper officer to furnish the papers required by the treaties of Commerce between the United States and foreign nations.

FC (DNA: PCC, item 49). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as there is no known letter from Washington to Thomson on this subject, it can be reasonably conjectured that Washington's query had been verbal. Washington's reliance on the secretary of the old Congress to supply institutional memory for the new government is not surprising, although his failure to appoint Thomson to an important post in his administration has occasioned comment. Cf. Thomson to Washington, July 23, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Article II, section 2, clause 2.



<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 34:39–40, 631.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *PCC*, item 130, fols. 2–3.

<sup>5</sup> See Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 2:340n.2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, note 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, note 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, note 7.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, note 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, note 9.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, note 10.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, note 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, note 12.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, note 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, note 14.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, note 15.

## Charles Thomson to John Vining

[May 20, 1789]<sup>1</sup>

Mr Thomson presents his compliments to Mr Vining & hopes that for obvious reasons Mr V will excuse his not intering into a discussion of the subject mentioned in his note, more especially when it is considered that the complex nature of the general government of the United States, the variety of interests comprehended under it, the states of which it is composed, the necessity of reconciling them one to another and to the general government so as to form one united nation, not to mention the Indians who live within the territories of the United States and who have rights and claims which must be attended to, cannot fail to suggest to the enlightened body of which Mr Vining is a member, that the care of our domestic affairs and the preserving peace and harmony at home is of as much importance and may require as much time, attention and abilities as any of the departments which have been brought before them.

FC (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

<sup>1</sup> Date conjectured from the fact that Thomson was responding to the following note from Vining, which is dated only “Wednesday 12 oClock” but was the outgrowth of a motion Vining offered in the House of Representatives on Tuesday May 19 proposing the creation of a “home department.” See *Doc. Hist. First Federal Congress*, 10:725.

“Mr Vining presents his respects to Mr Thomson, and takes the Liberty, if his Leisure will admit of it, to request him to give his Idea of a Domestick Department, and the Duties necessary to be comprehended within such an office. Mr. Vining would not have troubled Mr Thomson upon this occasion, but the Time allow’d him for the consideration of this Business will necessarily be very limited.” Thomson Papers, DLC.

Vining, a former Delaware delegate to Congress, 1784–85, was elected to represent his state in the first and second United States Congresses, and served in the United States Senate, 1793–98. *Bio. Dir. Cong.*

## Roger Alden to David Humphreys

Dear Sir,<sup>1</sup>

Friday May 29th. 1789

Mr Thompson requested me to transmit to the President a set of the Journal of Congress bound particularly for him. If You will be so kind as to receive & deliver them, You will much oblige Your friend & Humble servant,

R Alden

FC (DNA: PCC, item 59). In the hand of Roger Alden.

<sup>1</sup> David Humphreys (1752–1818), Connecticut poet and an aide-de-camp to Washington during the revolution, served the new president as one of his secretaries, 1789–90. See Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 1:81–82; and *DAB*.

## Charles Thomson to the Board of Treasury

Gentlemen,

July 17, 1789.

I have seen a paper in the words following viz—To Joseph Hardy Esqr, accountant.

Sr. I have examined an accot. Chas. Thomson Esqr. secretary to the late Congress commencing 1 April and ending the 30th June 1789<sup>1</sup> & find that he charges his own Salary as “Secretary” and the salaries of Roger Alden as depty. Secretary, Benjamin Bankson & John Fisher as clerks for the above time to amount of Dollrs. 1,075, ditto pay of James Mathews from 1 May 1788 to 1 March 1789 for taking care of the Secretarys office 40. Amount of sundry contingent accounts Dollrs. 34 24/90 deduct amount of two charges in McLean’s 5/ equal to 60 Dollars 3,354. Dollars 114 51/90.

N[B] Mr. Thomson hath been allowed his salary as secretary under the late Congress to the 31 March 1789 but as he hath not been recognised by the present Congress there does not appear any authority for the admission of his charges the propriety of the rejection of which I beg leave to submit to Consideration.

(signed)

Jno. Woodside, clk of Accts.

Approved J. Hardy acct.

I desire to know what this imports. Is my account hereby rejected. The clerk submits the propriety of rejecting it to the Accountant for this reason because he says “As he hath not been recognised by the present Congress there does not appear any authority for the admission of his charges.” The accountant under writes Approved. What is approved? The Clerks submitting the propriety of rejecting the Account to Consideration? or is the rejection itself approved? If the latter I beg leave to ask are the accounts of the officers in the other of-

fices under the late Congress passed? if they be; have those Officers been recognised by the present Congress? Why then the distinction. The truth is All the Offices & the papers are in the care and custody of the respective Officers under the late Congress and must be so regularly till they are relieved, and discharged of their trust. And the Officers have done such business in their respective offices as they considered themselves authorised to do. Such I presume has been the case with others & such has been the case with respect to the Office of the Secretary of Congress. But whether this office is to be distinguished from the rest and the officers therein refused the payments of their salaries while thus detained is submitted to your judgment, by Gentlemen, Your humble serv,  
Cha Thomson<sup>2</sup>

FC (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson, and addressed by him: "To the board of treasury."

<sup>1</sup> There is also in Thomson's Papers, DLC, a three-page document dated "Registers Office 2d June 1789" signed by Joseph Nourse indicating the total sum Thomson had been paid from May 9, 1776 to March 31, 1789, specie value, accompanied by a detailed "Statement of Particulars."

<sup>2</sup> For the final provision made for the settlement of Secretary Thomson's office accounts in the "estimate" submitted by Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, September 29, 1789, see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 5:381–82.

## Charles Thomson to George Washington

To the President of the United States of America

Sir,

July 23. 1789

Having had the honor of serving in quality of Secretary of Congress from the first meeting of Congress in 1774 to the present time, a period of almost fifteen years, and having seen in that eventful period, by the interposition of divine Providence the rights of our country asserted and vindicated, its independence declared, acknowledged and fixed, peace & tranquility restored & in consequence thereof a rapid advance in arts, manufactures and population, and lastly a government established which gives well grounded hopes of promoting its lasting welfare & securing its freedom and happiness, I now wish to return to private life.<sup>1</sup>

With this intent I present my self before you to surrender up the charge of the books, records and papers of the late Congress which are in my custody & deposited in rooms of the house where the legislature assemble, and to deliver into your hands the Great Seal of the federal Union, the keeping of which was one of the duties of my Office, and the seal of the Admiralty which was committed to my care when that board was dissolved.

Before I retire I beg leave to recommend to your favour Mr Roger Alden who was appointed, by the late Congress, deputy Secretary & whom I have found an able & faithful assistant, and Mr John Fisher who has served as a clerk in the Office for several years with diligence and fidelity & who alone remains unemployed.

And now with most sincere and ardent wishes for the prosperity of our country and a fervent prayer for your health and happiness I bid you an affectionate Farewell,  
Cha Thomson<sup>2</sup>

RC (DNA: PCC, item 49). Addressed: "To the President of the United States of America."

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of Thomson's failure to obtain a position in the new government, the combined product of determined efforts of old political enemies, his own inability to make his desires known forthrightly and unambiguously, and Washington's reluctance to become involved in what was essentially a patronage issue, see Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 3:295–96; Bowling, "Good-by 'Charle'," pp. 325–34; and Schlenther, *Charles Thomson*, pp. 185–95.

<sup>2</sup> For Washington's July 24 response to Thomson, expressing his "regret that the period of my coming again into public life, should be exactly that, in which you are about to retire from it," and instructing Thomson "to deliver the Books, Records & Papers of the late Congress" to Roger Alden, see Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Presidential Series (Twohig), 3:308–9.

## Charles Thomson to George Washington

To the President of the United States of America

Sir, New York July 25. 1789

I cannot find words to express the feelings of my heart, on the receipt of your favour of yesterday,<sup>1</sup> at this repeated instance of your goodness. I shall ever retain a grateful remembrance of this and of your condescension to me on a former occasion when your presence administered a balm to my wounded spirit.

From the love and veneration I bear and have continually felt for you, and the light in which I have always viewed you as raised up by Providence to be the Saviour and father of your country I freely confess I should have been highly gratified in devoting myself to the public service under your administration. But by attentively observing and weighing circumstances and occurrences it appeared to me to be the will of God that I should return to private life. Under this impression, though I wished not merely to submit, but to submit with cheerfulness, I own I felt an uneasiness at the circumstance you mention and which you are pleased to say *you have to regret* that the period of your coming again into public life should be exactly that in which I am to retire from it; but I had this consolation that you were sensible and from what had occurred the world must be convinced & know that my



retiring does not spring from your disapproval of my past conduct nor my unwillingness to serve under you.

I thank you for the testimonial you have given in my favour and shall ever prize it next to the consciousness of having done my duty to my country to the utmost of my knowledge and abilities.

Agreeably to your desire I have delivered to Mr Roger Alden the books, records and papers of the late Congress and enclose herewith his receipt. He will wait upon you to receive the Great Seal of the federal Union and the Seal of the Admiralty which I had the honor of delivering into your hands, to thank you for this mark of your favour and to execute any orders you shall please to give him.

I know your goodness will excuse the liberty I took in recommending to your favour those who had remained with me to the last,<sup>2</sup> and I beg you to believe that it was done without a wish that you should deviate from that line of conduct which I know you have marked out with wisdom and which I am sure you will pursue with steadiness in discharging the great trust reposed in you.

With sentiments of the most sincere esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Most obedient and Most humble Servant,

Cha Thomson

E N C L O S U R E

I acknowledge to have received of Charles Thomson late Secretary of Congress the books, records & papers of the late Congress which were in his custody, and which are deposited in rooms in the house where the Legislature of the United States now Assemble—And agreeably to the request of the President of the United States of America take charge of the same until farther directions shall be given.

Roger Alden

New York. July 25th. 1789.

RC (DNA: PCC, item 49). In the hand of Charles Thomson and addressed by him: "To the President of the United States of America." Enclosure (DNA: PCC, item 49). In the hand of Roger Alden.

<sup>1</sup> See note 2 of the preceding entry.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Roger Alden and John Fisher. See *ibid.*

## Appendix

### Monthly attendance lists: January–August 1788

In response to its increasing inability to conduct business because of the poor attendance of delegates, Congress resolved August 17, 1785, “That the Secretary of Congress shall once in every month, transmit to the Legislatures of the respective States, a list of the States represented, and of those unrepresented in Congress, and of the members from each State; that effectual measures may, from time to time, be taken . . . to remedy these defects.” *JCC*, 29:631–33. For the inauguration of this system, see these *Letters*, 22:597, 622–23, 702–3.

The attendance lists in this appendix were transmitted by Secretary Thomson with letters to the states March 3, May 3, June 7, and September 6, 1788. No lists have been found for the months of September and October 1788, the last months Congress actually convened. It is probable that no such lists were made for these months because of the anticipated implementation of the new government under the Constitution.

The fifth article of the Articles of Confederation provided that “no state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven Members.” *JCC*, 19:215. In preparing these monthly lists, Thomson recorded “r” on days when a state was fully represented by two or more delegates, “1” when only a single delegate was present, and “–” when none was in attendance.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month  
of January 1788 Pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members in Town,	21	22	23	24	25	28	29	30	31										
New-Hampshire, Mr. Gilman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1										
Massachusetts, Mr. Otis Mr. Thatcher	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r										
Rhode Island,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-										
Connecticut, Mr. Jer. Wadsworth	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1										
New-York,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-										
New-Jersey, Mr. Clark Mr. Elmer	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r										
Pennsylvania, Mr. Irvine Mr. Armstrong Mr. Reid	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r										
Delaware, Mr. Kearny Mr. Mitchell	r	r	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	r									
Maryland, Mr. Howard Mr. Contee	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r										
Virginia, Mr. Madison Mr. Griffin Mr. Brown	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-									
North-Carolina, Mr. White	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1										
South-Carolina, Mr. Huger Mr. Parker Mr. Tucker	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r										
Georgia, Mr. Baldwin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1										
The States represented,	7	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	6										

MS (Nc-Ar: General Assembly Records). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, March 3, 1788.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month  
of February 1788 Pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members who at- tended in the course of the Month.	1	4	5	6	7	8	11	12	13	14	15	18	19	20	21	22	25	26	27	28	29
New-Hampshire, Mr. Gilman Mr. Wingate	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr. Dane Mr. Otis Mr. Thatcher	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr. Mitchell Mr. Cook Mr. Wadsworth	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	-	-	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r
New-York, Mr. Hamilton Mr. Gansevoort	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	r	r	l	l	r
New-Jersey, Mr. Clarke Mr. Elmer Mr. Dayton	r	r	r	l	-	-	-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr. Irvin Mr. Reid Mr. Armstrong	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware, Mr. Kearney Mr. Mitchell	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Maryland, Mr. Howard Mr. Contee	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Virginia, Mr. Madison Mr. Griffin Mr. Brown	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr. White	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
South-Carolina, Mr. Huger Mr. Parker Mr. Tucker	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr. Baldwin	l	l	l	l	l	l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The States represented,	7	7	7	5	6	6	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	9	8	8	10

MS (Nc-Ar: General Assembly Records). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, March 3, 1788.



A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month  
of March 1788 Pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members who attended in the course of the Month.	3	4	5	6	7	10	11	12	13	18	19	20	24	25	27	31
New-Hampshire, Mr. Gilman } Mr. Wingate }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr. Dane } Mr. Otis } Mr. Thatcher }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, _____ }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr. Mitchell } Mr. Wadsworth } Mr. Cook }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-York, Mr. Hamilton } Mr. Gansevoort }	l	r	-	l	l	l	-	l	l	-	-	l	-	-	-	l
New-Jersey, Mr. Clarke } Mr. Dayton }	r	r	r	l	l	-	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	l
Pennsylvania, Mr. Irvine } Mr. Armstrong } Mr. Reid }	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware, Mr. Kearney } Mr. Mitchell }	l	r	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	r	l	l	l	l	l	l
Maryland, Mr. Ross }	-	-	-	-	-	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
Virginia, Mr. Griffin } Mr. Madison } Mr. Brown }	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr. White }	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
South-Carolina, Mr. Huger } Mr. Parker } Mr. Tucker }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr. Baldwin }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	l
The States represented,	7	9	8	7	7	6	5	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	6

MS (DLC: Continental Congress Miscellany). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, March 3, 1788.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month  
of April 1788 Pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members who attended in the course of the Month.	1	2	3	4	7	8	from	thence	to	18	to	26	28	29	30
New-Hampshire, Mr. Gilman } Mr. Wingate }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr. Dane } Mr. Otis }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, _____ }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr. Mitchell }	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
New-York, Mr. Gansevoort }	l	-	l	l	l	-	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
New-Jersey, Mr. Clarke } Mr. Dayton }	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	-	l
Pennsylvania, Mr. Irvin } Mr. Armstrong }	r	l	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	l	r
Delaware, Mr. Kearney }	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
Maryland, Mr. Ross } Mr. Seney }	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r
Virginia, Mr. Griffin } Mr. Carrington } Mr. Brown }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr. White }	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	-	-	-
South-Carolina, Mr. Huger } Mr. Parker } Mr. Tucker }	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr. Baldwin }	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
The States represented,	6	4	6	6	5	4	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	5	6

MS (DLC: Continental Congress Miscellany). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, May 3, 1788.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month  
of May 1788 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members who attended in the course of the month	2	5	6	7	8	13	14	15	16	19	20	21	22	23	26	27	28	29	30
New-Hampshire, Mr. Gilman Mr. Wingate	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr. Dane Mr. Otis	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, Mr. Arnold	-	-	-	-	-	l	l	l	l	l	-	-	l	-	l	l	l	l	l
Connecticut, Mr. Mitchell	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New-York, Mr. Gansevoort Mr. Hamilton Mr. Yates	l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	l	-	-	-	-	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr. Clarke Mr. Dayton	r	r	r	r	r	-	-	r	r	-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr. Irvine Mr. Armstrong Mr. Reid Mr. Bingham	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware, Mr. Kearny Mr. Mitchell	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Maryland, Mr. Ross Mr. Seney	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	l	l
Virginia, Mr. Griffin Mr. Carrington Mr. Brown	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr. Williamson Mr. Swann	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	l
South-Carolina, Mr. Huger Mr. Parker Mr. Tucker	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr. Baldwin Mr. Few	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r
The States represented,	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	8	7	8	8	8	7	10	9	9	10	9

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month  
of June 1788 pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members who at- tended in the course of the month	2	3	4	5	6	9	11	12	13	16	17	18	19	20	23	24	25	26	27
New-Hampshire, Mr. Gilman Mr. Wingate	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr. Dane Mr. Otis	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, Mr. Arnold Mr. Hazard	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r
Connecticut, Mr. Edwards	-	-	-	-	-	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
New-York, Mr. Gansevoort Mr. Hamilton Mr. Yates Mr. L'Honmedieu	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr. Clark Mr. Elmer Mr. Dayton	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr. Irvine Mr. Reid Mr. Armstrong Mr. Bingham	r	r	r	-	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r
Delaware, Mr. Kearny Mr. Mitchell	r	r	r	-	r	r	l	r	r	l	l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland, Mr. Ross Mr. Seney Mr. Contee	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
Virginia, Mr. Griffin Mr. Madison Mr. Carrington Mr. Brown	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr. Williamson Mr. Swann	r	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	l	l	l	l	r
South-Carolina, Mr. Huger Mr. Parker Mr. Tucker	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr. Few Mr. Baldwin	r	r	r	-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	r
The States repre- sented,	12	10	10	5	9	10	9	10	9	9	9	9	9	10	8	9	8	8	10



A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month  
of July 1788 Pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members who at- tended in the course of the Month.	1	2	3	7	8	9	10	11	14	15	16	17	18	21	22	24	25	28	29	30	31
New-Hampshire, Mr. Gilman Mr. Wingate	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Massachusetts, Mr. Dane Mr. Otis	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, Mr. Arnold Mr. Hazard	-	r	r	r	r	r	-	r	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	-	l	l	l
Connecticut, Mr. Huntington Mr. Edwards Mr. Wadsworth	r	r	l	l	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-York, Mr. L'Hommedieu Mr. Yates Mr. Benson	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr. Clark Mr. Elmer Mr. Dayton	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr. Irvine Mr. Armstrong Mr. Bigham Mr. Reid	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware, Mr. Kearny Mr. Mitchell	-	-	-	-	-	-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	r	r	r	r	r
Maryland, Mr. Contee Mr. Seney Mr. Howard Mr. Ross	-	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Virginia, Mr. Griffin Mr. Madison Mr. Carrington Mr. Brown Mr. Lee	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr. Williamson Mr. Swann	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
South-Carolina, Mr. Huger Mr. Parker Mr. Tucker	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr. Few Mr. Baldwin	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
The States represented,	9	11	10	11	11	11	12	13	12	12	11	13	13	11	13	12	12	12	12	12	12

MS (Vi: Continental Congress Collection). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, September 6, 1788.

A State of the Representation in Congress, for the Month  
of August 1788 Pursuant to the Act of 17th August, 1785.

Members who at- tended in the course of the Month.	1	4	5	6	7	8	11	12	13	14	15	18	20	21	22	25	26	27	28	29
New-Hampshire, Mr. Gilman } Mr. Wingate }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	l
Massachusetts, Mr. Sedgewick } Mr. Dane } Mr. Otis } Mr. Thatcher }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Rhode-Island, Mr. Arnold } Mr. Hazard }	-	r	r	r	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Connecticut, Mr. Huntington } Mr. Wadsworth } Mr. Edwards }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	l
New-York, Mr. L'Hommedieu } Mr. Benson } Mr. Hamilton } Mr. Yates }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
New-Jersey, Mr. Clark } Mr. Dayton }	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	l	r	l	l	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r
Pennsylvania, Mr. Irvine } Mr. Meredith } Mr. Armstrong } Mr. Bingham } Mr. Reid }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Delaware, Mr. Kearny } Mr. Mitchell }	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Maryland, Mr. Ross } Mr. Seney } Mr. Contee }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	-	r
Virginia, Mr. Griffin } Mr. Madison } Mr. Carrington } Mr. Lee } Mr. Brown }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
North-Carolina, Mr. Williamson } Mr. Swann }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	r
South-Carolina, Mr. Huger } Mr. Parker } Mr. Tucker }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Georgia, Mr. Few } Mr. Baldwin }	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	l	l	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
The States represented,	12	13	13	13	13	12	10	11	11	12	10	10	12	12	12	11	12	9	9	10

MS (Vi: Continental Congress Collection). Enclosed in Charles Thomson to the States, September 6, 1788.



LETTERS OF DELEGATES  
25  
Supplement  
1774-87  
TO CONGRESS





## SUPPLEMENT

The documents printed in this Supplement have become available or were discovered since the publication of the volumes in which they would have otherwise appeared. In addition, a number of entries here consist not of new texts but of addenda provided to correct errors or to present newly discovered information related to previously published documents.



## Jacob Duché's First Prayer in Congress

[September 7, 1774]<sup>1</sup>

O! Lord, our heavenly father,<sup>2</sup> King of Kings and Lord of lords: who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth and reignest with power supreme & uncontrouled<sup>3</sup> over all kingdoms, empires and governments, look down in mercy,<sup>4</sup> we beseech thee, upon these our<sup>5</sup> American states who have fled to thee from the rod of the oppressor and thrown themselves upon thy gracious protection, desiring henceforth to be<sup>6</sup> dependent only on thee. To thee they have appealed for the righteousness of their Cause; to Thee do they look up,<sup>7</sup> for that countenance & support which Thou alone canst give.

Take them, therefore, Heavenly Father, under thy nurturing care: give them wisdom in council, valour in the field. Defeat the malicious designs of our cruel adversaries. Convince them of the unrighteousness of their cause. And if they persist<sup>8</sup> in their sanguinary purposes, O! let the voice of thy<sup>9</sup> unerring justice sounding in their hearts constrain them to drop the weapons of war from their enerved<sup>10</sup> hands in the day of battle.

Be thou present, O God of Wisdom and direct the counsels<sup>11</sup> of this honourable Assembly. Enable them to settle things upon the best and surest foundation, that the scene of blood may be speedily closed; that<sup>12</sup> harmony and peace may effectually be restored, and truth and justice, religion and piety prevail and flourish amongst thy people. Preserve the health of their bodies and the vigour of their minds; shower down upon them and the millions they represent<sup>13</sup> such temporal blessings as Thou seest expedient for them in this world, and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come.

All this we ask in the name and through the merits of Jesus Christ thy son, Our Saviour, Amen.

MS (MdHi: *Journals of Congress* [Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1787], J10.A15.V1). "Appendix" in the hand of Charles Thomson.

<sup>1</sup> For the selection of the Reverend Jacob Duché to open Congress this day with a prayer and the congressional comment occasioned by his riveting performance, see these *Letters*, 1:31–35, 45, 55, 74.

Duché actually delivered not a single prayer but two—a prepared one, which he read, followed by a much longer extemporaneous prayer, which led John Adams to effuse that he had "never heard a better Prayer or one so well pronounced," and Silas Deane to declare that "it was worth riding One Hundred Mile to hear" (*ibid.*, pp. 34, 74). These glowing assessments were aimed primarily at the impromptu prayer rather than his prepared text, which is printed here.



The discovery of this text of Duché's prayer in the hand of Charles Thomson clarifies a longstanding puzzle. Historians have been reluctant to credit nineteenth-century claims for the authenticity of the prayer, and some have misidentified it as one Duché read "at his first appearance in Congress after the Declaration of Independence" on July 9, 1776. See George Hastings, "Jacob Duché, First Chaplain of Congress," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 31 (October 1932): 394. See also James Thacher, *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War*. . . (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1823), p. 145; and Lorenzo Sabine, *The American Loyalists*. . . (Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1847), p. 264. The first text of Duché's prayer available to the public was published in Thacher's *Military Journal* in 1823, although the source of Thacher's text was not explained. A second printing appeared in 1831 in volume 1 of the University of Virginia's *Chameleon* from a text in Thomas Jefferson's possession at his death five years earlier, which soon after disappeared. Other nineteenth-century printed versions are essentially reprintings of Thacher's. A manuscript text in the hand of John Hancock is in the collections of the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. The defect of the texts acquired by Hancock and Jefferson is that neither man was in Philadelphia in 1774 and they were most certainly obtained second hand.

Our belief in the integrity of Thomson's text rests upon what is known of his record as secretary of Congress from 1774 to 1789 and the care he took in preserving their proceedings. The document printed here was copied by Thomson on the first blank page following the index to volume one of his personal copy of the 13-volume printed edition of the *Journals of Congress* (Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1787) owned by the Maryland Historical Society. It bears the heading "Appendix. Copy of the reverend Mr Duche Prayer—see p 11." And at page 11, which records the congressional proceedings for September 7, 1774, following the entry "the Meeting was opened with Prayers by the Reverend Mr. Duche," Thomson wrote "see the appendix."

A comparison of Thomson's text with the three earliest texts traced to John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, and James Thacher reveals several, generally minor, textual variations, the most significant of which are recorded in the notes below. No clear evolution between these texts is apparent. The Jefferson and Thacher texts are printed as single paragraphs; the Hancock text produces Thomson's first two paragraphs as one.

<sup>2</sup> "High & mighty" precedes "King of Kings" in the Hancock, Jefferson, and Thacher texts.

<sup>3</sup> "& uncontroled" omitted in the Jefferson text.

<sup>4</sup> "with mercy" in the Jefferson text.

<sup>5</sup> "our" omitted in the Hancock text.

<sup>6</sup> "to be" precedes "henceforth" in the Hancock, Jefferson, and Thacher texts.

<sup>7</sup> "they now look up" in the Hancock, Jefferson, and Thacher texts.

<sup>8</sup> "still persist" in the Hancock, Jefferson, and Thacher texts.

<sup>9</sup> "thine own" in the Hancock text.

<sup>10</sup> "unnerved" in the Hancock, Jefferson, and Thacher texts.

<sup>11</sup> "councils" in the three other texts.

<sup>12</sup> "that Order, Harmony & Peace" in the three other texts.

<sup>13</sup> "they here represent" in the three other texts.

## John Adams to Elbridge Gerry

Dr Sir

Phyladelphia Octr. 7. 1774.

I thank you for your kind Letter.<sup>1</sup> The wretched Vapouring of your Tories who are the worst Enemies of Mankind that ever disgraced the human Figure, Head and Heart, are ridiculous enough. They are laughed at by every Man of sense here. Gentn here know better the

state of Britain and America. But I can tell them, for their Comfort, that Britain has neither Troops nor Money, to engage in a twenty Years War with all North America.

I am assured by several Gentlemen here perfectly acquaintd with the british Army, that the whole seventy Regiments now in being do not amount to 27,000 Men—12,000 of these must remain in Ireland—some are in the West Indies—Some in Gibralter—some in Minorca—some in England and some in America. It is therefore certain they cannot with their present Army pretend to fight America at Land. To talk of Hanoverians and Hessians! Will the british Nation Stripped of the Commerce of the Colonies, raise her Millions by new Taxes to pay Germans? The poor deluded, abandoned Tories in Boston, knew not their Situation. They are pushing, with all their Malice for Measures that if pursued will cost them very dear.

RC (Mrs. Elsie O. and Mr. Philip D. Sang, River Forest, Ill., 1981). In Adams' hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## Silas Deane to John Trumbull

Dear sir,<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia May 12th. 1775

The first leisure Moment I have had since Our parting at New Haven I now employ, to ask of You in a Word, what You may think might require Ceremony & Apology, but The Times my Freind are a sufficient excuse, it is that You wake the slumbering Muse, and write General Gage's Victories, my Idea is that You write in the True Hudibrastic stile, his first Campaign, beginning, from his landing at Boston, last May, and ending, at the Salem Expedition which may be Canto 1st. untill that period which nearly takes up one year, all is a farce, & may be properly the subject of Ridicule, the second Canto must be serious possibly but let that rest untill the scene opens more fully—suppose You inform the World that the stile of the poem, will Constantly vary as his Actions and Atcheivements rise or sink are either of the Comic, or Tragic, the Farci[c]al, or Heroical complexion, and that the Next Canto will be published as soon as he affords matter sufficient for the Canto 2d. I cannot add, think of it & write Me, I have Consulted Mr. Jno. Adams who wishes You to undertake it.<sup>2</sup>

I am Dr sir, Yr. Old Freind,

S.D.

[P.S.] All here, are in high Spirits, the very Quakers have taken Arms, & imbodyed themselves, & exercise many of them Twice every Day, but let no hint of this, get into the public papers. Congress proceedings will be a secret for the present—Georgia Delegates are arrived.

RC (CtY: Humphreys–Marvin–Olmsted Collection). Addressed: "To John Trumbull Esqr, Atty. at Law, New Haven. To Care of Mr Ebr. Hazard N York."

<sup>1</sup> John Trumbull (1750–1831) has been identified in these *Letters*, 2:305n.

<sup>2</sup> For Deane's role in the genesis of Trumbull's mock-epic poem *M'Fingal*, whose first canto was published in the fall of 1775 and has been long regarded as one of the most successful American literary productions of the eighteenth century, see Alexander Cowie, *John Trumbull, Connecticut Wit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), pp. 158–66; and Victor E. Gimmestad, *John Trumbull* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), pp. 80–82. Cowie, who first unearthed Deane's contributions to *M'Fingal's* origins, did not have access to the present letter and developed his conclusions from Trumbull's letters to Deane.

## John Hancock to Elbridge Gerry

*June 10, 1775.* "I have only time to say I will attend to the Duck, & lay the other matters before Congress this mornng. & make a return as soon as possible. I refer to Dr Church. . . In consequence of you[r] Express last Eveng. I call the Congress together early. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

MS not found; reprinted from extract in *American Book Prices Current*, 1980, p. 85.

<sup>1</sup> For the context of this letter see these *Letters*, 1:473n.2.

## Benjamin Franklin to William Temple Franklin

*Philada. June 13. 1775.* ". . . I am glad to learn by your Letters that you are happy in your new Situation, and that tho' you ride out sometimes, you do not neglect your Studies. You are now in that time of Life which is the properest to store your Mind with such Knowledge as is hereafter to be ornamental and useful to you. I confide that you have too much Sense to let the Season slip. The Antients painted *Opportunity* as an old Man with Wings to his Feet and Shoulders, a great Lock of Hair on the fore part of his Head, but bald behind; whence comes our old Saying, *Take Time by the Forelock*; as much as to say, when it is past, there is no means of pulling it back again; as there is no Lock behind to take hold of for that purpose."

Reprinted from Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 22:64–65.

## Robert Treat Paine to David Cobb

*June 17, 1775.* "I omit no opportunity of writing to you.<sup>1</sup> I wish you

could return the compliment. I am as well as great exertion of body & mind will admit of. I have not time to be very formal, & may tell you in a few words that we have unanimously chosen George Washington, Esq. to be General of the American forces; we have voted, & orders are taken for sending in the most speedy manner ten companies of riflemen to join our army; effectual measures are taken to support the army & all Continental charges. By advice from England, the ministry are determined to push & the people there & in Ireland seem more disposed to favour us; before this reaches you we expect you will have a large reinforcement of ministerial troops in Boston. I hope our people will be very wary of surp[r]ises. We have likewise appointed General Ward Major General; these matters above I have desired to mention to you, tho as our system is not completed, it is expected that some of these intelligences be put in the newspaper. The General will soon set out for Boston. Pray take care of my family. . .let my wife read this letter as I have not time to write her. . . .”

Reprinted from extract in *W. Graham Arader Catalog*, no. 68 (December 1986), item 73.

<sup>1</sup> Cobb, Paine's brother-in-law, has been identified in these *Letters*, 5:582n.

## Matthew Tilghman to Charles Carroll, Barrister

Phila., June 20, 1775

[Recipient misidentified as Charles Carroll of Carrollton in these *Letters*, 1:526–27, from a 1908 text printed in *The Collector* that was addressed “To Charles Carroll of Carrollton.” Tilghman closes his letter with the command “Give my love to Peggy,” a reference to his daughter Margaret, who had married Charles Carroll the Barrister in 1763. The editors of “The Papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton,” who supplied this information, also observe that the subject of their work had no female relatives named Margaret or Peggy.]

## John Adams to James Warren

Phyladelphia June 21. 1775

[Recipient misidentified as Cotton Tufts in these *Letters*, 1:529. The letter is docketed in the hand of James Warren “Mr J A Lettr, June 1775.” See Adams, *Papers* (Taylor), 3:43.]



## Benjamin Franklin to Jonathan Williams, Sr.

Dear Cousin<sup>1</sup>

Philade. July 4. [17]75

I received yours of the 19th past.<sup>2</sup> It gives me great Concern to hear of the Distresses of my Townsfolk, and yours in particular. I pray God to support you all under them; and I doubt not but in due time he will give you deliverance from your Oppressors, and oblige them to make Reparation for the Injuries they have done you.

Jonathan went to France to improve himself in their Language, having nothing to do in London. He had been gone three or four Weeks when I came away. I send you a Letter I have just receiv'd from him; by which you will see that he is return'd, and well. My Love to Cousin Grace & your Children. I am here engag'd in so much Business, that I have scarce time to eat or sleep: I can therefore only add that I am ever, Your affectionate Uncle,

B Franklin

RC (Illustration from *Sotheby's Catalog*, sale 6329 [June 16, 1992], item 171).

<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Williams, Sr. (1719–96), was married to Franklin's niece, Grace Harris Williams, whom Franklin also called "Cousin." See Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 1:lvii.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, 22:68–70.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to the Philadelphia Committee

Philadelphia 5th July 1775

By Order of the Continental Congress<sup>1</sup>

It is recommended to the Committee of the City and Liberties of the City of Philadelphia immediately to convey Philip Skene<sup>2</sup> Esquire and Mr Lundy and deliver them to Brigadier General Woorster at his Camp near New York, who is requested to convey them to Wethersfield or Middletown in the County of Hartford in Connecticut and there deliver them and the Order of Congress to the Committee of that Town, And that this be done in the most effectual Manner and with the utmost Care that they do not escape. The Expences will be paid by Congress.

Geo. Ross

James Wilson

John Dickinson

MS not found; reprinted from John C. Parsons, ed., *Letters and Documents of Ezekiel Williams of Wethersfield, Connecticut* (Hartford: Acorn Club, 1976), p. 41.

<sup>1</sup> For this July 5 order and a previous one on the same subject adopted by Congress June 27, see *JCC*, 2:108–9, 126–27; and these *Letters*, 1:578.

<sup>2</sup> For Skene's mission to America on behalf of the North ministry and his subsequent arrest, see these *Letters*, 1:456n, 547–48, 555.

## Lewis Morris to Philip Schuyler

My Dear Genl

Philadelphia July 23d 1775

This will be handed you by Mr. Gunning Bedford, a Gentleman who is appointed Mustermaster in your department,<sup>1</sup> we are to Settle his pay to Morrow or next day, the Yankee part of Congress mean to have it Set very Small, we shall endeavour to counter act them, they act from resentment, as they were disapointed in their man, if it should be in your Power to put any thing Else in this Gentleman's way must beg the favor you would, he Supports a good Character from all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance and I well know your disposition to reward those who meritt it. I really feel for you under your present circumstances going upon a Dangerous expedition without Powder or good men. God Send you Success, all your Friends in this Place are well, and believe me Dr Sir Your Sincere friend and Most Hu Sert,  
Lewis Morris

RC (NbO: Autograph File).

<sup>1</sup> For Bedford's appointment, see *JCC*, 2:186.

## Benjamin Franklin to Ebenezer Hazard

Sir,

Philada. Aug. 3. 1775

I received your Application to be appointed Postmaster of New York,<sup>1</sup> and have seen a Recommendation of you by your Provincial Congress, to which I shall pay due Respect by appointing you accordingly as soon as Commissions and Instructions can be printed, and things got in Readiness to carry the Post through. In the mean time I wish to receive from you an Account of the present State of its Management, as far as is within your Knowledge; and am, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,  
B Franklin

Reprinted from Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 22:146–47.

<sup>1</sup> For Franklin's role in the founding of the Continental Post Office and Hazard's appointment as postmaster of New York, see *ibid.*, pp. 132–34, 146n.4, 205–6.

## Benjamin Franklin to Nicholas Cooke

Sir,

Philada. Augt. 27. 1775.

I received yours of the 15th Instant, acquainting me with the Loss of the Mail; and proposing a new Route for the Post, to prevent such Accidents hereafter. In that you will take the Advice and Direction of the principal People in your Government. The Comptroller will soon be along your Road, for the purpose of establishing all the Stages and Offices as he shall be advis'd and find best.<sup>1</sup> I would request your Care of the enclos'd; and am, Sir, Your most humble Servant, B Franklin

Reprinted from Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 22:183.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 183n.2, 184n.5.

## Secret Committee Minutes of Proceedings

September 27, 1775

[For this Secret Committee document, see these *Letters*, 2:73–74. It is the first of several dozen entries that were extracted in these *Letters* from a copy of the “Journal of the Secret Committee N. 2d” that was transcribed some time after October 5, 1778, by a copyist who was not identified. The handwriting is that of Richard Henry Lee and should have been so noted at the outset, especially in view of his later role in amassing documents pertaining to the prolonged Deane–Lee controversy.]

## John Adams to Joseph Palmer

Dr sir

Philadelphia Octr. 3. 1775

I have only Time to inclose you a News Paper, and to desire that when you have read it you would send it to Mrs Adams. I am in great Pain, lest the next News I shall hear from my Family, may be melancholly: by my last Letters it was in great Distress.

Your old Friend Dr Franklin together with Mr Lynch and Coll Harrison, are a Comtee. to treat with your Board, the General and the other New England Colonies with respect to Points of Importance for continuing the Army &c.<sup>1</sup>

I hope these Gentlemen will be treated with every Civility, and decent Ceremony, that the Circumstances of our Country will Admit.

I am your Friend & huml servant,

John Adams

RC (Illustrated in *Sotheby's Catalog*, June 16, 1992, item 184).

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 2:238n.1.

## John Adams to John Thomas

Sir Philadelphia Octr. 5. 1775

I presume to give you the Trouble of this Letter, for the Sake of asking your Attention to Three Gentlemen, a Committee of this Congress who will have a Desire to visit you as well as an Inclination to see your Lines at Roxbury. These Gentlemen are Dr Franklyn, Mr Lynch of S. Carolina and Coll Harrison of Virginia.<sup>1</sup>

I wish it was in my Power to communicate to you any agreeable Intelligence: but it is not, excepting that I think the Unanimity of this Continent Strengthens every Day. From England We hear of Nothing but ministerial Ill Will, Desperation, and Preparations for Revenge. With the Blessing of Heaven, however upon our Endeavours I humbly hope and trust we shall, resist them with Success.

Certain Prejudices are propagated here by a few ill affected Persons in the City, that the Massachusetts Forces contain a great Number of Old Men, Boys and Negroes, more in Proportion than the Troops of the other Colonies. I wish I had it in my Power to contradict this Story in the Name, of Some Persons better acquainted with the Fact than I am: if you have Leisure to favour me with your sentiments upon this subject you may depend upon my using them with great Caution and in a manner, which will serve the Public without any Disadvantage to yourself.

At the Same Time, I beg your opinion in Confidence of two Gentlemen, Mr Henry Knox and Mr [. . .] Waters;<sup>2</sup> whether they are qualified for Engin[eers and] whether they have Studied the Sublime Br[. . .] the Art of War, I mean Fortification & Gunnery and whether they are Sufficient Masters of those Sciences to hold any considerable Employments in that Branch of the service. Your opinion sir shall not be employed to your Detriment nor theirs. But there is at present a loud Cry for Engineers, both from the Camp and other Places.

I am, sir, with great Respect, your very humble servant,  
John Adams

RC (CWhC: Richard Nixon Papers). Addressed: "To John Thomas Esqr, Brigadier General in the Army, Roxbury. Dr Favour of Mr Lynch."

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry, note.

<sup>2</sup> For Henry Knox and Josiah Waters, see Adams, *Papers* (Taylor), 3:225n.2. For Thomas' October 24 response to Adams on their qualifications, see *ibid.*, pp. 239–41.



## Thomas Jefferson to Unknown

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia Oct. 13. 1775.

I have consulted our Committee of claims on the subject of the demands you mention.<sup>2</sup> It is thought that all accounts of this kind should be enquired into by your county committee & certified by them. This done, the money will be paid here on application to the committee of claims. Please to let all others who have accounts against the continental treasury know that they should apply through the same channel as early as possible lest the Congress might chance to be adjourned in which case they will not be paid till another Congress. We hope that your apprehensions of an Indian war are without foundation, as we have certain information on the very best authority that the six nations are most heartily our friends,<sup>3</sup> and we expect their influence will keep the Shawanese & Delawares quiet were they otherwise disposed. That influence we are assured will be exerted by them on this occasion, as they have done the like on a similar occasion lately. No news at present. We hope daily to hear that St. John's, Chamblee, Montreal, & Quebec are in our hands.

I am Sir, Your humble servt.,

Th. Jefferson

P.S. Oct. 17. The gentleman who brought your letter not having called for an answer I send this by the post.

RC (Ann and Lewis Buckner, La Plata, Md., 1996).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> For the appointment on September 25 of the committee of claims, which was composed of one delegate from each colony, see *JCC*, 3:262. The Virginia delegate on this committee was Thomas Nelson.

<sup>3</sup> For the intelligence on this subject that Jefferson had recently received from Thomas Walker at Fort Pitt, see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 1:245n. The document containing this intelligence, which is endorsed "Information rec'd at Fort Pitt Sepr. 13th. 1775," is in the Jefferson Papers, DLC.

## Committee on Hostilities to Joseph Palmer

Philadelphia Octr. 24. 1775

[This letter is nearly identical to ones sent by the committee to Samuel Cooper, Elbridge Gerry, Ezra Stiles, and James Warren, for which see these *Letters*, 2:245.]

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). Enclosure (October 18, 1775 congressional resolution—*JCC*, 3:298-99) in the hand of Charles Thomson.

## John Langdon to Josiah Bartlett

Philadl 11th Nov. 1775

I leave with you an order on the Continental Treasury for 15,000 Dollars, Twelve thousand of which you'll forward by some Safe hand to Portsmouth or the Express to be Del[ivere]d to Capt Supply Clap or Capt Thomas Thompson who are by my letter (which you are to forward) to Dispatch Some vessells for Powder, for the Continent.<sup>1</sup> You'll leave the Rest, three thousand in the Treasury. When the money goes to the Pay Master, you can Seal up the bundles and Send it to the Quartermaster general Thomas Mifflin, his Care or Doctr. Morgan to be Deld. as by the Direction to Capt Clap or Capt Thompson, one of whome will take it at the Camp, you must write them, Several Letters, by Different posts, who to Apply to for the Money and give Rect for the Same. You'll Inclose the Order of Committee as Also the Second order for to export to the foreign West indies, and you'll write them on the Subject. You'll please Call on Mr Wharton for any Assistance or Mr. Hancock in what way to Send it down. You'll write me by all opportunities.

Your Hle Servt,

John Langdon

RC (PHi: Edward Carey Gardiner Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Langdon apparently wrote this letter in his capacity as a member of the nine-member committee authorized September 18 "To contract and agree for the importation and delivery of any quantity of gunpowder, not exceeding, in the whole five hundred tons." See *JCC*, 2:253–55. For this and related work by Langdon at this time, see Lawrence S. Mayo, *John Langdon of New Hampshire* (Concord, N.H.: Rumford Press, 1937), pp. 92–94.

## Silas Deane to John Trumbull

Dear sir,

New York 15th. Novr. 1775.

Your's per Mrs. Deane<sup>1</sup> deserved an earlier reply than I have been able to give it, as well on its own, as on Acct. of the worthy Squire, it introduced to Me. You told me I might do as I pleased with him, in consequence of which I introduced him to several of my acquaintance, who Unanimously resolved he ought by no means, to be confined to a meer Circle of private Freinds, but see the world, which he will as soon as his Cloaths are made, & they were begun before I left Philadelphia, but will not be compleated before I take a look at them, The workman being a careless dog, & apt to drop stitches in his work, *so much for the Squire.*

The Interest you feel in whatever concerns me calls for my grateful acknowledgements, and gives me the sincerest pleasure in finding

that the early & constant Freindship, I have had for you was rightly placed, & founded on such a Basis, as to be permanent, & increasing, and therefore You must congratulate Me, on my Dismission from the Congress,<sup>2</sup> when you consider that the happiest Time for a Man to dye, is at that Moment, when he is highest in the Esteem of the World he leaves, and quite resigned to his Fate in the Next. And when I seriously assure You, without Vanity, that I could never expect, or wish, to stand fairer, or have greater influence in this, or any future Congress, than what I enjoy, at this Moment, & have for sometime past, And assure you I am quite resigned, to retire, and share the Fate, of my Country as an individual.

I own that the Business of the political kind is what I prefer to any other, but I have had for this Twelvemonth past so great a Share, as well neigh to give me a Surfeit, quite To make me willing to give place to my Successors, whose Abilities, & perseverance I pray God may be equall To The more than Herculean Labor of compleating the Plann, successfully laid out, & entered upon by their predecessors. You may possibly miss seeing Mrs. Deane, & think hard of my not writing to You by her, but if She saw you, she would have told in what a Situation she found, & left Me, & how the intermediate Time was filled up. At the Committee from Seven untill Ten in the Morning breakfast in the Chamber, from Ten To four often untill five in Congress, from Seven untill Ten in the Evening again at Committee—in this Circle she found Me in this I continued, untill ordered to this City on Business of Consequence, in the execution of which She left Me. This must Therefore be my excuse for not writing as I actually had not one hour I could call my Own, nor should I have this but for a severe rain which prevents my going out. As to the generous intentions of those, who have so kindly taken from my Shoulders, this Burthen, I thank God I have long known them & those who entertain them & if ever I trust them, so farr, as to suffer any such Event, to give Me Chagrin may I suffer the most exquisite possible to be endured—on the Contrary I have too much Philosophy, & Too Thorough a knowledge of that little World which You & I live in called Connecticut, (which by the way is an Epitome of the whole) to let any event of this kind give me one uneasy sensation at heart, or occasion one complaining expression from my Lipps. I wish they may be as happy in the Change, as I am, Though I must tell you I fear they will greatly suffer in their Accompts, as they will have no one at that Board, Acquainted with the proceedings of it, which from being one of its first Members I carefully attended To, not without an Eye to the heavy Accts. which I knew would one Day come, from my own Colony, & sensible that Rules established in one Case might with propriety, & force Be urged in another, but these Rules not being matter of record, or public Notoriety can never be taken advantage of by a New Member, & Mr. Sherman never saw the inside of the



Chamber of Accompts since the Board was established, Nor has Col. Dyer. They can neither of them Therefore know any thing of the matter. I have a good Opinion of the Abilities of *Wolcott*, *Huntington*, & *Hosmer*, Though I think they are not altogether parliamentary, or Congressional, but as to *Williams* I conceive him to be one of the most conceited, ignorant, & fractious puppies that ever attempted to act in the political Character, & he knows my Sentiments, & many others, for I have ever spoke freely. I can hear nothing of any little, low dirty Calumny spread about Me, in the Colony, I very much wonder at This, as it is so sure, & useful a Card, on such Occasions, that I really expected it, not that I deserved it, but from my Natural openness, & freedom of Speech & Conduct I tho't it probable—especially as a few pounds of *Rhubarb*, physicked, & worked my Brother Dyer though a Strong man, off his Leggs in a Trice. I can write no more than to ask You to write much, & often for then I shall be sure of pleasure, & instruction.

I am Dear sir, Yours

✓ S Deane

I go for Philadelphia Tomorrow.

P.S. You see with how much freedom I write my Sentiments, and I have the satisfaction that You know I am sincere. Popularity has come to me unexpectedly, it is not surprizing that this should occasion Envy & if this should contrive to destroy my Popularity, I shall say, The Lord gave the Devil hath taken away, yet blessed &c. I do not mean to bless the devil, though like other rogues, he Sometimes does a Man a good Turn, when he least of all intends it. My Compliments. to Mr. Douglass & Lady—Adieu.

RC (CtY: Humphreys–Marvin–Olmsted Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For which see these *Letters*, 2:451n.1.

<sup>2</sup> For the failure of the Connecticut Assembly to reappoint Deane a delegate to Congress for 1776, see *ibid.*, pp. 192n.10, 391–92, 442, 488–89.

## Secret Committee Contract

Committee chamber, Philadelphia, November 28, 1775

“The undersigned, a quorum of the committee of secrecy, contract with Thomas Mumford of New London,<sup>1</sup> merchant, for a voyage or voyages to procure speedily fifty tons of good gunpowder or, if so much cannot be obtained, sufficient saltpetre and sulphur to make up that amount. The United Colonies will charter the vessel or vessels required, freight to be paid on their return, and will insure them against capture. The owners assume the risk of the sea, will employ prudent and skilful supercargoes, and will receive a 5% commission on the



purchase. \$28,500 in continental currency will be advanced to Mumford, for which he will render account to the United Colonies. The powder will be landed in the colonies at a safe and convenient place east of Chesapeake Bay, and the location will be revealed as soon as possible to a quorum of the committee.

“Signed by Samuel Ward, [Benjamin] Franklin, Thomas Willing, Josiah Bartlett, Francis Lewis, and Thomas Mumford.”

Reprinted from Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 22:278.

<sup>1</sup> For the adoption of this Secret Committee contract with Mumford, see these *Letters*, 2:402.

## Secret Committee Contract

[December 26, 1775]<sup>1</sup>

Be it remembered, That it is agreed by and between John Brown of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island of the one part, and Samuel Ward, Benjamin Franklin, Josiah Bartlet, John Langdon, Robert Morris, and Thomas McKean, Esquires, Members of the Committee of secrecy appointed by the Honourable Continental Congress of the Thirteen united Colonies of North America of the other part, That a voyage or voyages Shall be undertaken for the Speedy procureing Thirty Six Tons of Good Gun Powder (or if Gun Powder is not to be had then as much Salt Petre with a proportion of 15 of Sulphur to every Hundred pounds of salt Petre as will be Sufficent to make that quantity of Gun Powder), One Thousand Stand of Good arms, one Thousand double bridled Gun Locks, Twenty Tons of Lead, and One Thousand Bolts of Russia Duck—if the arms are not to be had their value to be laid out in Good Gun Powder (or Salt Petre & Sulphur) If neither are to be had, then in Ticklinburgs, Oznabrigs, or Vitreys, or in Case those are not to be had the neat proceeds to be returnd in Gold or Silver—That the Vessel or Vessels shall be Charterd for the use of the united Colonys aforesaid, the frieght to be paid on their return, the Owners runing the risque of the sea and the united Colonies to Insure them against all British Captors—That Skilful and prudent Super Cargoes be Employd by the said John Brown, That five per Cent Commissions shall be allowed for purchaseing the Cargoes to be Exported, two and a half per Cent on the sales thereof in the West Indias or in Europe, and two & a half per Cent for purchaseing the returns. That Twenty Thousand Dollars Continental Currency be advanced to the said John Brown for which he is hereafter to render an Account to the united Colonies, who are to bear the Whole risque of the said Adventure. The said Powder &c. is to be put on shore in some safe and Convenient place in the united Colonies Eastward of Chessa-

peak bay and notice thereof given to a Quorum of the said Committee of Secrecy as soon as possible. Witness our Hands the Day and Year aforesaid.

Sam. Ward

B Franklin

John Brown

Josiah Bartlett

Robt. Morris

Tho M.Kean

MS (RPJCB: Nicholas Brown Papers). In a clerical hand. Endorsed by Nicholas Brown: "Providence Jany. 20. 1776. Recd. of John Brown Four Thousand Six Hundred & sixty six Dollars & Two thirds which together with Two Thousand Dollars sent to Nantuckett to purchase Oil Make up One Third of the Within sum And I do hereby Ingage to be one third part Consarn'd in the within Contract & to be Accountable to the secret Committee Accordingly. Nicho. Brown. Dolrs 4666  $\frac{2}{3}$ [+]  $\frac{1}{3}$  sent per J Waterman to buy Oil 2000 [=] Dolrs. 6666  $\frac{2}{3}$ ."

<sup>1</sup> For the date of this contract and its authorization by the Secret Committee, see these *Letters*, 2:522–23. For its misdating based upon the document's January 20 endorsement, see Clark, *Naval Documents*, 3:879–80.

## Secret Committee to the New Hampshire Committee of Inspection

Philadelphia Jany 9th 1776

Agreeable to a resolution of the Continental Congress

We the subscribers by them appointed as a Committee of secrecy do authorize and empower John Langdon Esquire of the Province of New Hampshire to export according to the Continental Association The Produce of these colonies (horned Cattle, sheep, hogs & poultry excepted) to the amount of ten thousand Dollars for the service of the United Colonies.<sup>1</sup>

Sam. Ward

Robt Morris

John Alsop

B Franklin

Josiah Bartlett

I do hereby certify That the subscribers to the above Order are a quorum of the Committee of secrecy & have full power and authority to issue the above order by them subscribed.

John Hancock Presidt

RC (PU: Signers of the Declaration Collection). In a clerical hand and signed by Alsop, Bartlett, Franklin, Hancock, Morris, and Ward. Addressed: "To the Committee of Inspection of the Colony of New Hampshire."

<sup>1</sup> The Secret Committee had been ordered January 3 to purchase sundry "goods and stores" for the use of the Continental Army and Navy, and "to pursue the most effectual

means" to arrange their importation. *JCC*, 4:24–25. For Josiah Bartlett's explanation of how Langdon was expected to proceed in this matter, see these *Letters*, 3:55–56.

## Secret Committee Contract

Philada. Janry. 11th. 1776<sup>1</sup>

Be it remembered that it is agreed by and between Silas Deane and Barnabas Deane of the Colony of Connecticut of the one part, and Samuel Ward, Benjamin Franklin, Josiah Bartlett, Robert Morris and Tho. McKean Esqrs. a quorum of the Committee of secrecy appointed by the Honorable Continental Congress of the thirteen United Colonies of N. America of the other part, that the sum of thirty thousand Dollars, Continental Money, now advanced and paid by the said Committee of Secrecy to the said Silas Deane and Barnabas Deane shall be laid out by them in the produce of these Colonies & shipped on board proper Vessels to be by them chartered for that purpose to some proper Port in the foreign West Indies and in Europe, and there disposed of on the best terms and the net proceeds of such Cargoes laid out in the purchase of such Goods, Wares or Merchandize as the said Committee of secrecy shall direct & shipped for the said United Colonies to be landed in some convenient harbour or place to the eastward of Virginia, and notice thereof given as soon as conveniently may be to the said Committee of secrecy. For which the said Silas Deane and Barnabas Deane shall be allowed 5 per Cent for purchasing the [...] here, two and an half per Cent on the sales thereof in the West Indies or in Europe [and] two and an half per Cent for purchasing the returns. The said United Colonies insuring the whole risque of the said Adventure, it being for their benefit and advantage, and also insuring such Vessels against all British Captors.

Witness our hands the date aforesaid

	Silas Deane	Samuel Ward
copy	Barnabas Deane	B. Franklin
		Robt. Morris
		Josiah Bartlett
		Thomas McKean

Tr (ScHi: Henry Laurens Papers). In the hand of Henry Laurens' secretary Moses Young.

<sup>1</sup> For the Secret Committee's authorization of this contract this day, see these *Letters*, 3:82.

## Committee of Secret Correspondence Proceedings

At a meeting of the Committee of Correspondence  
Janry. 23d. 1776

Present, Doctor Franklin, Colonel Harrison, Mr. Dickenson  
Agreed

That a Vessel be immediately chartered for a Voyage to Martinico to carry a Cargo not exceeding two thousand Pounds Pennsylvania Currency to consist chiefly of Flour and lumber and to be consigned to  
<sup>1</sup> who engages to go Passenger in the Vessel.

That application be made to Congress for a sum not exceeding £2,525 Money aforesaid for procuring and fitting out the vessel with the said Cargo, and for promoting the service undertaken by Mr. .  
That instructions for Mr.            be drawn.

Tr (ScHi: Henry Laurens Papers). In the hand of Henry Laurens' secretary Moses Young.

<sup>1</sup> Not identified; moreover, this proposed transaction antedates by six months the dispatch to Martinique of William Bingham, Congress' agent there from July 1776 to March 1779.

## John Hancock to William Alexander

Philada. Febry. 2d. 1776.

Mr Hancock presents his Complimts. to The Right Honl Lord Stirling, is exceedingly Oblig'd to him for his present of Lemmons, which were the more Agreeable as his own produce, & were very fine, & his Lordship's Health was Drank with great pleasure.

RC (Illustrated in *Sotheby's Catalogue*, January 31, 1990, lot 2540). In the hand of John Hancock.

## Benjamin Franklin to Sundry Committees

Gentlemen

Philada. Feb. 13. 1775 [*i.e.*, 1776]

The Bearer John Grace has the Care of a Ton of Gunpowder sent by the Congress to the Committee of Safety at New York. If he should need any Advice or Assistance on the Way you will be so good on his Application to afford it to him.



I am, Gentlemen, in Behalf of the Committee here, with much Respect Your most obedient humble Servant  
B Franklin

Reprinted from Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 22:344–45. Addressed: "To the Gentlemen of the Committees of Trenton, Brunswick and New York."

## Committee of Secret Correspondence Proceedings

In Committee of Secret Correspondence  
Febry. 22nd. 1776

Agreed, That <sup>1</sup> proceed immediately for France as an Agent of the Congress to transact such business and negotiate such matters as may be committed to him by Congress or their Committee.

Agreed, That the Brig Rachel, Captain Clay, chartered by R. Morris<sup>2</sup> for the Continental Service be employed to carry to France and proceed in ballast for Bordeaux.

Tr (ScHi: Henry Laurens Papers). In the hand of Henry Laurens' secretary Moses Young.

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly Silas Deane, for whose instructions see these *Letters*, 3:320–23.

<sup>2</sup> For confirmation that Silas Deane was to take passage to France on the brig *Rachel*, see *ibid.*, p. 313.

## Oliver Wolcott to Ezekiel Williams

Sir

Philadelphia 23 Febr[uar]y 1776

I Wrote you sometime since<sup>1</sup> requesting of you at the Direction of Congress, a List of the Prisoners of War in Connecticut, the Names of officers, Number of Privates, Places of Residence &c which you doubtless red'd—I therein told you I had inclosed a Copy of Parole approved of by Congress—but as I hastily Wrote and folded up my Letter I find I omitted to send it—but the omission cannot be material—I have likewise, Sir, enclosed some Resolves of Congress which passed before I came here and which perhaps you have not had—You will Sir, transmit the List of Prisoners as soon as convenient. If a perfect detail cannot be made (without great Trouble) of the non Commission officers, and Residence of every Private it will not be Very material, Send an acco[unt] of the whole, as an omission in that particuler may affect the Subsistence pay—It must be for the Interest of the Colony to have their accounts liquidated and paid as soon as may be—I think every man ought to Acco[unt] as soon as possible . . . good Vouchers for Payments will be Expected—and I wish as little uncertainty or Impro-

priety of Payment as possible may appear on the Colony Acco[unt]s—The Prudence of Collating as soon as possible all your Accounts and putting the continental Expenditures into the continental Way and Exonerating the Colony as soon as may be from special obligations of Payment would at all Times be prudent, and more so when the pressure of publick Business and attention must doubtless be Very soon called off, to a Thousand objects—and the Various Vicissitudes of affairs may (you can easily conceive) render a delay of this kind altogether improper—I think you ought to compleat all your accounts with unremitting Delegence—The Colony will doubtless be obliged to advance more than her Proportion but let not the difference be enormous—I told you Congress would not allow returned any Thing for the Bounty they advanced last spring—Gov[ernor] Trumbull wrote for money his Letter is committed but no Report made—I find that to advance money without acco[unt] is not agreeable—but I hope some may be Sent in the present Exigency but it is uncertain—By a Vessell fr[om] Bristol We have the Bill which it is said would pass Parliament by the Holledays, Rendering all ye American Trade liable to be Seized,<sup>2</sup> the Captors to have the whole of the Booty, all Vessell seen coming into our Ports liable to the like Treatment—American Mariners taken to be deemed to have Voluntarily inlisted into the King's Navy and treated accordingly, with many other particulars—it is a long Bill which perhaps you'll See before this reaches you—least the Act should not have Poignancy enough, The gracious Majesty of England is impowe[re]d to give it Such an Edge as his Royal Wisdom and Goodness shall think proper—The B United Colonies are particular Named as being in Rebellion—and have all Suiteable Epithets bestowed upon them according to this Idea—The King by the Act is to appoint Commissioners to Dispense Pardons to such Individuals, Towns, Garrisons, Counties & Colonies as shall be the proper Subject of this Grace—This is the great Negotiation Plan of Accomidation.

Twenty six Thous[and men] it is said by advice are to make up the Royal Army including those already into the Country—five Thousand it is said are on their Voyage under Gen[eral] Cornwallis for S. Carolina—the Rest are by Report to go to Virginia, N York, N. England and Canada—it is pretty probable some are going to S. Carolina.

My Complements to all Friends (in haste), I am Sir, your most humble Ser[van]t,  
Oliver Wolcott

P.S. The Port Bill, Restraining Act &c are repealed because this Act as the Act itself declares makes the continuance of the others unnecessary.

MS not found; reprinted from John C. Parsons, ed., *Letters and Documents of Ezekiel Williams of Wethersfield, Connecticut* (Hartford: Acorn Club, 1976), pp. 23–25.

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 3:224–26.

<sup>2</sup> For comment on the Prohibitory Act adopted December 22, 1775, see *ibid.*, pp. 244, 247, 250, 254–55.

## Benjamin Franklin to Charles William Frederic Dumas

March 2, 1776

[This letter was printed in these *Letters*, 3:426, under March 22, the erroneous date used in the 1803 source from which it was reprinted. Dumas, however, acknowledged it as one of March 2, which is undoubtedly the correct date because it was delivered by Silas Deane, who left Philadelphia for France March 8. See Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 22:374n.4, 548, 550.]

## John Jay to Sarah Jay

My dear Sally

Wednesday Night, March [20] 1776<sup>1</sup>

Your Letter of the 17 Inst. made me very happy by informing me of your health and our Son's Recovery, which I hope is by this time perfect. Tho your tenderness in concerning his Indisposition merits my thanks, yet be assured that I shall never hesitate more in sharing your Anxieties, than in partaking of your Pleasures.

I am glad to hear Mrs. Lawrence was in such good Spirits as to entertain You with the Story of the Conch shell Beauty, which together with its Embellishments, I dare say afforded much Mirth & Amusement to the Company. This little Incident happened in November last, and at the Time was the Subject of Wit and Raillery in the little Circle of our acquaintance; but soon growing thread-bare it ceased, like other Matters of the same Kind, to be the object of Attention, and I dont remember it once presented itself to my Recollection during the Time I spent at Elizabeth Town. However as the Story has excited your Curiosity, and may contribute to your Entertainment, I will acquaint you with such of the Particulars of it as I can now recollect.

On a Saturday in November last, Coll. Morris and myself, invited by Sunshine and good Food took a Walk to [Gray]'s Ferry with Intention [to] dine and spend the Day there. On our Arrival we ordered Fire to be made in a private Room, and while it was preparing, sat down in the common Room with many Travellers and Country People who were returning from Market, with whom we entered into familiar Conversation about Whigs and Tories and Beef and Butter and Congress. We had not been long engaged in this Way, before a most beautiful country Girl about seventeen, in a coarse but clean Dress, alighted from a Waggon and came in to warm herself. She was tall, extremely well made, and of most delicate and well proportioned Features; an uncommon Sweetness was diffused thro' her Countenance, and that



Kind of truly virgin Modesty which Innocence and Simplicity of Manners inspire, marked her whole Deportment. Her Complexion beggared all Description, nature had exerted her utmost Skill in forming it. Her Teeth were as good and her Eyes of the same Colour and almost as fine, as those of my fair Correspondent. An object so charming immediately diverted our Attention from the Herd around us. The Coll. asked her very politely which Way she was travelling? She blushed and answered, that she had been to Town and was returning Home. A Conv[ersation ensued in which she had a part] each Sentence borrowing Eloquence and Grace from Lips on which even a Right Reverend Audience would readily consent to hang, every Reply was accompanied by Blushes, which alternately rising and retiring, and each varying in Degree, formed a sweet Succession of such pleasing Shades, that one would be inclined to suspect that Beauty had chosen the Countenance of this lovely Girl, as a proper Field for shewing the vast Variety of Modes, in which she would display her numerous Charms. After a few Compliments the Coll told her he had a Son, a little older than herself, whom he would be happy to marry to a pretty Country Girl that would not be above minding the Business of the farm, & would not (like some more fashionable Ladies) attend to nothing but dancing & Dress. That he was much pleased with her, and would, if she had no Objections send him to pay her a Visit. She blushed, she smiled, her Eyes sparkled, and her whole Countenance became agreeably confused. She replied that she could not believe him to be in earnest—she was sure such a Gentleman's Son would not marry a poor Country Girl without a Fortune. I observed that Industry, Beauty, and Innocence composed a Fortune more valuable than Money, and that in these she was far from being poor. She was embarrassed, and Humanity forbid us to encrease it. The Waiter soon after called us to Dinner, to which we retired after having in vain invited her to partake of it. We indeed inquired her Name and Place of Abode, of both which she informed us. We then parted after wishing her all the Happiness, which the Possession of so many Charms seemed justly to Claim.

This pretty Girl furnished Conversation for us the whole afternoon. Coll. Morris thought she bore a great Resemblance to the Lady who will open this Letter, and I assure you his opinion was not ill founded, which probably was the Reason of my being the more pleased with her.

Before we left the Ferry, we considered of the Propriety of saying any thing about her, & finally agreed to do Justice to her Merit, but to conceal her Name and Place of Abode, lest by be[ing] exposed to the Flattery and Snares of those who admire and caress, on[ly to] destroy, her Innocence, Beauty and Simplicity might be instrumental to her Ruin.

But you may ask, how came she to be called the *Conch Shell* Beauty—it happened thus—In speaking of her Complexion, which exceeded



any I had ever seen, I compared it to the Inside of a Conch shell, which is of the most exquisite Flesh Color in the World.

You will readily imagine that on our Return to Town we were not parsimonious of Praise. We were asked her Name & where she lived, both of which Questions we declined answering. The Curiosity of our Friends was encreased by this Refusal, and they rallied [railed] us not a little on the Motives they assigned for our Secrecy. All which we chearfully submitted to, rather than suffer her to be visited by a Swarm of Beaux who, like so many Bees often find a Way to the Bosoms of the fairest new blown Flowers, and after robbing them of their Sweets, ungratefully neglect and forsake them.

This is the History of the Conch Shell Beauty, which I have endeavoured to render as minute as possible, and I am persuaded you will think it very particular, considering the little Time we were with her. A further Acquaintance or even a second Interview would probably have discovered to us many other Graces which must then have escaped our Notice.

I have more to say, but it is so late and I am so Sleepy that I must bid you a Good Night, Adieu my dearest Sally, I am your Afft Husband,

John Jay

Thursday morning. This Letter was put on a Chair near your fathers Bed last night after he was asleep. He left us early this Morning and forgetting to take the Letter with him, I have taken off the Cover, & shall send it to the post Office. Remember me to your Mama, Sisters & Brothers.

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Date inferred from the fact that March 20 was the first Wednesday after March 17, the date of the letter from Sarah to which Jay is responding.

## Marine Committee to John Barry

Sir

In Marine Committee, Philada March 26th. 1776

Upon certain advice of a British Man of warr and Tender being arrived at Cape Henlopen, The Committee of Safety of this Province have determined to order down four of the provincial Arm'd Boats or Gondoloe's as far as Rheedy Island in order to act in Concert with you in opposition to the Said Ships.<sup>1</sup> You as A Continental Officer are to take the Command and must fix proper Signals with the Captains of said Armed Boats and in Concert with them take Such Measures as you may judge most essential for taking, Sinking, destroying or driving off the Said Man of Warr and Tender. We wish you Success in this enterprize and hope you will be Able to render Acceptable Service to

this Country with Honor to yourself and those who act in Conjunction with you.

We are your hume servts.

Tho M:Kean	John Hancock
Richard Henry Lee	Robt Morris
John Alsop	Edward Rutledge
Joseph Hewes	

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). In a clerical hand and signed by Thomas McKean, Richard Henry Lee, John Alsop, Joseph Hewes, John Hancock, Robert Morris, and Edward Rutledge.

<sup>1</sup> For the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety's orders to Commodore Andrew Caldwell this day directing the deployment of four armed boats to cooperate with Captain Barry and his newly commissioned Continental brig *Lexington* against the recently sighted British frigate *Roebuck*, see Clark, *Naval Documents*, 4:526. For an account of Barry's response to the crisis triggered by the arrival of the *Roebuck* at the mouth of the Delaware River March 25, see William Bell Clark, *Gallant John Barry, 1745–1803* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), pp. 76–80.

Commissioners to Canada to William Heath

Off Constitution fort April 5th 1776

[Recipient misidentified as Israel Putnam in these *Letters*, 3:490–91. The recipient is identified as Heath in Brantz Mayer, ed., *Journal of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, during His Visit to Canada in 1776, as One of the Commissioners from Congress . . .* (Baltimore: J. Murphy, 1845), pp. 40–41. For the delivery of this letter to General Putnam, see Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 22:398n.9.]

Benjamin Harrison to Robert Carter Nicholas

Dear Sir, <sup>1</sup>	Philada Apr. 6th. 1776
I send you inclosed the Acct. of the Salt sent by Mr Johnston I thought this necessary that you might Settle with that Gentm.	
I am, your most Obedt Sert,	Benj Harrison

Apr 8th. Your Favor of the 30th Ulto. came to Hand to Day, My meaning as to Drawing on the Continent was that the money the Colony had advanced would be repaid as soon as the Convention should order you to Draw for it, this I supposed they would do at their next meeting, I never Doubted your keeping an exact Acct. and I wish'd it to be sent with the order only to set a good Example, we have paid

large Sums without Acct. and I fear the Public will suffer by such a mode of doing Business, My Sons being appointed to his Office<sup>2</sup> should by no means stop you from going on as matters must suffer greatly if you should stop, the Congress can't expect him to pay money that they never sent him, and it will be the same thing to the Colony to advance the money and receive payment for it or deduct it out of their Quota, it is done both ways by the Colonies; the uprightness of our Intentions never were or will be disputed by me however we may differ what is Right. It is impossible I think to suppose I could mean that the Instructions given us could have been prejudicial to the Common cause when I had at Richmond in my Place in Convention affirm'd the Contrary, still I have seen some that I think were so. God knows what this Contest may bring us to, a production or two you will find in the Inclosed Paper has astonish'd me so much that I am scarcely myself. I think I have some Reason to fear a Couple of Gentn. have been consulted on, or perhaps have had a Hand in the Composition, Read the Paragraph from Wmsburg. and the proposed Publication in the Supplement and it will perhaps give you a Clew. I wish the Congress was full, I can't think it right for Gentn. to leave their Duty at so important a Crisis, if my Father was the man I should say so.

I am, Dr Sir, Your affect servt,

BH

[P.S.] We have heard nothing of Jefferson. I by no means intended to Complain of our not being supply'd with money, we have had enough, tho' I fancy when you see the Acct. last sent you, you will find the Sum not so large as you expected.

RC (Mr. Joseph Rubinfine, West Palm Beach, Florida, 1995).

<sup>1</sup> For Harrison's correspondence with Nicholas, see these *Letters*, 2:537, 3:107, 245–46, 448–49.

<sup>2</sup> For the appointment of Benjamin Harrison, Jr., as paymaster for Continental troops in Virginia February 15, 1776, see *JCC*, 4:151. See also these *Letters*, 3:588–89.

## Secret Committee to John Langdon

Sir

Philada May 18th. 1776

We have just received your favour of the 6th Inst.<sup>1</sup> and are sorry for the disappointment of Powder by the Vessel lately returned from St Lucia, however if we cannot procure what we have so much reason to Wish for, we must nevertheless make the best disposition we can of such Articles as we do obtain, and as we know well that hard Money is much wanted by Congress for the support of their measures in Canada, we therefore laid your letter before them & are directed by Congress to order the hard Money you mention Amounting to Seven hundred & fifty Pou[nds] Lawfull, to be sent soon as possible [to the]

Committee of Congress now in Canada, Doctr Franklyn, Saml. Chase & Charles Carrol of Carrolton Esqrs.<sup>2</sup> You will therefore send of this Money in the most Expeditionous and safe Manner you can devise and if you can by any means in your Power encrease the Sum You will render an acceptable Service. We are also directed by Congress, to request you will apply to the Council of Massachusetts Bay for any hard Money they may have Collected or Caused to be Collected for the Continental service, and shoud the Sum they have, be considerable, We think an Express with a proper Guard shou'd be immediately dispatched with the whole to said Committee in Canada, the Expence of the Express & Guard will be allowed of and the Committee will either give a draft on the President or otherways provide for it. You will please to keep the other Articles you mention to be Imported untill further order of the Secret Committee, who have the honor to be sir, Your Obedt hble servts,

By order of the St. Commee.,

Robt Morris, Chairman

RC (NhHi: Langdon-Elwyn Family Papers). Written and signed by Robert Morris.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 4:366.

## William Ellery to Lucy Ellery Channing

Dear Lucy,<sup>1</sup>

Newport May 19th 1776.<sup>2</sup>

I have undertaken a Matter which fills me with Anxiety, Pleasure and Diffidence—Anxiety at the Thought of being so long as I expect to be absent from my Family and other near Connections—with Pleasure at the Prospect of being in a City which I have long wished to see, and in the most honorable Society on the American Continent, —with Diffidence, because I must follow (alass! with unequal Steps!) One of the foremost Sons for Assiduity, Firmness, and Penetration.<sup>3</sup> However to Morrow I shall set out, and hope I shall be able to discharge my Duty if not with Honour yet with Integrity. I should have been glad to have seen you, Nancy, Mrs. Burt & little Frank before I left New England; but my Affairs will not admit of it. When I see you again I hope it will be in Newport, altho' I must confess this Hope is not very well founded; for as yet America hath not sacrificed enough to Liberty. We have indeed lost much Happiness, much Interest, and some Blood in the glorious Struggle for our Liberties. Some have and some are about to quit their Parents, Wives & Children for the Sake of Liberty, and, in my Opinion he that will not quit his nearest Connections for her Sake is not worthy of her; But still much Blood must be spilt before the Obstinacy of Scotch Policy & Men can be subdued. A great Deal depends upon the Success, I mean the Duration of the civil



War very much depends on our Success in the Summer's Campaign—God grant that it may be as great as the Cause is good. In the hands of that kind Being I leave you and all my Friends, My great my first Wish is that I may live to see and contribute my Mite towards the Establishment of the Liberty of my Country, my next Wish is that my Children may live long and happy, and if I might now & then see them in the Enjoyment of that Felicity until it shall be thôt proper by that Being who placed me here to remove me to make Room for better Persons, it would crown the Wishes & Happiness of Yrs most affectionately,

William Ellery.

P.S. My Love to Nancy, your Aunt, Little Frank, Dr. Stiles and all Dighton Friends. WE

RC (Mr. Michael Zinman, Ardsley, N.Y., 1986).

<sup>1</sup> Ellery's daughter Lucy was married to William Channing.

<sup>2</sup> On the basis of the appearance of the credentials of Ellery and Stephen Hopkins on the journals of Congress May 14 (*JCC*, 4:353), Edmund C. Burnett (*Letters*, 1:lxī–lxii) speculated that Ellery arrived and attended on that date, a suggestion followed in these *Letters*, 3:xxi. Ellery's presence in Newport May 19 demonstrates otherwise, making it clear that the presentation of the Rhode Island delegates' 1776 credentials May 14 was simply the work of Hopkins, who had been in Philadelphia since September 1775. Ellery's name first appears on the journals of Congress with his appointment to a committee on June 5 (*JCC*, 5:419). "Evidence that he did not attend prior to May 20," Burnett acknowledged, "is the fact that his signature to the resolution of secrecy, adopted November 9, 1775, follows those of Lyman Hall and Button Gwinnett, each of which is accompanied by the date 'May 20,' which is the date on which these two Georgia delegates presented their credentials." Burnett, *Letters*, 1:lxii.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Rhode Island delegate Samuel Ward, who had died of smallpox March 26.

## John Hancock to William Heath

Sir,

Philadelphia June 4th. 1776.

The Bearer of this is Col. Roberdeau of this City,<sup>1</sup> whom I beg Leave to recommend to your particular Notice & Attention. He is a Gentleman distinguished for his Benevolence towards all Men—is a zealous American—and a Friend of mine.

Every Mark of Respect you are pleased to shew him, will be esteemed a Favour conferred on, Sir, your most obedt. & very hble Sert.,

John Hancock

RC (MHi: Heath Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For Hancock's introduction of Daniel Roberdeau, see also these *Letters*, 4:137n.1.

## Robert Morris to John Bradford

Dear Sir

Philada. June 17 1776

I had the pleasure to receive Your favours of the 30th May & 4th June Inst.<sup>1</sup> on Saturday & have since communicated the Contents to the Committees of Congress who are concerned in the direction of the Vessell & Cargo I desired you to purchase. It will be necessary for one of those Committees to prepare some dispatches to go by the Brig which I expect will be done in all this Week, therefore you will compleat the Loading and have the Vessell entirely ready to sail upon the receipt of Orders for that purpose. I am pleased that you have been fortunate in procuring so suitable a Vessell and so proper a Master not doubting but they will Answer the good oppinion you entertain of them. I cannot agree to your shipping flour at the price you mention. We send it from hence at 10/ to 11/ this Curry per Ct. The difference between that & 23/ Lawfull is Monstrous & will shew the impropriety of sending any from your Quarter therefore I hope you'll be able to Compleat the Cargo with an assortment of other Articles suitable for the Ports in the Bay of Biscay.

You will find herein a letter from the Marine Committee<sup>2</sup> Authorizing you to apply so much of the Continental Prize Money as may be sufficient to pay for the Cost of the Brig & her Cargo for the Amount of which you are to remit the sd Committee a draft on me which shall be paid & Consequently Your Account will be discharged of so much of the Prize Money.<sup>3</sup>

I had the satisfaction to present your Compts. to our Worthy President for whom I entertain a very sincere regard & esteem as also the other Gentn you mention, they all rejoice in the Character you give the Frigate knowing You to be an excellent Judge. I am with much esteem, Dr sir, Your obedt hble servt.

Robt Morris

PS The President this Moment desires his respects to you. I am at his Elbow in Congress.

RC (MHi: Guild Library; inserted in James Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*). Addressed: "To John Bradford Esqr., Agent for Continental Prizes, Boston." Endorsed: "Mr. Morris 17th June, Ordering me to draw for the Amo. of Brig Dispatch."

<sup>1</sup> Bradford's May 30 letter to Morris is in Clark, *Naval Documents*, 5:304–5.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> For Bradford's July 14 response, in which he observed that "The Brig *Dispatch* has been Ready for the Sea waiting your Orders some time," see *ibid.*, p. 1071.

## Robert Morris to Charles Lee

Dear sir

Philada. June 24th 1776

I have not wrote to nor heard from you this long time indeed it is impossible for me to support any Correspondence with my Friends while I am overburthened with Publick business in the manner I now am—however this will probably not be of long Continuance as our Government will soon be changed & with it there will be a change of Men in the Publick Stations. Such a Change will be most agreeable to me so far as it respects myself for I have been totally in a state of Slavery for 18 Months past & long to be once more my own Master, when this happens I shall probably trouble you with more letters. The present is only to tell you that Mr. James Nourse wants to buy some more Cattle for your Farm & wants for that purpose Two Hundred & fifty Pounds Curry. I have wrote him if it will advance your Interest, I will honor his draft for that Amount on your Account & I remain, Dr sir, Your affectionate hbl servt,

Robt Morris

PS I hope you'l approve my paying Mr Nourses draft.

RC (*Christie's Catalog*, December 9, 1993, item 208, illustration). Addressed: "To His Excellency Genl. Charles Lee, Commandg in the Southern Department."

## Josiah Bartlett to John Langdon

My friend

Philadelphia June 26th 1776

I Know not whether to Congratulate or Condole with you on your appointment to the agency, as your acceptance of that office Must vacate your Seat in Congress and Tho I Did what was in my power to procure that Birth for you, as I Knew it was your Desire and that you would perform the Business well, yet I must Confess it gave me no pleasure when I Knew on what Condition, only you must have it, Resigning your Seat here.<sup>1</sup>

If you Should Accept the office you will please to See that another good Man is Chosen to supply your place here as Soon as may be, as Col Whipple talks of Soon returning home to see his family.

I should have taken Care to have wrote you oftener But Col. Whipple has communic[a]ted to me his letters to you which informed you of Every thing I should have sent you had I wrote. You will hear of the Repeated misfortunes in Canada and of the assassination Plot at New york before this reaches you. General Burgoyne at the three rivers Defeated General Tompson and took him prisoner the Loss of men not great I Believe not 100—things in Canada wear a bad aspect hope they will mend.

In great haste, I am, Sir, your friend,

Josiah Bartlett

RC (NhHi: Langdon–Elwyn Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For Langdon's appointment as Continental prize agent in New Hampshire June 25 and resignation of his seat as a delegate to Congress, see *JCC*, 5:478; and these *Letters*, 4:260–61, 310n.1, 459, 655.

## William Whipple to John Langdon

My Dear Sir

Philadelphia 1st July 1776

I now acknowledge the receipt of Your favor of the 16th Ult<sup>o</sup> the greatest part of which was answer'd in my last,<sup>1</sup> I think the warrent of officers may be engaged and their names sent here. They will have the same pay that others have in the service, & I cannot think they'll expect more, I shall continue to do every thing in my Power to have these matters regulated & if not done soon I see no way but putting them on the old establishment, I said every thing ab[o]ut the Guns in my last & shall endeavor to have them sent forward as soon as possible. I shall propose the officers agreeable to Your list this evening. The Surgion of the Regiment must be appointed or nominated by the Legislature of the Colony. I wish they had more, good Helms men, for (under the Rose) I think they make wild Steerage. I am fully of your opinion with regard to Dame, but you know it won't do for me to alter the nomination of the Legislative, my own Conduct I am answerable for but not for their's, I am very fearful of the Consequences of such a line of Conduct, as seems to be persueing, is a Regiment in Colonial pay kept up mearly to gratify the vanity of a few officers! & are Military men suffered to hold their seat in the assembly to vote pay to themselves, these things are big with mischief or I may say ruin, however I hope you'll consider these observations, as Confidential.

This day comes on the grand Question, the Declaration is prepared, & in my opinion a very good one but I am fearful it will not be mended in Grinding over, You know good things have often been injur'd in a certain house, by endeavoring to suit perticular Humours. My next will give you a more perticular accot. of this matter perhaps hand you the thing itself, which will give me pleasure. I think this will be of great service, had it been done, six months ago we shod at this time have been in a much better Scituation than at present, however I must not forget the old Maxim of Mr. Pope.

I just now receiv'd a letter from Major Rogers (who is under guard at the Baracks) acquainting me he had a letter for me, from you, & desiring me to call there for it, as it is open, I have sent for it but the messenger is not Yet return'd therefore dont know the contents, but suppose it to be something in the Recommendatory way, the Major was taken up by order of Genl. Washington his conduct being very suspectable, but as he said he had come on important business with



Congress the Genl. sent him here under Guard. He has made no application to Congress & if he shod I think him a man of too infamous a Carrecter to be imploy'd in the Cause of Vertue, as I have not seen the letter its impossible for me to know the subject of it but I must confess it will give me great pain if it proves to be a recommendation for undoubtably Rogers has shewn it, & you may rely on it that General Washington has not apprehended him without sufficient Grounds.<sup>2</sup> Its probable the army at New York will be soon in full employ. A considerable part of the fleet are arrived 70 sail were at the Hook two days ago & more seen off. We shall have a warm summer. God Speed us, Your sincere Friend &c, W Whipple

[P.S.] I shall be glad if you send the paper I inclose to you from time to time to the North End after reading them.

RC (NhHi: Langdon-Elwyn Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Clark, *Naval Documents*, 5:559-61; and these *Letters*, 4:309-10.

<sup>2</sup> For the imprisonment of Robert Rogers and his escape before plans for his disposition could be carried out, see these *Letters*, 4:333-34, 358n.2.

## Marine Committee to Thomas Casdorp

Sir

Philada. July 6th. 1776

In Consequence of orders of Congress<sup>1</sup> the Marine Committee have engaged You with a Company of Fifty Ship Carpenters in the Service of the United States of America. Your Contract with [...] the Committee have seen & approved off, and they agree that you draw pay from the date of the said Contract untill discharged the Service at the rate of Twenty Six pounds Pensylvania Currency per month with the Rations & Travelling Expences allowed to Captains in the American Army, also the necessary Carriage of Baggage & Stores from hence to the place of your destination & back again. You are therefore to proceed from hence with your said Company in the Most Expeditious & safe manner to Albany where you are to put yourself immediately under the direction of Major General Philip Schuyler or the Commander in Chief of that department and faithfully obey such Instructions as he may give or Cause to be given to you from time to time. Deliver to him the letter now given you to his direction & We also give you a letter to His Excellency Genl. Washington<sup>2</sup> in case you shoud find it Convenient or Necessary to call at New York in your way, if this happens wait on the General with said letter which will procure you assistance in that department. We also deliver you a general letter to all Committe &c which will procure you a free passage through the Country & assistance when Necessary.

It is expected from your Company that they take with them all the needfull Tools of their Profession & that they enter on the service of building Gallies, Gondolas, Boats, Batterys &c where & whenever Required by the Commanding officer], also that they carry their Arms with them such as have them & for those that want we deliver you an order on the Commissary to supply them. What you receive from him you are to take the utmost care off & either return them here or to the General or to some Commanding officer of the Continental Troops after your Service Expires. You are to be carefull of the Ammunition & of all Provisions, Stores & Materials that comes under your care & management.

We expect you will be frugal as possible & that you will render every essential Service you possibly can to the United States of America in your Capacity of Carpenters & also if need be, as a brave & resolute body of Troops. You have ingaged in a Service, honorable in itself & a Gratefull Public will always be ready to reward those that Merit it.

By order of the Marine Committee, I am sir Your hble servt.,  
John Hancock, Chairman

RC (DNA: RG 93). Written by Robert Morris and signed by John Hancock. Addressed: "Capt. Thos. Casdrop [Casdorp]."

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 5:450–51, 466, 937.

<sup>2</sup> For Hancock's letters to Schuyler and Washington, see these *Letters*, 4:395–98.

## Marine Committee Proceedings

Complaint agt. Capt. Whipple heard in  
Marine Committee the 10th July 1776.<sup>1</sup>

Robt. Cummins, Lieutt. of Marines in the Columbus, where are these damn'd Marine Officers—callg. them damn'd rascals, Sons of bitches all before the Men—took knives, forks, spoons, plates &c. away locked them up, & swore they shd. eat out of kids<sup>2</sup>—none but bad rum allowed—little sugar or Coffee deld.—Mess reduced to the same Qty. as Common Men—Applied to Commodore to go aboard another Vessel refused—came away w-out leave.

MS (DN: Historical Manuscripts). In the hand of George Read. Endorsed by William T. Read: "The above is the autograph of my grandfather, George Read, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, found by me, this 19th July 1852, among his papers."

<sup>1</sup> For the charges lodged against Abraham Whipple, captain of the Continental Ship *Columbus*, and Congress' directive to the Marine Committee to conduct an inquiry "into the complaints exhibited," see *JCC*, 5:439, 507, 542–43; and these *Letters*, 4:216–17. For discussion of the context of this hearing, Congress' dissatisfaction with Commodore Esek Hopkins and Captain Dudley Saltonstall as well as Whipple, and the mild rebuff they received, see William James Morgan, *Captains to the Northward, The New England*

*Captains in the Continental Navy* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Co., 1959), pp. 49–52; and these *Letters*, 4:660–64.

<sup>2</sup> "A small wooden tub, esp. a sailors' mess tub." *Websters Dictionary*.

## John Hancock to Philip Schuyler

My Dear Sir

Philadelphia July 13. 1776.<sup>1</sup>

Allow me for a Moment to request Your Attention. On the Departure of our Troops from Boston to New York, Colo. Greateon & I believe some Other of the Colos. from my Colony, Without my Knowledge or Consent took into their Possession & out of the Hands of the proper Officer with whom I had left them, some French Horns, Bassoons & Other Instruments of Musick Which I purpose imported for the Use of a Military Corps under my Command. I have to request the Favor of You to Give Orders to Colo. Greateon, or any Officer who May have them, to deliver them to You, & shall Esteem It a Favor, if You have any Good Opportunity, You would please to order them to be sent to me.

I believe You will find my Name on them. At a proper Time I shall resent this Conduct in those Officers.

In Every Situation of Life, I wish You happy & Am, with Esteem Your very Humble servt.,

John Hancock.<sup>2</sup>

[P.S.] I am Greatly hurried.

Tr (NN: Philip Schuyler Letterbook).

<sup>1</sup> For a second letter from Hancock to Schuyler of this date, see these *Letters*, 4:448n.2.

<sup>2</sup> In a postscript to a December 30, 1776, letter to Schuyler, Hancock observed: "I never have heard any thing of my Band of Musick, since I wrote you." *Ibid.*, 5:702.

## Benjamin Rush to Julia Rush

My dear Girl,

Philada July 22. 1776.

I took my Seat this day in Congress,<sup>1</sup> But I believe with very different emotions from what are generally experienced upon such occasions. The difficulties & precarious tenure of my trust, my want of knowledge in many Subjects upon which I must Speak, or Vote, & lastly the envy & slander to which my new situation now exposes me all crouded upon my imagination, and Sunk my Spirits so much that I found out upon the threshold of my entering upon public life that the road to happiness is not thr'o ambition or popular favor. A Cottage, a single cow, and horse—a faithful diary [dairy] maid—a black

Jack—a book—with my dear Julia to pick—to talk & to smile by my side. Ah! what joys are these! But I must not increase the melancholly of the day by dwelling upon them. I shall aim at doing my duty, and sincerely pray that I may continue to act agreeable to the dictates of my judgement & conscience without any regard to the smile or frown of the world. Oh! to close my life with the Speech of the inspired patriot Samuel to the Children of Israel!<sup>2</sup>

Our city continues to furnish the most agreeable Scenes of public virtue. The general cry here is the flying camp. I saw a boy of between 13 and 14 yesterday Morning trudging Along upon the heels of his father in the uniform of his company with a heavy musquet upon his Shoulder. He belongs to Capt Loxley's Artillery company. Perhaps you may see him march thr'o Princetown. I would have given the world to have been the father of such a Son. Mr Dunlap called upon me yesterday, & told me that the troop of horse to which he belonged was ordered to remain in Philada. but that he was going as a volunteer in the foot service. His zeal in the cause make him miserable at home whi[le] so many of his fellow citizens were in the field. "Should I fall (said he) in fighting against the enemies of our country, I have only to beg of you as my last request to remember my Wife & my little Sally." Here his eyes filled with tears. I was hardly Able to answer him.

Take care of your complexion. Mr Penn told me this day that the Sun had been at War wth. it. Use your calash & umb[r]ella every time you go out of the house.

I recd. a letter this morning from Gen Lee. It contains a particular Acct. of the late battle at Charlestown, & a most exalted eulogium upon young Jake Morris. I sent a copy of it to his father.

And must three long weeks elapse before I see my Angel Julia? The tho't distracts me. I expect to read a letter from you tomorrow in Congress. Shall write to you hereafter every day by the post.

Yours my dear Girl,

B Rush

RC (Dr. Gary Milan, Beverly Hills, Ca., 1996).

<sup>1</sup> For the context of this letter, see these *Letters*, 4:530nn.

<sup>2</sup> See I Sam. 12.

## Abraham Clark to the New Jersey Convention

Gentlemen

Phila. Wednesday Evening Augst. 7. 1776.

It was with the utmost Concern our Congress recd. information by Letter from Genl. Merse yesterday,<sup>1</sup> that none of the Jersey Militia had joined him, & that the Phila. battalions were almost mutinous to return home. It is possible you may be unacquainted with the Strength of the Enemy—And the Number of our Forces at New York



& Jersey to Oppose them—Or it may not be in your Power to call out our Militia; If the latter is the Case we are in a most deplorable state, And as to the Number of our Forces I dare say they are not half and I believe not one third, what is generally Supposed. It is in the Power of the Enemy to March through New Jersey & Pennsylvania or to go where they Please did they know our Strength, but happy for us I believe they are Ignorant of it and I dare not even mention the true state of our Army to you, least by some Accident it might Transpire by some of the members being over heard in speaking of it as I am persuaded none would designedly publish it. We are indeed in a most Critical Situation. Danger Stands thick Around us, And Unless Our Militia Almost Universally take the field, nothing but ruin can be our Portion—(A remarkable interposition of Providence intervening Only excepted). I was Advised by some of our Delegates to wait upon you in Person, but upon inquiry this Evening I find the Stage is full—possibly I may Set off[f] next day in the Coach, but [it probably?] will be too late as you will probably rise the last of this Week. If ever the utmost resistance was Necessary, Now is the Time; let me Conjure you with a feeling Sense of Present danger to Our New States but just brought into existence and to appearance Almost breathing their last, to use every possible Endeavour to call out *all* our Militia. I know it will be difficult for them, but without this All seems to be gone.

I am Gentlemen—Most Affectionately, Your Obedient and Humble Servt.,  
Abra. Clark

RC (NjP: William Barricklo Collection). Addressed: "To The Honourable Convention of New Jersey at New Brunswick."

<sup>1</sup> For Gen. Hugh Mercer's August 4 letter to President Hancock, see *JCC*, 5:633; and PCC, item 159, fols. 161–62. For Congress' August 6 resolve declaring "That it be recommended, in the most earnest manner, to the convention of New Jersey, to order their militia immediately to march and join Brigadier General Mercer," see *JCC*, 5:634.

## Benjamin Franklin's Protest against the Articles of Confederation

[ante August 20, 1776]<sup>1</sup>

We the Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania in full Convention met, having duly considered the Plan of Confederation formed in Congress, and submitted to the several States for their Assent or Dissent, do hereby declare the Dissent of this State to the same, for the following Reasons, viz.

1. Because the Foundations of every Confederation intended to be lasting, ought to be laid in Justice and Equity, no unfair Advantage being given to, or taken by, any of the Contracting Parties.

2. Because it is in the Nature of things just and equal that the respective States of the Confederacy should be represented in Congress and have Votes there in proportion to their Importance, arising from their Numbers of People, and the degree {*interlined: Share*} of Strength they afford to the united Body. And therefore the XVIIth Article,<sup>2</sup> which gives one Vote to the smallest State, and no more to the largest when the Difference between them may be as 10 to 1, or greater, is unjust, and injurious to the larger States, since all of them are by other Articles obliged to contribute in proportion to their respective Abilities.

3. Because the Practice hitherto in Congress, of allowing only one Vote to each Colony, was originally taken up under a Conviction of its Impropriety and Injustice, was intended to be in some future time corrected, and was then and since submitted to only as a temporary Expedient, to be used in ordinary Business until the Means of rectifying the same could be obtained. This clearly appears by the Resolve of Congress dated Sept. 6, 1774, being the Day of its Meeting, which Resolve is in these Words, "That in determining Questions in this Congress, each Colony or Province shall have one Vote; the Congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure proper Materials for ascertaining the Importance of each Colony."<sup>3</sup> That Importance has since been suppos'd to be best found in the Numbers of People, for the Congress not only by their Resolution when the issuing Bills was agreed to,<sup>4</sup> but by this present Confederation have judged that the Contribution towards sinking those Bills and to the common Expence should be in proportion to such Numbers when they could be taken, which has not yet been done. And tho the larger Colonies submitted to this Temporary Inequality of Representation expecting it would much sooner have been rectified, it never was understood that by the Resolution above cited, a Power was given to the smaller States to fix that Inequality upon them forever, as those small States have now attempted to do by combining to vote for this 17th Article, and thereby to deprive the larger States of their just Right acknowledged in the same Resolution. And the smaller States having given us in Advance this striking Instance of the Injustice they are capable of, and of the possible Effects of their Combination, is of itself a sufficient Reason for our determining not to put ourselves in their Power by agreeing to this Article, as it stands connected with those concerning the Quota's of each State, since being a Majority of the States in Congress they may by the same Means at any time deprive the larger States of any Share in the Disposition of our Strength and Wealth and the Management of our common Interests.

But as the smaller Colonies may object, that if the larger are allowed a Number of Votes in proportion to their Importance, the smaller will then be equally in danger of being overpower'd and govern'd by them; We not having the least Desire of any Influence or Power that is

unjust or unequal, or disproportion'd to the Burthens we are to bear, do hereby offer our Consent to the said 17th Article as it now stands, provided the Quotas to be contributed by the larger Provinces shall be reduced to an Equality with that of the smallest, in which Case, all by contributing equally will have a just right to equal Votes. Not that we mean thereby to avoid granting additional Aids when the Exigence of our common Interests shall appear to us to make them proper and necessary; but leaving to the Congress with regard to such additional Aids the Right of making Requisitions as enjoy'd by our late Kings we would reserve to ourselves the Right of judging of the Propriety of those Requisitions, and of Refusing or Complying with them in part or in the whole as to us shall seem best, and of modifying our Grants with such Conditions as we shall judge necessary, in like manner as our Assemblies might formerly do with regard to Requisitions from the Crown. For it appears to us just and reasonable that we should retain the Disposition of what Strength we have above the equal Proportion contributed as aforesaid by our State to the common Service; with every Power necessary to apply the same, as Occasions may arise, for our own particular Security; this we mean to do from this time forward unless we are allow'd Votes in Congress proportion'd to the Importance of our State, as was originally intended.

Signed by Order of the Convention

Rough of Protest against the Inequality of Voting in Congress

Reprinted from Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 22:572–75. Endorsed by Franklin: "This Paper was drawn up by B Franklin in 1776, he being then President of the Convention of Pennsylvania; but he was dissuaded from endeavouring to carry it through, from some prudential Considerations respecting the necessary Union at that time of all the States in Confederation."

<sup>1</sup> For the date Franklin drafted this document and discussion of his dissatisfaction with the draft articles of confederation that was presented to Congress July 12, see *ibid.*, pp. 536–38, 571–72.

Although Franklin was also president of the Pennsylvania Convention at this time and cast this draft in the form of a protest from the Convention, the editors of the *Franklin Papers* believe that he was acting strictly on his own, and that it was probably never submitted to either the Convention or Congress.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 5:681.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 1:25.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 2:221–22, 3:458.

## William Williams to Ezekiel Williams

Dear Brother

Philadelphia Aug[us]t 23d 1776

I have been here about a month<sup>1</sup> & have not heard a word from You but once directly from any Friend in Connecticut if I have any. The Time seems long, & tho[ugh] on some acco[unt]s it is agreeable



to be here, to learn the world the Genius of Congress &c &c to put in my mite to serve my dear Country, yet on the meet score of Satisfaction I find much more at home. I expected before to have heard much oftener of the Plans, the Talk & transactions in my Country, tis all a blank since I left home, perhaps You all think You have nothing worth telling. But every Circumstance relating to public affairs, or my Friends wo[ul]d give me Pleasure. I am very sensible you may retort that You want as much & with more reason expect to hear what is transacting on this greater Theatre, but In answer I can say also there seams not much to tell of from Us, every kind of News flies in the Papers swiftly thro[ugh] the Country, & I have however wrote near twenty Letters to the Gov[erno]r &c &c<sup>2</sup> which I co[ul]d not well avoid. The affairs transacting in Congress are always under an Injunction of Secrecy 'till They are finished, & some specially enjoined to be kept so till Liberty is given to divulge them, it is deeply important & necessary that they sho[ul]d be so as to any thing which the Enemy ought not to know. A multitude incidental affairs from almost the extreems of the Continent, Letters, Reports of Com[mit]tees &c daily come in to be attended to, answered, acted upon &c all the Time which co[ul]d be Spared from them, since I came has been taken up in setting a Plan of Confederation & Union, the method is to resolve into a Com[mit]tee of the whole House, & with a Chair man instead of the Speaker, to consider & dispute them. After the matter had been discoursed generally a Com[mit]tee (before I came) had drawn up Articles ab[ou]t 20 incl[usive] printed Copys of which were in the hands of the Members while considering (no others printed or suffered to go out till finished &c) some of the most important Articles have met with very great opposition, & disputed a whole day together on some one without settling, They are at length all got thro[ugh] the Com[mit]tee the 20th<sup>3</sup> pretty much to my Satisfaction, but not without several dissenting Colonies, who protest they never will nor shall be agreed to by their Colonies. Indeed I find as I expected, the Ideas of North & South (or as now properly called East & West) as wide as yer Poles such clashing & jarring Interests, such diversity of manners &c &c that I little expect any permanent Union, but wo[ul]d not forbode Ill, I find my Colleagues & N. England Friends think otherwise & I am at no loss but the union & Zeal of all in the present Struggle is so great, that our Enemies if They expect it, will be unduly disappointed of any advantage from that quarter. They seem unalterably determined to maintain & support the Cause of this cruelly oppressed Country & its Independence at the [cost] of every Thing near & dear. But I have broke in upon my History, the articles of Confedera[tion] are got thro[ugh] the Com[mit]tee of the whole House with considerable alterations, & transpositions & are now printing for the members, to be again taken up & acted upon by Congress in form, tis possible



some further alterations may be made but probably not much, & They will be then sent to the Several Legislatures for their assent I conclude they will be printed in the News Papers, or otherwise will endeavor to send You one as I may.

We have very favorable News of the Dispossession of the French and daily expecting, as you know, a bloody Encounter at N. York. May every Heart & Hand be left up to the great disposer of all Events, for a merciful Issue. Congress yesterday rec[eive]d a most Shockingly Insolent Letter, or orders, from Gen[era]ll Carlton,<sup>4</sup> abraiding in scurrilous Language their breach of Faith & relating to the Capitulation at the Cedars, brand[ing] us with most opporbrious Names, Rebels, Traitors, Deceivers & charg[ing] the Rebels with murdering Gen[era]ll Gordon (of whom no Body knows or ever before heard any thing) totally interdicting any kind of Correspondence with the Rebels, & refusing to receive any Thing whatever from Us graciously allowing however Liberty only of imploring the royal mercy &c he will not have much Trouble it will soon be published I expect with some Strictures by Congress. He intends however he says to send off our Prisoners (officers I think only) to be confined on the Parole to their own Colonies & to be at his Command when He shall call. (I suppose it is difficult to support Them) Maj[o]r Miegs was lately here (bro[ugh]t a letter fr[om] Esq[ui]re Hosmer) & was very anxious to get an order of Congress to be exchanged for Maj[o]r French.<sup>5</sup> We all from Connect[icu]t exerted ourSelves to obtain it in Congress, & with a good deal of opposition, carried it in his favor but have never seen him since, but he has got the order & gone, as Gen[era]ll Washington mentions his receiving it by him &c but from Carltons orders since it cannot be affected, unless with Gen[era]ll Howe who has Meigss Paroll. Gen[era]ll Wooster from every thing that appears, from many Witnesses & a score of Letters from him to G.[eneral] Schuyler & to Congress, has acted the part of a prudent, faithful, zealous & good officer in Canada, but there is a deep rooted Prejudice against him, in a majority of the Congress, planted & nurtured by Mr D.<sup>6</sup>—strengthened & established by Mr Chase one of the late Comissioners there, a most bold, voluble & overbearing man, who went strongly prejudiced & came back his violent & bitter Enemy, for no Cause that I can possibly find out. The Gen[era]ll has been kept here for 8 or 10 weeks, & been scunned as far as They are able, the Com[mit]tee finally made a favorable & honorable Report of him, but it was most fiercly opposed, resisted, parried, postponed & postponed & He abused with opprobrious Language &c till the late gen[era]ll promotion of gen[era]ll Officers, when he was in my opinion most unjustly overlooked, tho[ugh] in spit[e] of all opposition, he wanted but one Colony to have carried the first appointment, (but accord[ing] to rule was not attempted out of his rank, after the first tryal.) the Report was recommended & bro[ugh]t in the 2d time, & thro[ugh] necessity altered &

made less favorable, viz after counting &c “that nothing appeared in his Conduct censurable or blame worthy.”<sup>7</sup> This was also opposed strenuously, & among other things insisted to have the papers &c read y[e]t they wo[ul]d not take the opinion of any Com[mit]tee without knowing the grounds &c accordingly in proper Time his Letters were read, they appeared so strongly in his favor, discovered such full & faithful acco[unt]s of the state & situation & Wants of the Army there &c that his Enemies were convinced the more was read the better he must appear, & moved before [the]y were half thro[ugh], to accept the report, His Friends wo[ul]d have gladly heard them all, but to end the Strife consented, & the Report was accepted. But it is after He had suffered the punishment of an unfit officer, by being over looked &c. They wish to get him out, & hoped he wo[ul]d resign, but his Friends will not advise him so & He has now got Leave to go to Albany to settle his acco[unt]s & he set out yesterday.

One Mr Milligan, Welles &c—are appointed to settle all the Canada acc[ount]s.<sup>8</sup> Comodore Hopkins had been here as long was sent for, accused of breaking his orders &c it seems He was ordered to the southern Colonies to demolish Dunmore, Clinton &c instead of at Providence, the southern Delegates had high expectations of being delivered by him from all trouble &c & are exceedingly chagrined & angry. A Com[mi]ttee enquired & reported ag[ain]st him yet he had given no sufficient reason &c broke his orders & that He sho[ul]d be broke & dismis[s]ed the Service. The report was much canvas[sed] & argued pro & con, finally they were not able to carry it against him further than that He had not given satisfactory reasons &c. & sho[ul]d be censured. Which is done, & he is ordered to return to his Comand,<sup>9</sup> & He also went off yesterday.

Sure I am, however, this grand Struggle may end, if ag[ain]st us, which God forbid, We are utterly undone, if for Us,—this Country, Connecticut especially, has seen its best Days, the Expences of supporting our Independent State will be immense, Affairs will not always be in the best hands nor shall We ever see the Integrity, uncorruptness & Fidelity, for which our Colony & Assembly have been deservedly famous. It is however to be supported at all events it is the best We can do, & the Difficulties attending it are as much to be prefer[re]d to submission to the Tyranny under which we must otherwise groan, as a gentle Rebuke to Strangling & Death. But alas, our Colony have known little about their own Happiness, whether compared with distant States & Kingdoms, or with almost every other Colony on the Continent (this is no new Idea or Reflection with me). Such is the corrupt nature of mankind & such will it be, it is one of the severest Punishments of Vice, that it blinds the Eyes of those it possesses to their own Happiness & to the means of pursuing & obtaining the Good they aim at. Intended to have wrote this half hour, but am call[e]d off,

I hope you wont forget what I said about a memorial of our most dear Father, at rest with God. Without whom there is no happiness here or even in Heaven.

Just rec[eive]d a Letter from our dear Bro[the]r of Hartford. I mourn with him under his peculiar, as well as our common Loss, fully intended to have wrote him, now: but must defer it a little longer. Let him see this scrawl. Make my kind Compliments to Colo[nel] Elisha. Also to Treas[ure]r Lawrence, he insisted I sho[ul]d write to him, will do so soon as I can get time, & any thing worth writing.

I want to know how affairs are at Lebanon, no body writes me, I admire at it with tender remembrances to Sister Pru[denc]e y[ou]r Lady &c &c I am most affectionately your Friend & Bro[the]r

W[illia]m Williams

[P.S.] I fear poor Elisha will be undone in the Army. What Capacity is he in, have wrote a great deal about nothing.

MS not found; reprinted from John C. Parsons, ed., *Letters and Documents of Ezekiel Williams of Wethersfield, Connecticut* (Hartford: Acorn Club, 1976), pp. 25–31.

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 4:591.

<sup>2</sup> For six of these letters, none of which were those addressed to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, see *ibid.*, 4:636, 650, 665, 666, 687, 5:38.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the committee of the whole. See *JCC*, 5:674; and these *Letters*, 4:251–52.

<sup>4</sup> For Gen. Guy Carleton's "orders," which were enclosed in a letter from General Washington to Congress of August 20, see Washington, *Papers* (Abbot), Revolutionary War Series (Chase), 6:92–93n.2; and *JCC*, 5:695.

<sup>5</sup> For the exchange of Return Jonathan Meigs for Christopher French, see *JCC*, 5:665.

<sup>6</sup> That is, Silas Deane.

<sup>7</sup> For the adoption of the committee report on the inquiry Gen. David Wooster had requested into his conduct while commanding in Canada, see *JCC*, 5:664–65; and Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:409.

<sup>8</sup> For this July 26 appointment of James Milligan, John Welles, and John Carter, see *JCC*, 5:612.

<sup>9</sup> See these *Letters*, 4:660–64.

## Thomas Nelson to John Page

My Dear Page

Philada Sepr 3d 1776

I do not undertake this Letter with my wonted pleasure, when I have writen to you,<sup>1</sup> because I cannot give you so favourable an account of our affairs at N. York as I could wish. Our Troops, after a bloody engagement upon Long Island, were obliged to retreat from thence the works not being teneable, & I wish they may not, nay I am certain they will, be obliged to quit the City of New York, as the hights upon the Island command the whole City. On the 27th of last Month the Enemy made an attack upon our Troops, who fought them twelve hours & were at length obliged to give way, being overpower'd by



numbers & surrounded, by the Superior generalship of the Enemy, who stole a march upon us unperceiv'd. There was want of conduct somewhere, I do not mean in the Commander in Chief, for he was at New York & did not get over upon the Island till the mischief was almost done, or at least the foundation for it laid. We had General Sullivan taken prisoner & Brigadier Genl Lord Sterling, with several of our best field Officers. Our loss of Men killd & missing is suppos'd to be about 700. That of the Enemy at the least as many, some say more, but it is not ascertain'd yet.

We had not more than 2,400 Men in the feild; the Enemy 10,000 & yet our Men kept them at bay the time I have mention'd & three companies of the Marylanders, with Major Gist at their head, forced their way thro' the Enemy & made their escape. Our Men behav'd like Heroes. The Engagement was principally in the field & we should have done very well with the Britons had not a cowardly rascal of a Lieutenant in the train of Artillery refus'd to fight after his Captain was wounded. Our Artillery was doing execution when this accident happen'd.

We must give them up all the Islands untill we can get a Marine strong enough to defend them. We'll keep the Continent in spight of them.

Every thing shall be done, to procure the passage of our accounts, that is in my power, which I hope to effect this week & you shall have a public Letter by the next post, upon them & such other matters as may occur in the interim.

I am, with great sincerity, Yours &ca, Tho Nelson jr.

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For Nelson's correspondence with Page, see these *Letters*, 4:472, 676–77, 5:187–88.

## Secret Committee to John Ross

September 27, 1776

[For the text of this document, which is in the hand of Robert Morris and bears the signatures of Morris, Benjamin Franklin, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lewis, and Philip Livingston, see these *Letters*, 5:258–59. Another text of the letter, in the hand of committee secretary John Brown, appears in John Jay Smith, *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*. . . , 2 vols. (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1847), vol. 1, item 4, but with three significant variations: it makes no mention of the purchase of "Ten Thousand Striped blankets," the agent at Curaçao mistakenly given in these *Letters* as Isaac Hicks is actually Isaac Gouverneur, and it is signed by Josiah Bartlett but not by Franklin.]



## John Penn to Samuel Johnston

Dear Sir

Philada Sept 28 1776

As you will have an opportunity of hearing from Mr. Hewes all the News that is stirring this way, shall not trouble you with any thing on that head except the Contents of a letter which Mr. Robert Morris received last evening from the Mole.<sup>1</sup> The writer I am told may be relied on, "that there were three Ships of War ordered from France immediately to cruise round the Mole,<sup>2</sup> for the express purpose of affording protection to our vessels, also two or three from Spain to their Islands for the same design, that they are to act together and are to pay equal respect to the Commands of the French Governors as to their own, that there was a large Fleet almost ready to sail from Brest & that great preparation was making for war in both Kingdoms, that there was great plenty of powder & very cheap at the Mole." I do most sincerely wish that the above Nations would declare war against Britain as it would give us an opportunity of new modelling our Army, I am sorry to tell you that we have too many officers who are not fit even to act as Common Soldiers in short they have not one spark of honour. I am with great respect, Dear Sir, Your obt. Servt., John Penn

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). Addressed: "To Samuel Johnston esqr., Edenton, No. Carolina. Favd. by Jos. Hewes esqr."

<sup>1</sup> That is, Môle-Saint-Nicolas, located near the northwest extremity of Hispaniola.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. these *Letters*, 5:281–82n.2; and Clark, *Naval Documents*, 6:750–51, 812.

## Samuel Huntington to Jabez Huntington

*Philadelphia, 5 October 1776.* "...I have conferd with Docr Franklin on the subject you proposd,<sup>1</sup> he seems favourably Inclind to accomodate us & [I] believe the matter may be accomplishd at some future day when the important briefings in which the Docr is now engaged Shall give him Leisure to attend to that Subject. . You will receive this Letter I presume by Mr. Sherman who is coming to N. Haven to Whom give me leave to refer you for Intelligence from this quarter. Let me only add that of late the Spirit of privateerng Increases Surprisingly in this place. . . ."

MS not found; reprinted from extract in *Christie's Catalog*, May 18, 1984, p. 55.

<sup>1</sup> Not identified. There is no mention of any such contact by Franklin with either of the Huntingtons in the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*.

## Richard Henry Lee to John Page

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 15th Octr. 1776

I am exceedingly happy to find by your letter of the 3d instant that we are like to be supplied within ourselves with the necessary articles of Salt petre, sulpher, flints, and gunpowder. If to these you can add Cannon and good Small Arms, Virginia will secure her freedom in despite of all the Tyrants in the world. Cannon and Muskets are of wonderful consequence and cannot be pushed on with too much attention and vigor. I do not think that Frigates can be of any great use to us in defending our Bay whilst our Enemies exceed us so greatly both in number and goodness of these kind of Vessels. They are besides extremely expensive. The Sea Gallies cost less, and their excellence for our purpose, consists in the great weight of mettle they carry which renders 2 or 3 of them superior to the largest Frigate, and 10 or 12 of them an overmatch for any thing but Line of battle ships, nor will the chance of there lost be very great in still water. Your plan of public Trade so far as it goes to the obtaining of Military Stores, & Soldiers cloaths I highly approve, and have sent Colo. Mason a scheme written by a Frenchman here for that purpose. The greatest danger of public Trade, is, that the Conductors of it are too apt to convert the whole into private job and particular gain. If Men of Skill, industry, and integrity, can be found to carry on the business it will be eminently useful. Since I wrote you by last post, the enemy have got 2 forty four gun Ships, one 20, and 3 Tenders above our obstructions in the North River, but we do not hear of any Manœuvre in consequence of it. Our endeavor will be to keep these Ships above, by sinking more Hulks, until the Frost makes them ours. Yesterday Congress received a letter from Gen. Mercer dated Amboy in the Jersies Octr. 10,<sup>1</sup> in which he says "Yesterday evening a part of the Enemies Fleet to the number of 22 Sail fell down to Sandy Hook and this morning stood out to Sea an easterly course, five of them appeared to be Ships of War." The destination of this Fleet we cannot tell, but 'tis thought here that they are gone for Rhode Island. Some think they are coming to this place, which at this time is very defenceless. However we must do our best, and indeed we ought to be every where in the best possible posture of defence. I must confess that for my own part, I do not think they will weaken much their grand Army whilst we have so great a one in their face. Gen. Carleton will hardly be able to cross Lake Champlain this Campaign, and the Howes have done little yet with all their mighty Land & Sea force. 8 or 10 Transports arrived to them from Engl

lately, with light horse. They brought out 240 horse, 80 of them died on the passage and 20 were taken in one Ship by an Eastern Privateer.

Farewell dear Sir and believe me to be affectionately yours<sup>2</sup>

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). In Lee's hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> For Gen. Hugh Mercer's October 10 letter to President Hancock, see *JCC*, 6:869; and PCC, item 159, fols. 190–91.

<sup>2</sup> For Lee's correspondence with Page, see also these *Letters*, 5:97–99, 436–37, 543, 6:22–23, 166–67, 215, 319–20.

## William Whipple to John Langdon

My Dear Sir

Springfield 17th. Octr 1776

My Design in going through Providence is Frustrated by Mr. Adams<sup>1</sup> having Business this way & You know Company is so desirable an object on so long a journey that it is hard giving it up, besides I don't know that it woud have been of any material Service for me to have gone that way. I saw Genl. Ward who tells me there are but few shot in store Suitable for the ships I therefore think you ought to look out in season for them & all other stores for I intend to use my utmost endeavors to send you the Cannon so soon as I arrive at Philada,<sup>2</sup> the weather which gives me an opportunity of sending you this scrawl Seems now to be clearing away so hope shall soon set out on My journey. You may Expect to hear from me from York, in the mean time be assur'd of the Sincerity of Your Friend &c, Wm. Whipple

RC (NhHi: Langdon–Elwyn Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Samuel Adams, for whose return to Philadelphia see these *Letters*, 5:389–90.

<sup>2</sup> Whipple arrived in Philadelphia October 24. *Ibid.*, p. 406.

## Francis Hopkinson to Benjamin Towne

Mr. Towne,

[ante November 16, 1776]<sup>1</sup>

I am a Tory, the son of a Tory, born and bred in the principles of absolute submission, and a true friend to the Hanoverian family; whom I will ever support, right or wrong, through thick and thin. The King of Great-Britain hath, in my humble opinion, authority, *jure divino*, to govern *absolutely* not only that small island with its appendages, but the East and West Indies; not only the East and West Indies, but the continent of North-America; not only the continent of North-America, but the whole of this insignificant planet—if he can. For pray, Mr. Towne, what could this poor world, called the earth, have been made for, unless it be to aggrandize the aforesaid Hanoverian family. The in-



fatuated people of this vile part of this most vile planet (the whole of which is indeed unworthy the acceptance of his *most gracious Majesty*) have been moved by the instigations of the Devil to resist and oppose his royal desire of governing them *in all cases whatever*. For my part, I am struck with horror at the very thought of this rebellious opposition. *His most gracious Majesty* hath, however, to my great consolation, sent over certain fleets and armies to reduce this abominable country to his subjection. Now it becomes the friends of arbitrary government to afford all the assistance to the said fleets and armies they possibly can, and to the worthy Lords and Generals whom the said gracious King hath appointed to direct and manage the same. Amongst other implements of war, the *pen* and the *printing-press* are not the least important. It is true they break no bones and shed no blood, but they can instigate others to do both; and, by influencing the minds of the multitude, can perhaps do more towards gaining a point than the best rifle gun or the sharpest bayonet.

On these considerations I have been long anxious to see a printing-press in this city subservient to the purposes of *Lord and General Howe*—I am gratified—I am happy in finding the said great men have, at length, found out a printer to their mind, and much good may be expected from it. I was mentioning this to a friend, whom I thought a Tory like myself—but I was mistaken in my man. He had the assurance, Mr. Towne, to address me in the following manner on the subject—I will give it you as near as I can in his own words; that you may see what sort of men we have amongst us.

“Sir,” says he, “it has been the policy of every government, from the beginning of time, to this day, when the honor, safety and existence of that government depended on the fate of war, to use every possible means to strengthen and support its own efforts, and counteract the subtleties and force of those who seek its destruction. For this purpose many of the most sacred rights of the people have been hard prest and even boldly violated, and that without any danger to the constitution itself; provided the exertions of government be manifestly sanctified by the necessities of the case. To prove this, we need only advert to the constant practice of the British court, in pressing men for supplying the navy in times of war. A measure rather winked at than authorised by the constitution, and a high infringement on the liberty of the subject. But the emergencies of war have been ever deemed a sufficient justification of this and many other deviations from the line of the constitution.

“The liberty of the press hath been justly held up as an important privilege of the people. It is indeed highly reasonable that the channels of information should be kept open for the benefit of the multitude; and no man holds this right in more sacred estimation than I do. But when this privilege is manifestly abused, and the press be-



comes an engine for sowing the most dangerous dissensions, for spreading false alarms, and undermining the very foundations of government, ought not that government, upon the plain principles of self-preservation, to silence, by its own authority, such a daring violator of its peace, and tear from its bosom the serpent that would sting it to death.

"What I have now in view is the *Ledger* of last Saturday, in which is pompously displayed large extracts from the *New-York Mercury*; a paper published under the immediate influence of our inveterate enemies; in which facts are misrepresented, reason distorted, the power and feats of the enemy exaggerated, and all the force of falsehood exerted, to do that by subtlety which they are not able to effect by strength. The design of the printer in publishing these extracts must be too evident to admit of a doubt. The printer of the *Pennsylvania Ledger* must be either a friend to the cause of America, or a cool, indifferent, impartial man, or a well-wisher to the enemies of his country, commonly called a *Tory*. In one or other of these characters he must appear, and I think it is impossible to hesitate long in assigning him his proper department, when we consider the general complexion of the *Pennsylvania Ledger*. Why then should a fatal lenity protect a man in the abuse of that very lenity which is his only security? And would not the Council of Safety of this state be very justifiable in silencing a press whose weekly labors manifestly tend to dishearten our troops, to throw disgust on the friends of America, and hold up in false and glaring colours the characters and performances of those whose only errand is the total destruction of this country? But if that Honorable Council should be loth to exert an authority of which they may have some doubts, the public ought at least to shew their resentment against such an insidious enemy, by refusing to take a newspaper fraught with mischief, and continually aiming at the demolition of their peace; I believe there is no government would suffer so dangerous a publication to be continued one week, but ours; and I am satisfied *Lord Howe* does not permit extracts from our papers to appear in the *New-York Mercury*, unless they are taken from the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, or are such as may favor the object he has in view."

This, Mr. Towne, was the purport of his speech. I was shocked at his assurance, and determined to have no more connexion with him.

A *TORY*.<sup>2</sup>

MS not found; reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, November 16, 1776.

<sup>1</sup> For Hopkinson's role in the independence movement, career as a state and Continental office holder during the revolution, and satirical publications in verse and prose on behalf of the patriot cause, see Paul M. Zall, ed., *Comical Spirit of Seventy-Six: The Humor of Francis Hopkinson* (San Marino, Cal.:The Huntington Library, 1976), pp. 77-80.

<sup>2</sup> For Hopkinson's resignation of his seat in Congress three days after the publication of this letter, see these *Letters*, 5:521.

Marine Committee and  
Secret Committee Accounts

[December 23, 1776]<sup>1</sup>

Sketch of Marine & Secret Committee Accounts wth. J Langdon, vizt.	
Dr. Secret Committee	
for sundry Cargoes, Vessels &c say . . . . .	£9600.
Contra      Credit	
By Cash recd. from them & returns from West Inds.	
per Greenough . . . . .	£8276.
Say Ballce. to the Debit of Marine Committee	<u>1324.</u>
	£9600.
Dr. Marine Committee	
Balla. of Secret Committee Accounts say	£1324.
To purchase of Ship Royal Exchge . . . . .	460.
To sundry Charges in Account Current. . . . .	150.
To Ship Raleigh (say)	<u>20000.</u>
	£21934.
Contra      Credit	
By Cash recd. from them 40,000 Dollars . . . . .	£12000.
By Prize Ship Royal Exchge. Net Proceeds	5600.
Say Ballance . . . . .	<u>4334.</u>
	£21934.

NB The 20,000 Dolls. recd. by W Whipple Esq is not included in the above—Adding which to their Credit leaves £1666—due the Committee which is all I have to carry on Capt. Roche’s Ship.  
Portsm[out]h, 23d Decr. 1776. Jno. Langdon

Tr (NhHi: Langdon–Elwyn Family Papers). In a clerical hand.  
<sup>1</sup> For another transcript of these accounts, lacking Langdon’s signature and published under the conjectural date December 31, see Clark, *Naval Documents*, 7:635–36. For Langdon’s appointment to outfit vessels for the Continental Navy at Portsmouth, N.H., and discussion of his work in the construction of the Continental frigate *Raleigh*, see these *Letters*, 5:348–49, 6:28–29; and Julian D. Fischer, “Shipbuilding in Colonial Portsmouth: The *Raleigh*,” *Historical New Hampshire* 42 (Spring 1987): 1–35.

Elbridge Gerry to Joseph Trumbull?

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup> Baltimore 30th Decr 1776  
I am favoured with yours of the 11th, & by an Express just going off have only Time to assure You that your request relative to the Appeal shall be complied with. I happened not to be in Congress at the Time that the Appeal was brot in, & have heard nothing of it lately, but shall

make immediate Enquiry of Mr Hancock into the Cause of it's not being bro't on & move it as early as possible.

We have just heard from General Washington,<sup>2</sup> that he cross'd Delaware <sup>^</sup>*just*& above Trentown, the Evening after Christmas with 2,500 Men, attacked the Enemy who were posted with about 1,500 Men in the Town about 8 oClock the next Morning, routed them & took 750 prisoners that are brot over the River, 1,200 stand of Arms & 6 brass Field peices. This comes in a Letter to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania from one of the Generals Family, a Copy of wch is sent to Congress;<sup>3</sup> I hope the General will retain & add to the Advantages he has gained & remain sir wth Esteem yours sincerely,

E Gerry

RC (*Sotheby's Catalog*, sale 6859, June 5, 1996, item 42, illustration).

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Joseph Trumbull, the Continental Commissary General, with whom Gerry had an extensive correspondence, for which see these *Letters*, 5:144–46, 178, 319–20, 347, 362–63, 470–71, 585–86, 670–71, 6:19–21, 170, 493–95, 618–19, 7:322–23, 328. Although the catalog description advertising this manuscript reads: "Possibly to Virginia Governor Patrick Henry; neatly inlaid to a larger sheet with the separately inlaid notation 'Patrick Henry,' evidently clipped from an address panel," it is unlikely that the recipient was Henry. The "inlaid notation" is not in Gerry's hand, no letters are known to have been exchanged between the two men, and the subject matter of the first paragraph was a request from the recipient being considered by Congress. This subject, an "Appeal" from the recipient which Gerry promised to take up with President Hancock, may well have been Trumbull's resignation request, which had been received September 11 and was referred to the board of treasury November 18, but which Congress did not finally act upon until August 1777. See these *Letters*, 5:145–46n.2, 178–79n.1, 363n.4, 6:618–19n.1.

<sup>2</sup> Washington's December 27 letter to Congress is in *PCC*, item 152, 3:401–8.

<sup>3</sup> For John Cadwalader's two December 26 reports to the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety and the committee's December 27 letter to President Hancock, see *PCC*, item 69, 1:295–98, 303–11.

## Robert Morris to John Langdon

Sir

Philada. Decemr. 30th. 1776.

The bearer hereof Mr Alexander Rose<sup>1</sup> is a merchant of Eminence in Charles town South Carolina, where he has long been established & Acquired the reputation so justly due to his honour & integrity. I beg leave to introduce him to your Acquaintance & recommend him to your friendship. Mr Rose has some Commercial views in his journey to N England & this introduction may possibly be of mutual advantage which will please me exceedingly.

Our affairs in this part of the world have undergone a great change within these few Days & I hope it will not be long before the Congress return to this City.<sup>2</sup> I am much engaged in transacting the publick business during their absence. Our Loan office is just opened & by

way of setting a good example & in order to make a beginning I have given in a considerable sum of money & have perswaded Mr Rose to carry with him Continental Loan office notes for Nine Thousand Dollars instead of the money, because it is Lighter & safer carriage, And because I think it will Answer all his purposes equally well if not better than the money, but at any rate Mr Rose must not be disappointed, & if he meets with any difficulty in getting money in exchange for these notes when or where he wants them, I must beg you will assist him & even if needful that you will supply him out of the Publick money you may have in hand. This is but justice to the Credit of the Continent and it is essential to Mr Rose. Therefore I am sure you will not suffer any disappointment to take place.

I am, Sir, Your very hble Servt.,

Robt Morris

RC (NhHi: Langdon–Elwyn Family Papers). Addressed: “To John Langdon Esquire, Continental Agent at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.”

<sup>1</sup> For the introduction of Alexander Rose on his trip to New England, and a similar letter from Morris on behalf of Nicholas Eveleigh, see these *Letters*, 5:641–42, 704, 6:86.

<sup>2</sup> That is, from Baltimore, for which see *ibid.*, 5:658, 6:86. Congress did not adjourn back to Philadelphia until February 27, and did not actually reconvene until March 12. See *ibid.*, 6:382; and *JCC*, 7:169.

## Robert Morris to William Hooper

*Jan 18, 1777, Phila.*<sup>1</sup> “In these calamitous times the human mind is but too apt to grow callous to human miseries. The constant scenes of distress which appear to the busy part of the world soon teach the man of greatest sensibility that his benevolence may involve himself in ruin but cannot extend relief to all who stand in need of it. Reflections of this kind whenever they occur injure the finest lines in an excellent character, yet such is our nature that they must have their influence and happy is that man who has judgment and fortitude to preserve a proper medium or conduct throughout the eternal conflict between passion, prejudice, and principle. . . .”<sup>2</sup>

“For heaven’s sake what is meant by a chamber of commerce, I sho’d be glad to see the plan and clearly understand what is proposed. Do they mean to combine the jarring interests of these states into commercial systems that will adapt to the minds of their respective traders? It is impossible. Do they mean to grant or promote monopolies? They are ruinous. Do they mean to lay restrictions and form regulations? They are pernicious, for I assert boldly that commerce ought to be as free as air to place it in the most advantageous state to mankind in general. Unhappily for us the British Navy lay us under restrictions enough and we should form plans to get over those difficulties instead of entering into chimerical plans that cannot possibly be



of any kind of use. If you establish a chamber of Commerce it must be composed of men with some sort of powers. Those powers they will naturally exert in one way or other, for a body of men got together and dignified with a title and power will be for doing good or harm. To do any good they must infuse into Traders of Am[eric]a a spirit of enterprise and direct their attention to such objects as will most benefit the publick. But in Am[eric]a this is done to your hand. Our traders are remarkable for their spirit in trade and are dayly forming those enterprizes you wish for. Their own interest and the publick good goes hand in hand and they need no other prompter or tutor. The single thing wanting from Congress at this time to encourage trade is to form a publick insura[nce] Office. If they woud do this it woud. give springs to commerce immedy. and woud be the cause of procuring many supplies much wanted particularly salt, and if such a scheme woud meet with approbation I wo'd draw up a plan & find proper people to conduct it probably with gain to the Continent instead of loss. . . .

"I can always make allowances for good men let them have judged ever so ill in particular circumstances."<sup>3</sup>

Tr (in the hand of Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Robert Morris' biographer) from a now missing manuscript then in the Morris Papers, PHi.

<sup>1</sup> The transcriber notes that Morris acknowledged Hooper's "pleasing letter of 8th ultimo," before continuing with this paragraph. It seems likely, however, that Morris was actually responding to Hooper's letter of December 28, for which see these *Letters*, 5:687–90. Both Hooper and Morris were members of the committee of secret correspondence, although Hooper had gone with Congress to Baltimore, while Morris had remained in Philadelphia. For other letters in the Hooper-Morris correspondence at this time, see *ibid.*, 5:713, 6:142–43, 191–93.

<sup>2</sup> Transcriber's note indicates that Morris "Approves Executive Boards of War, Treasury, & Admiralty," before continuing with the following paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> Transcriber's note concludes: "When a man (rather foolishly)—called Andrew [?—went over to the British, Morris said 'let us join in admiring his prior character for it deserves it.'"

## James Smith to Eleanor Smith

^Dear Sir,&<sup>1</sup>

Baltimore, 27th January, 1777.

I hope before this comes to hand N. York will be again in our possession. Fort Washington is certainly ours. Colonel Atlee heard general Robinson say so at New York, when there was not above nine hundred men and most of the Hessians waiting to surrender to us. The tories in New York were packing up their baggage in the utmost hurry and confusion. About two thousand men are sent from Amboy to

Staten Island, by the enemy probably to endeavour to save New York; I hope they will arrive too late. General Sullivan has gone to Amboy; the Jersey militia are very alert in distressing the enemy; the enemy daily diminish by capture, sickness and desertion. Howe is so frightened, he has recalled his troops from Rhode Island, they will be followed close by the New Englanders employed in opposing them. I expect the two widows will take a matrimonial swing to-day or to-morrow. I hope colonel Hartly has got in his recruiting airs, my compliments to him and colonel Donaldson, Mrs. Johnson, and all friends.

Your loving and affectionate husband, James Smith

P.S. You'll see this letter was intended for colonel Donaldson and to be accompanied by one to you but time won't admit of writing, show him this; I will write more at large to-morrow.

MS not found; reprinted from John Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, 9 vols. (Philadelphia: R. W. Pomeroy, 1820-27), 7:222-23.

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of why this salutation was crossed out in the original manuscript, see Smith's postscript.

## Proceedings of a Treaty Held at Easton

[January 30-February 6, 1777]<sup>1</sup>

The German Church being found most convenient to hold the treaty in, the same was readily granted by the Congregation: application having been made for that purpose.

Present

The Honble Geo Walton & Geo Taylor esqr, Members of Congress  
Col Lowry and Col Cunningham from the Assembly of the state of Pennsylvania<sup>2</sup>

Col Bull and Col Deane<sup>3</sup> Members of the Council of Safety of the State of Pennsyla.

Secretary to the Commission Thos Payne<sup>4</sup>

The Indian Cheifs

Kayugas. Taasquah, or King Charles

Senecas. Tawanah, or the Big Tree

Munsies. Mytahawha, walking on foot

Kahuah, standing by a Tree

Nanticotes. Amatinica, raising anything up

Kanois. Welakuko, or king last night

Interpreter Thomas Green, a Mohawk

In Treaty January 30th. 1777 Noon

The Business was opened by the Commissioners

Brothers, The great Congress of the thirteen united States have received your belt at Philadelphia which they are much obliged to you for as they consider it as a fresh Testimony of your good old friendship. Their hearts are glad that you are come to Easton to keep alive the old council fire; and have sent us to shake hands with you and to hear what you have to say.

The Ceremony of shaking hands being gone through a glass of rum was served round to all the Indians present and the Healths of the Congress and the Six nations with the allies were drank. The Organ being ordered to play in the mean time.

When the Company were seated Capt Johnston a seneca in behalf of all the Indians present or their tribes delivered the following Talk, as interpreted by Thomas Green and was copied down at the time of delivery by the secretary.

Well Brothers, When we come along the road to Wyoming, we sent our belt to Easton that our Brothers might know of our coming to shake hands with them. We are glad that god [h]as helped us to meet together at this place.

We find what our forefathers have always told us is now coming true, that we should live like brothers together. We see Brs the trouble you are in, which our Brothers the other side of the great waters have brought upon you. We come to let you see we are concerned therat. We see the tears in your eyes and come to wipe them away. We come to speak comfortably to you now you be in the Blood.

Brothers, This is the day that god hath appointed. We have had an old agreement together and come to renew it. Our first agreement Brothers when you came first ashore was that you liked our Island and you settled here we liked you and we agreed together. The land agreed to was to standing stone you remember these things because you have them in writing. We can remember them only here and there. Our hearts desire is that we may hold our agreements and our love so fast that none shall ever part us not all the great things in the world must get between us. We must not let it be. We must hold so fast that were the Devil to try he could not part our hands.

Brothers, We make a strong staff to hold upon that cannot be broke which all our hands can take hold of that we may always have a place to sleep upon and stand upon together. The first Council fire as we heard our fathers say was at the head place Philadelphia where we could see smoke & flame going up to the skies. We must not let the fire go out but always keep it light—a Belt of Eight strings with three double figures.

Brothers, In these troublesome times a great many birds will be flying about to make Mischief for even the birds now a days learn to talk english and other languages and even the trees and logs begin to tell tales but neither you nor we must mind what they say we must remember old times and the old friendship which our fathers made together.



A string—White

Brothers, We must love one another the stronger for these troubles and must continue to do so as long as we can see one another. Brothers, whenever You wanted land we always let you have it, we always listened to your wants and were never hard with you in any dealing. We made an agreement with you for land at Fort Stanwix which was the last purchase (1768) we then agreed that there should be no more land sold unless all the nations of the Indians agreed to the sale.

Brothers, You have told that when we wanted anything we should let you know it. We do not come to see you often Brothers tho we want many things. The Belt we now give you is not for ourselves only but is sent to you from the great Council Fire of the Six nations to remind you of former love and the agreement at Fort Stanwix.

A large Belt with 7 rows, three large figures.

Brothers Listen, We speak kindly to you. We think it terrible hard to see you in this state of trouble. Tis a family fight and we are sorry to see it for you are all of one colour and one language. Brothers it seems to us that you may perhaps be uneasy about us lest we should not think friendly for you in these troublesome times you are in But we love you and tell you from the great Council fire of the Six Nations that they all likewise love you and are sorry for Your troubles and that nothing shall make them unfriendly to you. There is no danger from us Brothers but look to the Sea shore from whence all your troubles cometh, make your watch there & look towards us as one brother should look towards another. Love and Live in Friendship with us as we do with you—have no fears on our account. The Quarrel is with you that are all one Colour and we have nothing to do with it but to wish you well.

Brothers, There is a place called Niagara, you may perhaps be afraid that your enemies will come upon You from that Quarter But we will not suffer them to come thro our lands to You nor you to go thro our lands to them. We are between you and will not let you come together. Brothers we must hold the old friendship fast. We must not Listen to Idle tales and news about each other. No hurt shall come to you from us nor from Your enemies thro our lands.

A Belt of Seven Rows three four sided figures from the Six Nations.

Here the first days conference ended. A Glass of rum each was served round, Pipes of Tobacco lighted and smoked. Organ played, adjourned to next day noon.

January 31, 1777

This morning the Delawar and Munsyes Indians who are in alliance with but not a part of the six nations sent a message to the Commissioners informing that they had a talk to Deliver before the time which the general meeting stood adjourned to. The Commissioners returned for answer that they were desirous of hearing every thing



which any of their Brothers had to say but that they could not Consistent with the propriety and Dignity of their Commission recieve or return any talks but at the public Council fire and Concluding with desiring them to deliver their talks thereat in the presence of the whole. The Commissioners Judged as it afterwards appeared that those Indians had nothing particular to offer, otherwise than to recommend themselves the more effectually to a share of the presents they were likewise of opinion that to hear their talk seperately might disgust the rest and endanger a general Jealousy.

#### Noon

The Ceremony at meeting as on the proceeding day.

Capt Johnston continued as follows—

Brothers, We are glad that God has spared us to meet again and see one another. We renew our old friendship and wish to hold it fast. Brothers some time ago our youngest Brother the Shawaness who live down on the Ohio came to us their eldest Brs of the Six nations and told us that their brothers the Cherokees had asked them to go along with them against our Brothers of So. Carolina. We told them It will not do. "You must not fall out with our Brothers you are but Young boys and dont know what you are doing you must be advised by us who know better than you." This was our advice to them Brothers. We speak not from our mouths only but from our hearts. We Wish to keep peace and we hope and believe that the great Council fire of the Six nations will always be listened to by the rest in these matters.

Brothers, We used to keep the fire light at Philada but now it is kindled at Easton. We Wish to keep it there. It is now Brs but a little smoke but we want to make it a great blaze that when we took from the long house of the Six nations we may always see it burning and We wish Brothers to have a strong man raised like a great tree that we can depend upon to keep the fire up. (Here they pointed to Col Bull and desired his services to them on all occasions[]). A Belt 7 Rows two single figures one double one thus IIV.

Brothers, We have now to mention something respecting our Brs who are in Maryland whom we have not heard of these four Years. They are our own blood and we want to know how it is with them. We have often enquired. We now enquire again and say that we want to see our Brothers and want you to help us to see them. We ask this assistance of the thirteen United States. A Belt with eight rows four double figures.

Here the Interpreter Thomas Green informed that his brother had pitched upon him as one of the persons to go to Maryland for that purpose—in company with one more.

Brothers, We now mention some little matters respecting ourselves. Brs we have been poorly off for many things since these disputes be-

tween you and Your brothers over the great waters have been. You see Brs we are poorly off. We cant get new things as we used to do nor we cant get our old things mended such as Hoes, Guns, Axes &ca and without these we cant get our work done. We want You Brothers to send a Blacksmith to Chinango, where he will be near all our Kings.

A string of 4 White.

Brothers, We see many birds but they fly away from us and many deer but they run away from us for want of powder and lead to shoot them with. We cannot lay out our money because there is nothing to buy amongst us and we want some person to come and settle among us who can sell these things to us.

A String of 2 colours.

Brothers, We want to talk again with you respecting the treaty at Fort Stanwix (1768) concerning our lands which treaty was made with the thirteen governments and never to be broken. You told us then Brs that we must not listen to private persons who might come with the money in their hands and say "Come cut us off a little piece of Land" because such a bargain was contrary to the agreement. It is hard upon us Brothers for some persons have come with money to our Young money and bought bargains which the old men knew nothing about. You told us if we saw any of your people step over the line that you would pull them Back. Brs we now let you know that some of your people have long feet and have stept a great way over the line that you would pull them back and come near to the land belonging to the six nations. We hope Brothrs you will stick close to the old agreement and not suffer it to be broken and that you will call your people back again as you promised yo[u] would. It is your own voice we now repeat to you Brothers. We wish to live in peace but these things will make a great breach between us and cause dark troubles which will be great concern to us. We tell it you Brothrs that you may pull your people back and there keep the friendship right. A Black belt with 7 Rows 7 White square figures from the Six Nations.

A String from King Charles, King of the Kayugas complaining that he was old and wanted a horse to come to see his Brothers upon likewise for a Rifle for the Interpreter Thomas Green.

Captain Johnston having finished his talk delivered the written Paper which we have here Inclosed and which we afterwards found by enquiring was written by Col Butler in King of England Service at Fort Niagara.

The Commissioners informed the chiefs that they would give them notice of the time for their recieving an answer.

Shook Hands, Drank Healths, Organ played and invited the chiefs to Dinner—after Dinner they delivered several Strings signifying their private wants. In the evening the Cheifs invited the Commissioners to a dance, parted about nine oclock in good temper and the Indians in

general tolerably sober great care having been taken to prevent the Inhabitants supplying them with rum.

NB After Dinner the Cheifs in Token of their Friendship Conferred Indian names on the Commissioners and Secretary. While an answer was preparing the Delewar & Munsie Indians gave notice that they should deliver their Talk on Monday February 4th which made it necessary to defer our answer.

#### Monday February 4th Noon

The talk from the Delawar and Munsey Indians amounted only to professions of Friendship without any particular business. They seemed to claim the honor of having first lighted the Council fire with their white brothers as they say 200 years ago. Parted with the usual ceremonies and appointed Wednesday for returning the Answer.

#### Wednesday February the 6th

Earley in the morning the presents were removed to the place of the treaty being proportioned out according to the numbers and wants of each tribe. They were set off[f] to the best advantage and a guard placed over them.

The Commissioners and Chiefs being met and the usual ceremonies gone thro the following talk was delivered.

Brothers of the Six Nations and all you our other Brothers who are in Peace and freindship with us and alliance with them.

In the name of the Great Congress we bid You welcome. We are glad to see you all. We take you not only by the hand but in our arms and we say to you "Come Brothers let us sit down by this fire and talk together." Let us tell our Minds and open our hearts to one another and help one another that so the Great God who made us all may be pleased with us all and send a good wind to make the good old fire burn and blaze up to the Skies. A string.

Brothers, we have heard Your talks and our hearts are glad therat. We thank you for the kindness which you shew us on account of the great trouble we have been in. Our eyes Brors have been dim with tears because our troubles have been many but our hearts have always been strong to bear them because we knew we had done no wrong to the English people beyond the great Waters. We sent many belts to them and prayed them to hear us but they threw our belts away and gave us no answer And instead of sending peacable men among us to enquire into our troubles, they sent a great army of thirty thousand men to tax and to take away from us the lands which our fathers who are dead and Buried bought from your fathers who are dead and buried: and to take our towns and our houses from us which we have built theron. This Brothers was great trouble to us because we loved the good old king that Lived In England beyond the great Waters in the time of the last war. But he is dead and another man is King in his



stead—a Wicked Man—and this new King took delight in making our eyes sorrowful and our Backs bend with heavy burthens. He put out the Council Fire which our fathers and his fathers had lighted up and told us he would have no other fire than a Gunpowder fire. This Brothers made our hearts heavy we were sorry to see and to hear such foolish Wickedness. Then Brothers we looked round and saw there was no other help for us but to brighten our guns and sharpen our swords and defend ourselves like men. We called together our old men to advise us and our young men to help us and we went to the sea side and when they came in their canoes we bid them keep out of our lands. We stayed the whole summer by the sea side and when our enemies saw that we were stronger than they they kept close in their Canoes and durst not come forward. But when the winter was come and a great many of our warriors were gone home to see their families and get Cloaths fit for the cold weather then our enemies slipt past like froggs from the water when nobody is near and run thro the Jerseys destroying every thing they could find. We let them come forward that we might catch them and in one night we took above a thousand of them prisoners with all their guns, swords, Bayonets and gunpowder and in less than a moon we took above a thousand more prisoners besides a great many more that were killed and wounded. Those that have escaped are now running to their Canoes like frightned froggs into the water.

Brothers, we have been in great trouble for you lest any of the English Kings People who are our enemies should decieve you and perswade you to Join them against us and by that means put out the fire which our fathers and Your fathers had lighted up and break the strong staff wheron like brothers we should always rest upon. Our Great Enemy the English King has perswaded the Hessians who live beyond the great waters (& whom we suppose you have heard of) to Join with him in trying to Conquer us. The Hessians were a foolish people and listened to what our enemies told them but now they are sorry for it, they go about with heavy hearts. Almost all their people are killed, wounded & taken prisoners. They have hardly any thing to eat, hardly any thing to wear and those that are left alive wish themselves at home again.

Brothers, Our Hearts are glad that you have not been led away by false tales like these foolish Hessians. We are Joyful to find that your friendship has been like a great strong tree. Brothers, you and we live in one great Island. One sky covers us both and we must not fall out—we must stick fast to one another we must love one another and wish well to one another. No good can come of our falling out—But Great good will come to us both by living brotherly & peacably together.

Brothers, Our eyes some moons past were darkened with tears but now they are become bright. We smile because our affairs are in a good way and we have a double pleasure in seeing our Brothers be-



cause they came in the kindness of their hearts to wipe away our tears we love them for it because they did not know our good news till they came here.

Brothers, Now we can fight our own battles. We can have help enough but we dont want it—several nations beyond the great Waters begin to take our part. We have had no help from any nation Yet we have beaten the King of Englands whole army and all the Hessians that came with them.

Brothers, the great Congress and their Great Genl. Washington ask nothing of you but your brotherly love and good Wishes. Sit down Brothers under the shade of your own trees and by the side of your own Rivers and if any of the people of the English King ask you to take up the Hatchet tell them that you had no hand in beginning the quarrel and you will have none in carrying it on.

Brothers, We have left of[f] calling the English we have now no other Brothers than you and you have no other good Brothers than we. The English King has been very cruel to us and we never will be governed by him or any of his people again. We Intend to drive them quite away they wanted to have all this country for their own. If they could have conquered us they would have wanted to have conquered you and when they had got our wheat and corn for nothing they would have wanted your skins and so make slaves of us all. They have been very extravagant and wasted all their money and now they want to plunder us to get it up again. This is the Truth Brothrs we were unwilling to tell you this much before because we hoped they would see their folly and leave off.

Brothers, We Listened to what you told us about Fort Niagara and we approve your wisdom in not suffering our enemy to come through your lands to us—or our going to them. In doing thus you act like honest men to both sides and we love you for so doing.

A Belt

We take our Brothers of the Six nations by the hand and thank them for the good Council they gave to their Youngest brothers who live down the Ohio and we are glad that our Brothers the Shawanese were so prudent as to be advised by them They have escaped a great deal of trouble by following their Elder Brothers Council while the Cherokees by listening to Bad advice have been made to smart severely for their folly and rashness. We wish our brothers of the Six Nations and all that hear us this day to tell to all their Younger Brors when they return home that the thirteen united Provinces are all now united as one man and that if any of the Indian Nations after this day should be so foolish as to take up the Hatchet against any one of the provinces that that Indian nation will bring upon itself the weight and resentment of all the thirteen Governments. The Cherokees struck the South Carolinas all the thirteen provinces felt the blow. Virginia,

North Carolina and Georgia came to help their brothers and the rest would have done the same had not the Cherokees grown sorrowful and asked for peace.

Brothers, The Great Congress will help and be kind to all their Brothers of the Indian nations so long as our Indian Brothers are loving and friendly. Our Indian Brothers are now the only Brothers we have got in the world and we will be good to you & take Care of you and not suffer any hurt to happen to you that we can prevent.

Brothers, You tell us that you want to see and hear from Brs who live down in Maryland, we give you this string Brs as a token that if you will send one or two of your people To Maryland that we will take care of them and that they shall go safe thro our country and return with gods leave safe unto you again and be provided for on the way. A string.

Brothers, We remember the agreement at Fort Stanwix and are sorry to hear that any of our people have been so foolish as to make bargains for lands with any of your people contrary to the Old Agreement. Our people ought not to have sold them and in Justice we must blame both for both were to blame alike; we will tell this matter to the great Congress who will enquire into it and not suffer the old agreement to be broken by any of their people. They will Call the Intruders back and do Strict Justice to both sides.

Brothers, We warn you and Caution you in a kind and Brotherly manner, as you have done us, not to let any thing or any body either great or small, get between us to part our hands nor to throw Cold water into the fire Which Our fathers and your fathers have lighted up. And Brothers we are the more earnest with you because we see by the paper which you shew us and which was written at Fort Niagara that some bad person belonging to the English King on the other side the great waters has been trying to make a Quarrel between you and us on account of those foolish people who have gone over the bounds.

Brothers, Those who are our enemies are your enemies and you must not listen to such men. We need not Quarrel about a peice of land. Here is land enough for us all but the man who gave you that Quarrel wants to make you and we Quarrel that he may get all the Land for himself. Brothers we present you with this belt as a token of the truth of what we now tell you and that on our part we will hold the old *agreement*<sup>5</sup> fast and keep up to all our old agreements. In the mean time Brors we advise you to use no rash measures with these people for it is our hearts wish to settle our affairs like brothers in a peacable manner. Mind then that your Young men in returning home do not disturb these people until we can send to them.

Brothers, We have listened to what you say to us about keeping the Council Fire always burning at Easton. We will acquaint the great

Congress with what you say. The Great Congress will always be glad to see their good Brothers at any place that shall be most convenient to their brothers of the Six Nations and all those other friendly Indians that are in aliance with them. But as we are all Brothrs we think it would be best to keep but one fire for us all because one great fire can be seen farther off and will warm us better than two little ones And Col Bull whom you say you wish may be appointed to keep the fire alive we will mention to the Great Congress and dare say they will appoint him to keep the peace ground Clear and to do you all the good services he can.

Brothers, your freindly and peacable Conduct here while you have been attending at this Treaty has been very pleasing to us and we have endeavoured to entertain you as well as these Hurrying times would let us. When the War is over we will make a great fire greater than any we ever made yet and Make all our brothers wellcome for we have now no other Brothers than you. We are very happy in hearing that our Indian Brothers have no Warrs among them. We hope they never will have any more.

Brothers, We wish you a good Journey to your own Homes and desire You to tell all our Brs the good news we have told you. Tell them Brs that we have beaten the King of Englands great Army and that our hearts are Joyful with good news. Tell them that we remember Old times and all the good things which your fathers and our fathers used to talk about and that we will keep the fire burning as long as the sun shines and the water runs. A Belt.

Brothers, We have brought you a little present of good things from the great Congress which we wish you to carry home with you and wear and keep for their sakes and for the sakes of all your White Brethren on this [*side*] the water. You know Brothers that when there is war their cannot be much trade. But we have built great Canoes with many great guns and sent them over the great waters to bring Blanketts and all sorts of goods and then we can supply our Brothers wants better than we can now. Yet our Brors will see by the present[s] we have brought them that we do not forget them and that in all the troubles we have gone thro we still remembred our Brothers.

Brothers, We shake hands with you all and deliver this talk to all our Brors of the Six Nations and to all our other Brothers that are here this day. You are all our Brothers and we are yours. We have often told you in this talk that we have now no other brothers but you and in this Belt you will see that your English White Brothers are a going away and that you and we only remain to keep Up the old fire and shake hands together. A Belt.

The usual Ceremonies Being gone through the presents were then Distributed and a copy of the above talk at their own request delivered to them signed as under.



The Above talk was delivered at Easton in Pennsylvania by sundry Commissioners appointed by the United States to hold a treaty with a number of Indian chiefs in Behalf of the Six nations and their Allies.

February the 6 1777 and in the fourth year of the Continental Union.

Attested Thos Payne Sec.

A true Copy GB.

The Indians having mentioned the want of a Blacksmith, Col. Bull (whom they seemed to look at as particularly charged with the execution of their private affairs) informed them that as almost all our young men were gone or going to the war It would be difficult at present to procure them one but if they knew of any one themselves that was willing to go that he should be furnished with proper materials.

MS (Scottish Record Office: Cunningham of Thornton Papers). In a clerical hand. The title page of the 24-page booklet into which this text was copied reads: "Proceedings At a Treaty Holden at Easton in Pennsylvania, Between sundry Commissioners on behalf of the United States and a number of Indian Cheifs in behalf of The Six Nations and Their Confederates. February the 6th 1777." Another text of this treaty, which lacks several pages of the full treaty proceedings, in the hand of Moses Young (Henry Laurens' secretary), is in the Ayer Collection, MS 426, ICN.

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of the origin of this treaty, and the hostile reception it encountered in Congress, which on February 18 referred it to the committee for Indian affairs, whose report was tabled on February 27, see these *Letters*, 6:118–19n. There we mistakenly reported that "no copy of the offending treaty is known to exist."

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Cunningham of Chester County and Alexander Lowrey of Lancaster County. *PMHB*, 3 (1880): 322, 4 (1881): 90–92.

<sup>3</sup> John Bull and James Deane.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Paine.

<sup>5</sup> At this point the copyist underlined the word agreement and interlined over it "Friendship."

## William Whipple to John Langdon

My Dear Sir

Baltimore Feby 3d 1777

I am preparing you a long letter to go by Mr. Betten who I hope will set out some time this week.<sup>1</sup> His delay ('tho Extreemly painful to me) has been unavoidable, I shall send to you, by him at least 42,000 Dolls on accot of the Marine Committee, & if the State of the Treasury will admit of it shall send some for accot of Secret Committee. Yesterday advice was received that several of the Enemies Ships were in Chesepeak Bay which will make it some what Hazardous for those Vessels order'd here, but I have no orders to countermand their being sent, in short we must run some Risques, but the Masters shod be well cautioned & ought to be well acquainted with this Coast or have some



body that is, This goes by Express to Boston which I have just heard of. I shall write My Friends by Betten.

Your Friend &c

W. Whipple

[P.S.] What think you of the Tyrants Speech<sup>2</sup> he takes no notice of the Horned Cattle but seems to think the Contest arduous. What a Contemptable Wreche.

RC (NhHi: Langdon-Elwyn Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For messenger James Betton, see these *Letters*, 6:197, 206, 256.

<sup>2</sup> For George III's speech to Parliament of October 31, 1776, see *ibid.*, p. 189n.1.

## Secret Committee to American Agents in France

In secret Committee of Congress  
Baltimore in Maryland 18th Feby 1777

Be pleased to furnish the Bearer, Captain \_\_\_\_\_,<sup>1</sup> with what Cash he may want to bear his expences to Paris and back again, with what shall be necessary for the supply of his Vessel. The Captain will be obliged for being furnished with directions to find Doctor Franklin, Mr. Deane or Mr. Arthur Lee in Paris.<sup>2</sup> Whatever monies the Captain shall receive as above, you will charge to the Account of the United States of America.

We are Gentn. Your Most Obt. Huml Serts.,

Signd

R. H. Lee

F Lewis

W Whipple

Tr (NhHi: Langdon-Elwyn Family Papers). In the hand of William Whipple. Addressed: "Messrs. Pliarne Penet & Co at Nantes, Messrs. Delap & sons at Bourdeaux or any other agent for the American States in France. Via Boston."

<sup>1</sup> That is, Henry Johnson, captain of the Continental brig *Lexington*, for whom see these *Letters*, 6:311.

<sup>2</sup> For the Secret Committee's letters to the commissioners at Paris of February 17 and 18, see *ibid.*, pp. 311, 316.

## Committee of Secret Correspondence to the Commissioners at Paris

[February 19, 1777]

[For a FC of this document, see these *Letters*, 6:317-19. The RC of the letter printed in Franklin, *Papers* (Labaree), 23:346-48, contains two significant variations: it was also signed by John Witherspoon, and

the Postscript contains the additional sentence—"We refer you to the letter of the Secret Committee concerning the transmission of Stores by this Vessel."]

## John Hancock to David Waterbury

Sir Baltim. 23 Feby. 1777.

I have only time to Acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter, which I laid before Congress, in consequence of which they pass'd the foregoing Resolution<sup>1</sup> to which I Refer you, and upon Application to the Commissioners I am confident they will Adjust your Accotts. & they will be Accommodated to your Satisfaction.

I hope soon to Congratulate you on your Release, and am with Respect, Sir, Your most Obedt sevt, John Hancock Presidt

RC (DNA: RG 93). Addressed: "To The Honble Brigadier General Waterbury, Connecticut."

<sup>1</sup> Waterbury's January 24 letter was read and referred to the board of war February 8. The board's report, recommending "That General Waterbury be referred to the commissioners for settling the continental accounts in the eastern department, for a settlement of his account of monies expended on account of an intended expedition against the tories on Long Island," was submitted to Congress and adopted on February 12. See *JCC*, 7:102, 109; and *PCC*, item 78, 23:353-55.

## John Hancock to Dorothy Hancock

My Dear Susquehannah At Mr Rodgers's  
Tuesday Afternoon 4 March 1777

After I wrote you from God's Graces yesterday<sup>1</sup> I proceeded on thro' bad Roads to Mr Stiles's at Bush where I arriv'd at Sun Set, Sup'd well, & lay well (that is as well as I could alone) & after Breakft. this morn'g. set out for this place thro' intolerable bad Roads, & got here at 11 oClock, but to my great Mortification cannot pass the Ferry, they are now Cutting the Ice, & hope to get over in the morn'g. My Boy Joe has Treated me very ill, he drank a deal of my Wine in the Waggon, broke & lost several Bottles, dropt out my Trunk which was luckily found, & was brought to the Tavern drunk & put to Bed, I shall turn him adrift at Philada. I am Glad I did not leave him with you, he would have been a plague to you. How is Ned's hand. I long to see you, but do let me hear from you as often as possible. Tomorrow morn'g I Intend to Set out on horseback. We are all well. Remember to Mr & Mrs Hillegas tell her Capt *Foger* is well. My Respects to the Mr & Mrs. Purviances & Miss Sukey & all Friends. God Bless you, Take

Care of your self, there is Wine in the Closet, when that is gone get more, Live reputably, keep up the Port of a Family. Rememr. me to Miss Katy, Lydia & all in the Family. Adieu I hope soon to have you at Philada. Shall write you fully on my Arrival there. Pray write me often.

I am in hurry, can only add that I am with the utmost Affection,  
Yours most truly, John Hancock

RC (*Sotheby's Catalog*, June 16, 1992, item 221, illustration).

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 6:396–97.

## John Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir

Philadelphia March 18. 1777

There is a Part of your Letter of 22 of Feb. which I did not remark upon in a Letter I wrote this Afternoon<sup>1</sup> and Sent to the Post Office. It relates to our Navy, a Subject which has ever lain near my Heart. It is of the last and highest Importance to Us.

If there has been any Negligence, in the marine Department, I am Sorry for it: I have heard continual Complaints for a great while: But whether the Delays in this Business are owing to Neglect, any where, or to unavoidable Obstructions I dont know.

There is a Committee of Congress intituled "The Marine Committee." It consists of one Member from each State. Mr Hancock is President of it. The other Gentlemen are Whipple, Ellery, Wolcott, Lewis, Sergeant, Morris, Chase, R. H. Lee, Bourke, Middleton, Brownson. Three Persons, have been lately appointed out of Congress,<sup>2</sup> with ample Salaries, I believe fifteen hundred dollars a Year each, who are to bend their whole Attention to it, and spend their whole Time in it. These are Hopkinson, lately a Member of Congress from New Jersey, Nixon, a Merchant of this City, and Wharton an eminent Shipwright. If such a Committee with such Assistance cannot conduct, the small Affairs of our Navy it is a Pitty. If the Affairs of the War Office did not take up every Moment of my Time, when I am out of Congress, and sometimes when I ought to be in it, I would make it my Business to search, this marine Affair to the Bottom.

Who is appointed, to build the new Frygate and Seventy four Gun ship I know not. If it is Mr Cushing I am Sorry for it, because I dont think his Capacity, his Connections, or his Credit in Business Suitable for that appointment. Besides that his avocations as Judge of Probate, first Justice of the Superiour Court and Councillor, render it impossible for him to attend as he ought if he was in all other Respects qualified. I write this freely and I dont care a farthing if it gets into a New York Newspaper, because it is an Opinion I avow and will abide by.

There must be a free Communication of Sentiment upon public Affairs or they will Suffer. I wish you had written the Anecdotes. We have no Returns from the Navy. We know not whether they are manned or what they wait for. Can they be manned?

Reprinted from Adams, *Papers* (Taylor), 5:115–16.

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 6:457.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 544n.1.

## Robert Morris to Jonathan Hudson

Sir,<sup>1</sup> Philada. March 18th. 1777.

I am half blind with Weak Eyes, writing & reading retard the cure altho they are mending. You may depend that I am ever ready to do any thing that will promote your interest and of course I shall not object to the Sale of your House &c as you think that Sale for the joint benefit of Hudson & Lawson and propose to deposit the purchase Money as Security for Herries & Cos. Debt, therefore you may make your bargain & I shall do what is incumbent on me the above Conditions being observed.

I am Sir, Your hble servt,

Robt Morris<sup>2</sup>

RC (CSmH: Harbeck Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Morris' associate Jonathan Hudson has been identified in these *Letters*, 7:97n.

<sup>2</sup> Morris was also making preparations at this time to provide his family a safe habitation away from Philadelphia, and wrote the following letter on March 8 to Joseph Shippen (1732–1810) concerning a farm belonging to Joseph Musgrave, a Chester County neighbor of Shippen's, for whom see Randolph S. Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family: The Shippens of Pennsylvania Across Five Generations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), pp. 176–78.

"Dr Sir, I have agreed with Mr Musgrove for the place near your present habitation & now send down Mr. Miller one of my Clerks to see about getting the present Tenant to remove as quick as possible, to have the House cleaned, any repairs that it wants done; & to enquire whether a Couple of good Cows can be bought in the Neighbourhood &c &c. You may probably think it a bad omen if I begin to be troublesome to you in the outset, but as I suppose you have not full employment for all your time I shall venture to propose an intercourse of kind & Neighbourly Offices. You will have it in your power to do twenty little services to my Family in the Country and as I shall pass most of my time in this place where I fancy You must want many things done for you or your Family, I shall be ready most chearfully to become your Town Agent & obey all your Commands. Upon this footing then, I presume to ask your advice & assistance to Mr Miller in what he is to do. And as my intention is to be a good Neighbour as far as in my power I shall likewise take the liberty to ask whether you can Conveniently Accomodate Mrs. Morris with a Bed for a few Nights if she shou'd come up before her own House is ready for her, but dont let this question put with so much freedom tempt Mrs. Shippen to put herself to the least inconvenience because Mr Bridges now at Wilmington offers to Accomodate my whole family there, if necessary. Perhaps the House may be got ready immediately and Mrs. Morris will bring up our Bedding with her but I mean to be guarded



at all points. I hope you will excuse this freedom & believe me to be Sir, Your Obedt hble servt, Robt Morris. P.S. My best Compts to Mrs Shippen and I hope she will be pleased with her intended Neighbour." Harbeck Collection, CSMH.

## Marine Committee to John Bradford and Leonard Jarvis

[March 25, 1777]

[For the LB text of this document, see these *Letters*, 6:491–92. The RC of the letter that was sent to Bradford, which is in the Hancock Papers, MHi, bears the signatures of John Hancock, Robert Morris, William Whipple, Nathan Brownson, Thomas Burke, Oliver Wolcott, Abraham Clark, and William Ellery.]

## William Ellery to Christopher Ellery

Dr. Brother,<sup>1</sup>

Phil. March 30th. 1777

I informed you in a Letter I lately wrote you<sup>2</sup> that I had in my Hands Two Loan-Office Certificates belonging to you and Eleven Pounds odd, and desired you to let me know whether you would have Me take them and the Money with Me when I return to our State, which I expect will be the last of May or beginning of June. I mention this because my Letter may have miscarried, and therefore again desire that you would furnish me with Orders on this Head.

I am glad that you are so comfortably situated, and wish that it were in my Power to serve you. I know of no such office as you mention. If an Opportunity presents I shall embrace it with Pleasure to put you into some Place of *moderate Profit & little Plague*. Your Observations upon the Situation of Affairs and the Tempers of People are just. I did not imagin that an attack would be made on the Island when I heard the Army had it in Contemplation; for Reasons which I don't think proper to mention. I imagin the Enemy will evacuate it, and that I shall have the Pleasure of seeing Newport when I return, and the Mortification of seeing it in a wretched State. If ever again I should reside there it will not be until the War will be over, which, if a War should take Place between France & G. Britain, I imagin will be in a few years. It is expected by some Persons that Philadelphia is Genl Howe's Object and not without Reason; but it is a Question with Me whether he will make an Attempt, until he shall have received a Reinforcement from Britain or from the Army in Canada not by the Lakes, but by the River St Lawrence; for I question whether Carleton will risque an Attack on Ticonderoga, and I am clear the Two Armies will never form a

Junction by the Lakes & Hudson's River. Our Recruits collect slowly, owing principally to their being inoculated; however I hope We shall have enough of them collected to check Genl. Howe; if he should undertake to move this Way.

When I return I shall see you, and then We can talk over Matters fully; until that Time and so long as I live I shall continue to be Yrs Affectionately,  
Wm Ellery

RC (RNHi: Ellery Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Ellery has been identified in these *Letters*, 11:518n.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

## New Jersey Delegates to William Livingston

Sir Philada. Mar. 31. 1777.

The inclosed Petitions from three of the Jersey Prisoners were presented to Congress & referred to us.<sup>1</sup> We have visited them in the Hospital & find they have had the small pox very favourably: they are almost fit to go to Work & very pressing for a Discharge.

We can find no method here of determining the Cause of their Detention & as the Council of Safety are sitting so near us, we beg to know from You what Report it would be to proper to make. One of the Norths is a Lad just turned of fifteen, the other about twenty, their Parents live on the Shore in Shrewesbury &, we have reason to suspect, the latter was enlisted with Coll. John Morris.<sup>2</sup> Jolley lives at Crosswicks on the plantation of John Abbot.

We are Sir, Your most hble Servts., Jona D Sergeant

Abra. Clark

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). Written by Sergeant and signed by Sergeant and Clark. Addressed: "Govr. Livingston."

<sup>1</sup> For the March 29 congressional resolution disposing of this case, which involved John Jolly, and John and William North, who had been captured after being recruited into a loyalist battalion, see *JCC*, 7:209.

<sup>2</sup> For John Morris, lieutenant colonel commandant of a battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers, see Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 1:398.

## Robert Morris to John Langdon

Sir Philada. April 4th. 1777

I have your favours of the 17th & 18th Ult.<sup>1</sup> but have not had the pleasure of seeing Capt Wentworth being too much engaged to go in

search of him altho' I wish it & he has not been kind enough to call on me having sent the dispatches to me at Congress. I thank you for what Mr Gardner writes respecting the Brig Joseph, but you need not give yourself farther trouble as Mr Bradford has got hold of the pirate in Boston. Since I wrote you last<sup>2</sup> I have recd letters from Wm. Bingham Esqr. advising the arrival there of the Betsey Frigate &c. He wishes me to purchase a Ship & Load her with Masts, Spars & Lumber on his & my Acct. and to dispatch her to his address, therefore if you have not executed my former order for a Vessell & Cargo to be sent Messrs. Thomas & Co at Guadaloupe I desire You will deem that order Cancelled & instead thereof execute this plan to Mr Bingham provided you can do it on terms that you approve of & wou'd recommend to a Friend and if the Cost exceeds the Funds remitted you I will pay your drafts or remit farther as you please.

I have just received advice that renders it probable some French Goods will be from Havre de Grace to the Isle of St Pierre & Miquelon on Account of my House, WM & Co. Colo Whipple tells me you have Vessells to & from thence sometimes in the Spring of the year, have you any Correspondant there that you cou'd write to make enquiry after such Goods and if there can you assist me in getting them safely landed on the Continent.

I am Dr sir, Your Obed Servt.,

Robt Morris

RC (NhHi: Langdon-Elwyn Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> These letters are in Clark, *Naval Documents*, 8:132, 140-41. The former was actually written by William Gardner informing Morris of the capture of the *Joseph* by a pirate; the latter was from Langdon.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

## John Adams to James Bowdoin

Sir

Philadelphia Ap. 29. 1777

There is a Letter from Dr. Lee, dated Bourdeaux Feb. 20th<sup>1</sup> which Says that he has a Letter from a confidential Friend which assures him that Ten Thousand Men, were obtained in Germany, and Vessell sent for them. That these with three Thousand British were to come out under Burgoigne. That Boston would certainly be attacked. That Howe would probably move towards Philadelphia. That Ministry depended much on beginning the Campaign early, and much upon the Divisions in Pensilvania.

The Reverse of affairs may have altered their Plan. But I thought it my Duty to transmit the Intelligence, whatever may be the Amount of it.

The surest Method of averting the Blow from Boston will be to quicken the March of your whole force to Peekskill. Depend upon it,

if you do that, Howe must order all the Force to join him or he will be extirpated.

I am sir with great Respect, your most obedient humble servant,  
John Adams

Reprinted from Adams, *Papers* (Taylor), 5:168.

<sup>1</sup> For which see *ibid.*, note 1.

## Committee of Congress Decree

Philada., May 10th, 1777.

The Commissioners appointed by Congress to hear and determine Appeals entered in Pursuance of the Resolves of Congress,<sup>1</sup> having heard the Appeal entered on the Part of Jonathan Burnel & others Owners or Claimants of the Brigantine Sherburne, her Tackel, Apparel, Furniture, and Cargo, from the Verdict found, and Sentence of Condemnation passed in the Court of Admiralty for the Port of Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania against the said Brigantine &c fully argued, proceeded to give Judgment thereupon; and the Opinions of the said Commissioners to wit James Wilson, Jonathan D. Sergeant, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Thomas Burke, and Wm. Ellery Esqrs. being delivered seriatim the said Court was then and there equally divided, by Reason whereof no Judgment could be given in the said Cause; which being reported to Congress, in order that no Failure of Justice should ensue but that the same might be administered as speedily as possible, we the Subscribers were appointed a Committee to rehear the said Cause;<sup>2</sup> and after having carefully examined and maturely considered the Record of the Proceedings in the said Court of Admiralty for the Port of Philada. and heard the Arguments of Advocates on both Sides, do find no Error in the said Proceedings, Verdict or Sentence and do therefore adjudge and decree that the said Sentence be and remain ratified and confirmed in all its Parts, and that Execution thereof be had according to Law; and we the said Committee do further adjudge and order that the said Appellants pay to the Appellees in the said Suit of one Hundred and seventy four Pounds lawful Money of Pennsylvania for their Costs and Charges by them expended in this Behalf in defending the said Suit of Appeal for that the said Appellants failed to prosecute the said Appeal to Effect.<sup>3</sup>

Richard Henry Lee

Geo Clymer

Wm Duer



<sup>1</sup> For the origin and evolution of the Committee on Appeals, see these *Letters*, 10:623–24n.

<sup>2</sup> For the April 12 appointment of George Clymer, William Duer, Thomas Heyward, Richard Henry Lee, and Benjamin Rumsey as an ad hoc committee to rehear this case (*Swain v. Newman*), see *JCC*, 7:259–60. For discussion of this case in the context of the development of the appeals system during its first two years of operation, see especially Henry J. Bourguignon, *The First Federal Court: The Federal Appellate Prize Court of the American Revolution, 1775–1787*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 122 (1977): 89–90, 218–19.

<sup>3</sup> For Congress' May 20 affirmation of the committee's decree after receiving a petition challenging its determinations, see *JCC*, 8:383–84.

## Board of Treasury Order

At a Board of Treasury held at the Treasury Office in  
Philadelphia the 15th Day of May 1777

Present.	The Honorable	James Duane	} Esqrs. Superintendants <sup>1</sup>
		Mann Page	
		Jona. Elmore	
		John Gibson, Auditor General	

The Report of the Board of Treasury of the third of May One Thousand seven hundred and seventy Seven, respecting the Examination and Settlement of the late General Montgomerys Accounts with the United States of America (among others) having been confirmed by Congress on the thirteenth Instant:<sup>2</sup> we therefore in Virtue of the Authority in us vested by Congress do hereby finally discharge Robert R Livingston Esquire acting Executor of the last Will and Testament of the late Major General Montgomery and all others his Executors and Representatives on the public Account of the said General Montgomery with the United States of America, and all other Claims and Demands in any wise concerning the same.

Jas. Duane Chairman

By order of the Board

MS (NjP: Edward Livingston Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Duane.

<sup>1</sup> James Duane had been a member of the board of treasury since its creation February 17, 1776. Jonathan Elmer and Mann Page were appointed to the board February 6, 1777. *JCC*, 4:156, 7:94.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 7:349–50.

## Committee on Appeals Decree

May 20th. 1777.

Mary Alsop &c. Appel[lan]t,	}	Appeal from the Court of Admiralty of the State of Rhode-Island <sup>1</sup>
vs.		
Thomas Ruttenburgh &c. App[ell]ees		

We the Commissioners appointed by the honorable Congress to hear, try and determine all Appeals from the Proceedings of the Courts of Admiralty of the several American States<sup>2</sup> having heard and fully considered as well all and singular the Matters and Things contained and set forth in the Records or Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Admiralty for the State of Rhode Island in the above Cause as the Arguments of the Advocates on the part of the Appellants (no person appearing on the part of the Appellees altho' sufficient Notice appeared to have been given) in the said Cause do there-upon adjudge and determine that the Sentence or Decree of the Court aforesaid be in all it's parts revoked, reversed and annulled And that the Schooner or Vessel called the *Frank* heretofore called the *Dolphin* with her Tackle, Apparel and Furniture and all and singular the Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes laden and found on board her at the Time of her Capture as mentioned in the Bill of the said Thomas Ruttenburgh be restored and redelivered unto Mary Alsop and Sylvanus Waterman the Claimants in the said Cause And We do further adjudge and decree that the said Appellees pay unto the said Appellants ninety five Dollars for their Costs and Charges by them expended in sustaining and supporting their said Appeal.

James Wilson

John Adams

Thos. Burke

MS (DNA: RG 267, case no. 11). In a clerical hand, and signed by Adams, Burke, and Wilson.

<sup>1</sup> For the Rhode Island Admiralty Court's December 31 decree in this case, which involved the capture of Sylvanus Waterman's schooner *Frank* by Thomas Ruttenburgh commander of the state sloop *Montgomery*, and its reversal in a second state trial January 27, 1777, see Clark, *Naval Documents*, 7:448–49, 639–41. For the March 6 appeal of this reversal and Congress' April 24 order referring it to the Committee on Appeals, see *JCC*, 7:297.

<sup>2</sup> See Committee of Congress Decree, May 10, 1777, note 1, in this Supplement.

## Robert Morris to John Langdon

Sir

Philada. May 20th. 1777

I have just received your favour of the 5th Inst. and observe the reasons which have prevented your executing the plans or Voyages I proposed, they are satisfactory and I thank you for your attention to my Interest, you say nothing of the price of Sugars. I wish those you bought for me were here. They wou'd yield an amazing Proffit but I dont know how to get them along, probably they can be resold to good Proffit where they are and I must rest on your judgement to make the most of them. Shou'd the Prize Brig. or Snow you mention go off[f] on terms that you think very reasonable I wou'd wish you to buy one of them (the Cheapest if you can hit on her, and despatch her immediately for Savannah in Georgia cons[ign]d to John Wereat Esqr. Continental Agent there. Write him a few lines requesting him to load her immediately with Rice and dispatch her therewith to Havre de Grace Consigned to Mr. Andrew Limozin Mercht at that place. You'l tell Mr. Wereat to draw on me for the Cost of the Cargo and he may depend his bills shall be duely paid, & I shall immediately write him on this Subject by Post. You'l put in a frugal, honest, carefull, Industrious Master and give him instructions suited to this Voyage from France. He shall return with salt for this Continent.

I have now recd letters from Havre by which I find the plan of sending Goods to St. Pierre & Miquelon was laid onside, but pray wou'd it not be a good plan to order out Goods Thither in French Bottoms so long as they remain at Peace & build at Portsmouth One or Two fast sailing Sloops or Schooners to be constantly employed in bringing them from thence to the Continent. Will you be Concerned in such a plan & give me your sentiments upon it.

I am sir, Your Obedt hble servt.,

Robt Morris

RC (NhHi: Langdon-Elwyn Family Papers). Addressed: "To John Langdon Esqr., Continental Agent, Portsmouth, New Hampshire."

## Committee on Appeals Decree

May 22nd. 1777.

Lemuel Palmer Appel[lan]t &c. vs.	} Appeal from the Court of Admiralty of the State of North Carolina <sup>1</sup>
Reuben Hussey &c. Appellees	

We the Commissioners appointed by the honorable Congress to hear, try and determine All Appeals from the Courts of Admiralty of

the several American States to Congress having heard and fully considered as well all and singular the Matters and Things set forth and contained in the Record or Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court aforesaid in the above Cause as the Arguments of the Advocates of the respective parties in the above Appeal do thereupon adjudge and decree that the Appeal of the abovenamed Lemuel Palmer on behalf of himself and others in the said Appeal named be dismissed hence with Costs And We do assess the said Costs at ninty five Dollars and do order and decree that the Appellants pay to the Appellees abovenamed the said ninety five Dollars for the Costs and Charges by the said Appellees expended in supporting and sustaining the Decree of the Court of Admiralty aforesaid against the Appeal of the said Lemuel Palmer.

James Wilson

John Adams

Tho. Burke

MS (DNA: RG 267, case no. 17). In a clerical hand, and signed by Adams, Burke, and Wilson.

<sup>1</sup> This case involved the condemnation by the collector of the port of Beaufort, James Coor, of the brigantine *Hanover*, Capt. John Pinkham, which had been brought into port on a voyage from Guadeloupe after its takeover by the crew, Reuben Hussey, et al. The ship had been declared a lawful prize as British property and awarded to the crew by Judge Richard Cogdell on March 21, 1777, whose judgement was appealed to the Committee on Appeals by both James Coor, on behalf of the state of North Carolina, and Lemuel Palmer on behalf of the owners of the sloop *Caswell*, a New Bern privateer. The Committee peremptorily dismissed the Palmer appeal this day, but Coor's appeal was carried on by North Carolina for over a year, when the Committee reversed Cogdell's judgment August 7, 1778. All the records pertaining to this litigation are gathered under the case of *James Coor et al. v. The Hanover*, Records of the Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture, RG 267, DNA, case no. 16. The present committee decree is the sole surviving document from the *Palmer v. Hussey* appeal, *ibid.*, case no. 17.

## Mann Page to John Page

Dear Brother

Philadelphia June 9th. 1777

In your Letter of the 29th May, you tell me, I suppose by way of Comfort for my Removal from Congress,<sup>1</sup> that in popular Governments there is no Disgrace in being removed from Office, especially if no Reflections are thrown upon the Character of the Person displaced. In that our Sentiments perfectly agree, & if the Government was well directed I should agree with you in another Part of your Letter, where you advise me to wait patiently til the Expiration of my time. But it is not popular Caprice only, but public Injustice which a Servant of our Commonwealth while absent has to dread. If our Assembly would suffer Braxton's Slanders to give such a fatal Stab to the



Character of Colo. R. H. Lee, & without hearing his Defence would treat him as guilty,<sup>2</sup> the most virtuous Character may fall a Sacrifice to the Interests or Ambition of a popular Clodius.<sup>3</sup> As yet my Reputation, I am told, stands unimpeached, I mean to keep it safe, & shall therefore write to the Assembly to desire them immediately to send some one to fill my Place, lest some malicious falsehood be hatched for me. I am happy at being released from my Confinement which is too close for any body's health to remain long sound; a few more Months would ruin mine.

We are still threatened with the Movement of the Enemy towards this Place, indeed I begin to think they are in earnest. If the Pennsylvanians have spirit to defend their Country the Enemy must be ruined, at any rate they must pay dear for this City. By Accounts from the West Indies I am induced to think a War between France & England must soon take Place. Great Jealousies subsist between them. Indeed Matters are brought near to a Crisis by the Capture of a French Vessel who had some American Plank on board. The Governour of Martinique has demanded her. If she is refused, Mr. Bingham thinks it will be deemed almost a Declaration of War.<sup>4</sup> The Dutch are at Variance with the English. Sir Joseph Yorke remonstrated to the States General against their trading with the American Rebels, to which he received a cool Answer & they have ordered, it is said, twelve Sail of the Line to be got ready. Please to give our Love to my Sister. I hope all your Children are well recovered from the Measles.

I am, dear Brother, Your's affectionately, Mann Page Junr.

RC (ViW: Page Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For Mann Page's exclusion from the slate of congressional delegates elected by the Virginia Assembly on May 22, see these *Letters*, 7:129n.2, 181n.

<sup>2</sup> For the protest against Richard Henry Lee's exclusion from the Virginia delegation, see *ibid.*, pp. 125n.1, 180–81.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Publius Clodius (93–52 BC), "a disruptive politician, head of a band of political thugs, and bitter enemy of Cicero in late republican Rome." *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

<sup>4</sup> For Bingham's views on the imminence of war between Britain and France, see these *Letters*, 7:178–79.

## Secret Committee to Bernardo de Gálvez

Sir<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia June 12th 1777

We are informed by means of Mr Oliver Pollock of the favourable disposition you have been pleased to manifest towards the Subjects, Interest and cause of the United, Free and Independent states of America upon every occasion that has presented since your Excellency's accession to the Government of New Orleans & Louisiana; and particularly Mr Pollock assures us you are inclined to give all the encour-

agement and protection in Your Power to such ships or Vessels as we may send on Tradeing Voyages into the Mississipi.<sup>2</sup>

As we the underwritten members of Congress<sup>3</sup> are appointed a Committee to Superintend the management of the Public Commerce of these States we think it incumbent on us to return you our Sincere thanks for the very freindly part you have taken and pray for the continuance thereof. The Ruleing Powers of these States are equally disposed to promote a friendly intercourse and mutual Exchange of kind Actions between the Subjects of His most Catholic Majesty and their own. The Congress have sent a Commissioner to the Court of Madrid with Powers to enter into a Treaty of Commerce and friendship,<sup>4</sup> and we have every reason to beleive that Court are much disposed to assist and befriend us. Indeed this Commissioner has already advised us that he was met at a place called *Gastos* on his Journey toward Madrid by a Person of consequence who gave him assurances that Supplies of Blankets & Cloathing as well as Military Stores would be ordered out to Havanah & New Orleans there to be lodged for our use & to remain until we should send for them. We wait however to hear farther on this Subject before we take any measures for procuring those supplies, but should any such arrive in the mean Time we doubt not Your Excellency will notify us thereof.

It will probably be agreeable to know our present situation, Time will not permit us to give you any long detail but in few words it may be told. General Howe remains with the bulk of His army at Brunswick in New Jersey within the strong works he threw up last winter when General Washington drove him back from Trenton and Princetown. He has been collecting his force there for a long Time past and making preparations to open the Campaigne. We have not been Idle on our part, so that altho we now expect Mr. Howe every Moment to March out and that he will bend his veiws toward this City, Yet General Washington has taken post in a very Strong part of the Country close behind Mr Howe and is prepared for offensive or difensive War just as the Case may require. The Armies are nearly equal in Numbers; But they have the advantage of better Discipline, better arms and cloathing. Our Men are more Active, better Marksmen and Fight in a better Cause—they will also be supported by the Militia of the Country; if Needful, A Militia that have already shared the Glory of defeating this formidable Enemy.

Our Army at Tyconderoga under General Gates is also prepared for the reception of General Sir Guy Carleton and General Burgoinge. In short we are pretty well prepared but our soldiers being new, expect the beginning of the Campaign may probably turn against us, altho we have no doubt of closing it much to the Honor and advantage of America and that finally we shall so firmly establish our Liberty and Independance that no Earthly power will ever again be able to deprive

us of them. We have the Honor to send you some News Papers and shall Occasionally repeat our Correspondence. We are Your Excellency, Most Obedient and very hble servants  
(Duplicate)<sup>5</sup>

Tr (Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 112—"Cartas de la Junta de Comercio nombrada por el Congreso de los Estados Unidos a don Bernardo de Gálvez"). In the hand of committee secretary John Brown.

<sup>1</sup> Bernardo de Gálvez, the governor of Louisiana, was the nephew of Jose de Gálvez, the Spanish minister of the Indies. For Bernardo's appointment as governor and the changes in Spanish policy toward the United States that accompanied the appointment, see Light Townsend Cummins, *Spanish Observers and the American Revolution, 1775-1783* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), pp. 61-63.

<sup>2</sup> For Oliver Pollock's reports on Spain's "favourable disposition" toward the United States, see these *Letters*, 7:185-88nn.1-2. The story of Spain's determination to assist the Americans by shipping supplies to New Orleans for Pollock has been well told in Cummins, *Spanish Observers*, pp. 57-63, 82-91.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Philip Livingston, Robert Morris, and William Whipple, the committee members who were attending the secret committee's business at this time. See these *Letters*, 7:170, 193.

<sup>4</sup> For Arthur Lee's mission to Spain, see Louis W. Potts, *Arthur Lee. A Virtuous Revolution* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), pp. 167-71.

<sup>5</sup> The original of this letter has not been found. This text was sent with Congress' next letter to Gálvez in October, for which see Committee of Commerce to Gálvez, October 24, 1777, below. For the creation of the committee of commerce July 5, 1777, and the demise of its predecessor secret committee, see these *Letters*, 7:194n.3.

## Committee for Foreign Affairs to William Bingham

Sir

June 26th [1777]

Your last dispatches are dated April 16th & 30th & May 13th.<sup>1</sup> We direct you immediately on the receipt of this to wait on the Conti D'Argot & to express in the name of the Committee of Congress for foreign Affairs our high respect for his person and Character, and to acknowledge our warmest approbation of the many Signal Services he has rendered to the American Cause,<sup>2</sup> and the Aid and Protection he has given to the Property of the Inhabitants of these united States and to congratulate him on his appoint[men]t to the government of St. Domingo. You will likewise in the name of this Committee present our Congratulation to his Honorable Successor The Marquiss de'Bouille from whose Amiable disposition we have full Confidence of the Continuance of that Harmony and exchange of good offices which have hitherto uninterruptedly subsisted between the government of Martinique, and the United States of America.

Our Notice of the opportunity of this Conveyance is very short, our letter therefore must be the Same [. . .] You will proceed in every So-



licitation consistent with the Liberty of the allies for the recovery of the Cargo of the Ship Seine [. . . ]<sup>3</sup>

As the Congress has an Utter Abhorrence against and are determined to punish all abuse committed under their flag we direct you to lay before this Committee particular accounts properly attested of all Action of that Kind that reparation may be made to the Sufferers and adequate punishment inflicted on the aggressors, at the same time you will be careful to enquire fully into the Matter in order to prevent frivolous Complaint and imposition on the other hand, and report to us your Opinions thereon.

Gen Washington is moved within eight Miles of Brunswick.

The Enemy [encamped about?] 8 Miles out of Brunswick—our Military affairs are in an Excellent Condition and promise a fortunate Campaign.<sup>4</sup> Not having time to write particular Intelligence we refer you to the latest New[s]papers. From various Quarters we have accounts, though none sufficient to depend up[on] that no Reinforcements or very small ones will be sent the Enemy from Europe—and that a war is inevitable. Should it take place we have no doubt but the united Powers of France, Spain & America will totally expel the British ^Power& fleet and Army from every Post [. . . ]

We are greatly pleased with your assiduity in Business for the facility of wch. we advise you in future to put only one letter in each Sheet and to Number them progressively beginning your next with number one—at the Top. You[r] duplicates must bear the same Number with their Originals. We will like in future excuse the omission of Philosophical or Rhetorical Comparisons—Matter and Politeness being all that is Necessary in Letters of Business.

We keep no Copy of the letters.

FC (PPL: Du Simitière Papers). In the hand of John Witherspoon, whose precise intentions are difficult to reconstruct because of the fragmentary nature of this draft.

<sup>1</sup> None of these letters is in the PCC, but for Bingham's correspondence with the committee's predecessor committee of secret correspondence, see these *Letters*, 5:213, 275–77, 358–59, 366, 6:187–88, 643n.1.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, 7:71.

<sup>3</sup> Witherspoon's intention at this point is obscure. He lined out a portion of the passage that follows, and then incorporated it into a paragraph that he added on the verso of this page, which has the appearance of the beginning of another letter. That paragraph has been appended as the final paragraph of this draft.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 252.

## Elbridge Gerry to James Warren

My dear sir

Philadelphia July 7th 1777

Since my last<sup>1</sup> nothing new occurs, save the Approach of the Enemy towards Ticonderoga. By returns from General St Clair of the 25th



June, it appears that the eleven Battalions ordered from New Hampshire & Massachusetts Bay, which should contain near 8,000 Men, are very deficient, insomuch that he then had but 2,000 Effective Men rank & File to defend that important Post. This is so inadequate to the Force that will be brot against it, if the Enemy mean to attack, that We have no other prospect but the Loss of the post, & I fear the Cause that will be said to be the Deficiency of the Batalions mentioned.<sup>2</sup> I wish that a speedy Enquiry may be made into this Matter, in which the eastern States & N York are particularly interested as the post being lost the Enemy will advance towards the Heart of the Country & afford additional Trouble to the Inhabitants thereof. I think however that they will finally have Reason to repent an Event that they may now consider as advantageous, if the Militia of those States exert themselves with their wanted Spirit. The great Advantages arising to a State from such a Spirit have not only been realized by the Massachusetts Bay, & South Carolina, but also by the Jersies, which has been found by the Enemy too *warm* a Climate for a longer Residence. Congress are this Day to take into Consideration the State of the northern Department, & I wish that the Batalions may be immediately recruited to their full Complemt. probably a Reinforcement of the Militia to serve for the Campaign will be tho't necessary by Congress. I inclose You the Test Act of this State, which is so well digested that I wish similar Acts may be adopted by the other States.

I am sir with much Esteem, your Friend & hum Sert,

El. Gerry

P.S. Not being able to procure a paper wth the Test,<sup>3</sup> I suppose You will find it wth such of the printers as take Dunlaps papers. I have sent one to Mr Gerry of Mhead.

RC (Copley Library, La Jolla, CA, 1986). Endorsed by James Warren: "Mr Gerrys Lettr July 7, 1777."

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 7:273–74.

<sup>2</sup> For Gen. Arthur St. Clair's evacuation of Ft. Ticonderoga July 5, and Congress' removal of him from his command July 30, see *ibid.*, pp. 358n.1, 401n.1.

<sup>3</sup> This test was actually incorporated into Pennsylvania's June 1777 militia law, which required all white males of the state to take an oath of allegiance before July 1, for which see Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942), pp. 40–41.

## Francis Lightfoot Lee to Mann Page

My dear Sir

Philadelphia July 15. 1777

No event of consequence has taken place, since you left us, but the unfortunate loss of Ticonderoga. Burgoyne arrived there, about the begining of this month; with what force, we know not as yet. We had a

Letter from Sinclair dated the 3d in which he was in high spirits, but on the 5th he determined to evacuate, & on the 6th marched his troops out, for what reason, or where he is gone we cannot as yet learn. We have lost all the Stores, & Burgoyne is pushing down with rapidity to Albany. The whole Country in consternation, with which Schyler seems to be much infected. In this situation of affairs Burgoyne has dispersed a most Bombastic, terrific proclamation, threatening fire & sword, death, desolation & destruction, to all who resist his invincible arm, or remove their provisions; but promises mercy to those who submit & chuse to enjoy the blessings of Liberty, with solid coin for their commodities. This proclamation, which can only raise laughter in any thing with the spirit of a flea, Schyler thinks, will be attended with terrible consequences. However I think Burgoyne's flighty folly, will lead him to his ruin, for, in the present panic, he will penetrate so far into the Country, that he will find it difficult to return. Howe is yet at N. York, it is every moment expected he will begin his operations up N. River. Encourage a close attention to the militia, least he shou'd think fit to Visit you.

No news foreign or naval.

Our affte. compts. to Mannsfeild. Farewell,

Francis Lightfoot Lee

[P.S.] One of my horses is stolen & another wounded.

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection).

## Robert Morris to William Bingham

Dr. Sir

Philada. July 15th. 1777

You will receive herewith Copies of what I wrote you the 20th & 26 June<sup>1</sup> per the Schooner Hope, Capt Bentson, which I hope will arrive safe, I have since wrote to Mr Schweighauser at Nantes and desired him to retain in his hands payment for any Goods he may have sent you on our joint acct. out of the N[e]t Proceeds of 100 hogsheads Tobo. I have consigned him by Two different Vessells, but if you remit your part he will retain so much less of our Money if you do not we must charge what he retains on your Acct. at the Current Exchange which is very dear. We also wrote to our T[homas] M[orris] and desired him to pay Mr. Etienne Cathalan of Marseilles the Cost of the Medicines he had sent you on our joint Acct. with directions that if you also shou'd remit him that Amount, to renew the supply of Medicines with one of the remittances & send them out to you. We also wrote T.M. to make paymt. to Mr Limozin of the whole or any part of the Goods he sent to you shou'd your remittances not come in time, & we directed him to call for the Funds we had been lodging

with Mr Delap for this purpose, these arrangements will ease you whilst you are in want of Money, & we shall charge you the Current Excha for whatever sum we may finally pay on your Acct. Your favour of the 6th June I have received and am glad to find Ord had made a beginning, hope your next will bring further Accounts of his Success and that it will be such as to enable your paying C[harles] W[illing] & the £1,500 on Acct of the State of Maryland without inconvenience for I am very anxious to have those two payments accomplished and beg you will spare no pains untill you get it done. This goes by Capt Deane who will tell you all the News therefore I need not write it nor indeed have I time to spare. I have given o[rders] for some further remittances to be [sent] you on our Account and when I know they are in execution shall write to you respecting them. I hope you may send the Medicines & Goods lodged with you by some fast sailing Vessells that will get in safe, they will answer finely & I am Dr Sir, Your Obedt hble servt.,

Rob Morris

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). Addressed: "To Wm. Bingham Esqr., American Resident at Martinico."

<sup>1</sup> For Morris' June 20 letter to Bingham, see these *Letters*, 7:236–39. His letter of the 26th was actually written on behalf of the firm Willing, Morris & Co., for which see *ibid.*, p. 239n.

## John Hancock to Horatio Gates

Sir

Philada. August 5th. 1777.

I inclose you sundry Resolutions of Congress respecting the Northern Department now under your Command<sup>1</sup> to which I Beg leave to Refer your Attention, and am with respect, Sir, Your very huml Servt.,

John Hancock Presidt

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Probably resolutions of both August 4 and 5, for which see *JCC*, 8:604, 614. For Gates' August 4 appointment to the northern command, see also these *Letters*, 7:412.

## Samuel Chase to Thomas Johnson

Dear Sir,

Philada. Septr. 3rd 1777. Wednesday Morning

Nothing has occurred since yesterday<sup>1</sup> of any Consequence. The Enemies main Body are now at the Head of Elk. All our Light Horse,

and a Brigade of 1,000 choice light Troops, commanded by Brigadier Maxwell are at Hill, about four Miles on this Side Head of Elk, on the Road to Christeen Bridge. The Enemy have an advanced Body, supposed 2,000, at a place called Greys Hill, about two Miles on this side Head of Elk.

I beleive it would be proper for You as soon as You can make up a Body of 500 to march them up to cover the Country from the Enemies left Wing.

Genl. Washington mentions, that he has no Accounts from the western or eastern Shore of our Militia. I know it would be agreeable to him to receive constant Information of what assistance he may expect from our State.

I beleive Congress will order an able Engineer, and a skilful Artillerist to repair to You to assist in the Defence of our Towns.

My Compliments to the Gentlemen of the Council.

Your Affectionate and Obedt. Servant, Saml. Chase

RC (DLC: Henry A. Willard Autograph Collection). Addressed: "His Excellency Thomas Johnson Esqr., Governor of Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland. To the Care of Mr Geo. Matthews."

<sup>1</sup> For Chase's September 2 letter to Johnson, see these *Letters*, 7:590–92.

## Committee of Congress to Richard Varick

Sir, State House, Philadelphia 5th. September 1777.

The Resolve of Congress which you will receive under this Cover will show that we are appointed a Committee & for what purposes.<sup>1</sup>

We request you to give us the fullest information you can on your particular department & by the earliest good opportunity. If you can assist us with authentic information on any other branch of enquiries which we are ordered to make, we further request you will add such to the former.

We are with great regard, Sir, Your most obedt. servants,

Henry Laurens

Richard Henry Lee

John Adams

RC (*Abraham Lincoln Book Shop Catalog*, no. 116, item 430, illustration).

<sup>1</sup> For the appointment and function of this committee to determine the state of the northern army, see these *Letters*, 7:601–2. For Varick's response, see *ibid.*, note 2.



Committee on Appeals Decree

September 8th. 1777.

William Coit &c. App[elle]es ad[versu]s James Perkins, John Timmings and Daniel Hubbard App[ellan]ts	}	In the Court of Commissioners of Appeals for the American States.
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At a Court held at the State-house in the City of Philadelphia on the sixth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven Before the honorable James Wilson, John Adams, Jonathan Sergeant and Thomas Burke Esquires, Commissioners appointed by the honorable Congress to hear, try and determine all Appeals from the Courts of Admiralty of the several American States Came the Parties Appellants in the above Cause by their Advocate and it appearing that sufficient Notice had been given to the Appellees (altho no person appeared on their part to support or sustain the Sentence pronounced by the Court of Admiralty of the State of Massachusetts Bay in the said Cause) the said Commissioners proceeded to the hearing of the said Advocate and after solemn Argument took Time to consider thereof and held the same under Advise-ment untill the eighth Day of September aforesaid.

At which Day the said Court being again met and the Advocate aforesaid attending their Honors the said Commissioners proceeded to the publication of their definitive Decree upon the said Appeal which being read and filed is in the Words following to wit.

William Coit &c. App[elle]es ads. James Perkins, John Timmings and Daniel Hubbard &c. App[ellan]ts	}	Appeal from the Court of Admiralty of the Southern District of Massachusetts Bay <sup>1</sup>
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We the Commissioners appointed by the honorable Congress to hear, try and determine all Appeals from the Courts of Admiralty of the several American States having heard and fully considered as well all and singular the Matters and Things contained and set forth in the Record or Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court aforesaid in the above Cause as the Argument of the Advocate on the part of the Appellants and no person appearing on the part of the Appellee in the Cause (altho' sufficient Notice appeared to have been given) do thereupon adjudge and decree that the Appeal of James Perkins, John Timmings and Daniel Hubbard entered in the above Cause be dismissed with Costs and that the Judgment or Sentence of the Court of Admiralty aforesaid be in all it's parts confirmed and established And We do adjudge and order that the said James Perkins, John Timmings

and Daniel Hubbard pay unto William Coit Libbellant in the above Cause thirty three Dollars for his Costs and Charges by him expended for that the said Appellants did not prosecute their Appeal by them entered in the said Cause &c.

James Wilson

John Adams

Tho. Burke

Tr (DNA: RG 267, case no. 14). In a clerical hand, and certified as a true copy by Andrew Robeson.

<sup>1</sup> On November 5, 1775, off the coast of Massachusetts, Capt. William Coit of the Continental schooner *Harrison* had captured the *Industry*, Capt. Charles Coffin, a Massachusetts schooner engaged in supplying the British forces at Boston. Judge Nathan Cushing, of the Massachusetts admiralty court at Plymouth, found for the captors October 23, 1776, condemning the *Industry* as a lawful prize and ordering one-third of her proceeds to the captors and two-thirds to the United States. This appeal of the *Industry*'s owners, James Perkins et al., had been referred on April 16, 1777, to the Committee on Appeals, which this day dismissed the appellants' claim and ordered them to pay Coit's costs of \$33. See Records of the Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture, RG 267, DNA, case no. 14 (*The Industry, Coffin, Master*); and JCC, 7:271-72.

## Richard Henry Lee to Philip Mazzei

[Philadelphia, September 9, 1777]

"Of your patriotism, and ability to serve America, I have no doubt, and have so spoken to my friends in Congress, but whilst I was last in Virginia all the appointments were filled up & sent."<sup>1</sup>

Tr (Mazzei Papers, DLC microfilm). In the hand of Philip Mazzei.

<sup>1</sup> Mazzei had written to Lee August 25, 1777, offering to serve America abroad in some unspecified capacity. Lee's response does not survive, but Mazzei appended the above extract from it at the end of his file copy of his letter, with the explanation: "Copy of a paragraph in answer to the above, dated Philadelphia Sept. 9, 1777." For Lee's view of Mazzei's possible employment abroad, see also these *Letters*, 11:22-23n.3.

## Richard Henry Lee to John Page

My dear Sir,

Philadelphia 16th. Sept. 1777

On the 11th instant Gen. Howe attacked our Army with his whole force on the Brandywine about 12 miles above Wilmington and about 25 miles from this City. The Cannonade began in the morning but the hottest of the battle not 'till about 4 in the Afternoon. After 4 hours severe conflict our Army retreated leaving the field with 9 pieces of Cannon to the enemy. Our loss does not exceed 600 in all, that of the enemy, from the best accounts, is not less than 2,000 killed &

wounded. What proves their loss to be very great, is their not having moved since the battle, altho their Tents & heavy baggage were left with their Ships in order to make a quick and desperate effort to gain this City: yet they have since the fight remained inactive, and suffered Gen. Washington to refresh his Army and return to attack them. He is now within 8 or 10 miles of them, his Troops in high spirits, and more eager for battle than before the late fight. We expect every day to have a good account of Gen. Howes shattered Army, but we are preparing for all events, by collecting reenforcements to give him a third battle, if the second does not content him. The Virginia troops have gained immortal honor, and the 3d commanded by Coll. Marshall, was *primus inter pares*, most of the Officers of that Regiment are wounded, & some killed. It appears that we lost the field by an unlucky change of disposition in a critical moment occasioned by a mistaken account of the enemies Movements. However, we have reason, upon the whole, to rejoice & be glad, since the enemies loss is incontestibly far greater than ours. Gen. Gates writes us that he is advancing in full force upon Burgoyne, and that a few days, perhaps hours he says, will determine whether the British General proposes to risk a battle or retreat to Ticonderoga. I have no doubt it will be the latter, if it can be effected. We have a Vessel arrived at Marble Head from Spain with Continental Stores consisting of about 3,000 blankets, Shoes, Hose, Hats, Stockings, Cordage, Tent cloth, Shirts, Anchors &c. &c. &c to a considerable Amount. And a Prize wth. 12,000 bushels of Salt is carried into Boston, bound to N. York from Liverpoole. The letters in this prize shew how completely the Ministry have deceived the people into a believe that America must be conquered this Campaign, in consequence of which their Merchants are speculating to a great amount. Farewell dear Sir,

Richard Henry Lee

P.S. I wrote to the Governor immediately after the late battle by Mr. Johnson of Port Royal.<sup>1</sup>

RC (CSmH: HM 22609).

<sup>1</sup> For this September 13 letter to Gov. Patrick Henry, see these *Letters*, 7:656.

## James Lovell to William Whipple

Dear Sir,

18th September [1777]

Nothing has occured Since I wrote to you last,<sup>1</sup> but I would not omit to give you assurances of my regard by so good an opportunity as that of Mr Frost. His honest heart will discover to you all the manoeuvres of Jemmy &c.<sup>2</sup> You will not be surprised; but I hope you will not think his influence increases; it is rather on the decline.

Howe is still aiming to get upon the right of our army which General Washington is determined against. The heavy rain yesterday prevented a general battle, an engagement with our picquets having commenced the day before.

As your eyes or your brother's are fitter than Esq Frost's to sketch the neighborhood of the armies I presented him with something pretty exact which you can borrow. It will aid you to comprehend our newspaper accounts if we ever have any. It is strange that no person from the Army has given us a history of last Thursday's affair. People in your part of the Continent will imagine much worse than it was. We are greatly deceived by deserters and scapes if the enemy are not 3,000 worse in the field than they were the day before the battle.

Love and compliments, from your friend & servt, J. L.

Tr (DLC: Peter Force Collection, Alfred Elwyn Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 7:687–88.

<sup>2</sup> That is, James Duane, and in the context of New York's New Hampshire Grants claims, for which see *ibid.*, 6:550–51n.2, 7:253, 260–61, 279, 284–86, 326–27. The subject was one in which Whipple was keenly interested, and on which he had written the following comments in a July 28, 1777, letter to an unidentified recipient, possibly Lovell or Josiah Bartlett.

"You leave me in the Dark about the N.H. Grants, is it possible that ——— can take up a matter of so delicate a nature at this critical juncture when every possible assistance is wanted from those People. It is really surprising that Gentn will suffer themselves to be imposed on by that infamous villain D[uane] who never deservd any thing better of America than a Halter. He is still persuing his old plan & I do most devoutly wish he may have his deserts and soon too, but I fear he will be permitted to do much mischief first, but let ——— do what they will in the matter, they may depend N.H. will Fight hard before she'll give up her claim especially to N.Y." Langdon–Elwyn Family Papers, NhHi.

## Committee of Commerce to Bernardo de Gálvez

Commercial Committee of Congress  
York in Pennsylvania October 24th. 1777

Sir

On the 12th June last we had the Honor to address your Excellency by Captain James LeMere agreeable to what is contained in the Annexed Copy of that Letter to which we pray your Excellency will be referred.<sup>1</sup> Since which we have been happy enough to receive your Letter of the 22nd June last.<sup>2</sup> It is unlucky for us in this place, where we have been Obligated to retire, there is not any Person sufficiently acquainted with the Spanish Language to produce a correct Translation of it, however we gather from it and from Mr. Pollocks Letters that part of the stores we had been advised would be sent out from Spain for our service, were arrived at New Orleans and more expected monthly. We perceive that Your Excellency has the charge of and will



deliver them to our order, and therefore take the Liberty of enclosing to your Excellency, A Certificate signed by the President of Congress, whereby you will perceive this business is committed to our Management, and as we could not think of Trespassing on your Time & in order to Occasion you as little trouble as possible we have employed Mr. Oliver Pollock who resides at New Orleans for our Agent;<sup>3</sup> and have Instructed him to Charter or buy Suitable Vessels to Transport these stores Coastwise until they can get into some of our Ports or Inlets to land them. He is Instructed<sup>4</sup> to consult Your Excellency in this business, and we pray your favourable attention to the business: that you will advise in all things needfull—aid and Protect the Ships, Cargoes, & Mr. Pollock if occasion shall so require.

We are compelled to go farther in our requests and beg that you will also supply him with money if it becomes necessary to defray the charges and Expences that will accrue on the transshipping of the stores. He must grant receipts for what you supply and we will repay the amount by our Agent at the Court of Spain.

We know not but you may be Instructed from thence to make such Advances, but at any rate we are well Assured your doing so will meet approbation there. We should not be under any necessity of this kind were our Ports open so that we could make exports of Flour as usual but at present the British ships of war are so numerous and strong on our Coast as to block up effectually all our Ports where Flour can be Shipped, However we have formed Plans (and are executing them) which will probably find our Enemies other employment for many of their ships; and when that happens we shall embrace the Opportunity most gladly of Sending Supplies of Flour to New Orleans understanding that you are in want thereof.

The Campaigne has opened both here and to the Northward since we wrote you before and been carried on with great vigour, many Battles have been won and lost by both sides, but at present General Howe and the Royals are in possession of the City of Philadelphia which occasions our being here. They have not however been able to get their ships up to that City, as we possess the Forts and passes on the River.

General Washington has now surrounded and will soon starve them out of the City; he will then Attack and we have the greatest reason to suppose he will do it Successfully. To the Northward Fortune has been more Favourable, all the Battles between Burgoyne and our General Gates terminated in our Favour and we have just received an Account that is Credited of the intire surrender of Burgoyne and his whole Army as Prisoners of War by Capitulation therefore having no Enemy left to trouble us in that quarter, General Gates can soon reinforce General Washington, and as we formerly mentioned there is little doubt but the Campaigne will close in our favour and that we shall in the end establish that Liberty we are so justly entitled to enjoy.

We are your Excellencys Most Obedient Servants,

Robt Morris

W. Smith

Henry Laurens

P.S. The Account of General Burgoynes Surrender is Confirmed and the Capitulation come to hand.

RC (Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 112—"Cartas de la Junta de Comercio nombrada por el Congreso de los Estados Unidos a don Bernardo de Gálvez"). In the hand of John Brown and signed by Henry Laurens, Robert Morris, and William Smith.

<sup>1</sup> See Secret Committee to Gálvez, June 12, 1777, above, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> See Secret Committee to Gálvez, June 12, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See these *Letters*, 8:171-72.

## Committee of Commerce to Bernardo de Gálvez

Sir  
Commercial Committee,  
York in Pennsylvania November 21st. 1777

The Honorable the Congress judging it expedient to introduce part of the Stores sent out from Spain to New Orleans for the use of these United States up the Rivers Mississippi and Ohio to Fort Pitt have directed us to address your Excellency on this subject, and in obedience to their Commands we send Mr. James Willing with these dispatches by the way of Fort Pitt,<sup>1</sup> from whence, we hope, he will have a quick passage down the River, and deliver them in due Time. By this conveyance we have wrote to our Agent Mr Oliver Pollock<sup>2</sup> and told him it is our wish, to bring about One third of the Stores by this Rout, and we Suppose Five or Six of the Boats usually employed in Such business will be necessary.

He will consult with your Excellency whether it may not be best to send them up as Spanish property under your protection as high up as any of your Forts; and your determination on this point must govern. We have directed that the Boats may be well Manned and Armed, and not overloaden. Great dispatch is essentially necessary as we are in great want of the Articles, therefore hope they will be sent off immediately. Mr Willing will recieve your Excellencys dispatches and bring them safe to us. We transmit herewith Copies of our Letters to your Excellency of the 12th June & 24th Ultimo<sup>3</sup> and confirm the Contents, to which please to be referred. Since the date of the last Letter we have lost one Fort on Delaware River but still possess the passes so that the Enemy cannot get their Shipping up to that City and as the reinforcements from General Gates Army are now joining General

Washington we hope soon to give A good Account of General Howe and his Army.

With perfect respect and Esteem we have the honor to remain, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and very humble servants,

Robt Morris

W. Smith

RC (Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo, 112—"Cartas de la Junta de Comercio nombrada por el Congreso de los Estados Unidos a don Bernardo de Gálvez"). In the hand of John Brown and signed by Robert Morris and William Smith.

<sup>1</sup> For which see these *Letters*, 8:297-98. For Willing's expedition down the Mississippi River and meetings with Gálvez and congressional agent Oliver Pollock, see Light Townsend Cummins, *Spanish Observers and the American Revolution, 1775-1783* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), pp. 84-89.

<sup>2</sup> See these *Letters*, 8:297-98.

<sup>3</sup> See Secret Committee to Gálvez, June 12; and Committee of Commerce to Gálvez, October 24, 1777, above.

## Robert Morris to John Langdon

Dear Sir,

Manheim in Pensylvania, Jany 28th. 1778

Upon the receipt of your favour of the 20th Decr. I wrote to some of my Friends in Congress enclosing your letter & pressing earnestly their attention to its contents and requesting them to influence the proposed Exchange between your Brother & Governor Franklin, and this day I had the satisfaction to receive the enclosed Note from Mr Gerry<sup>1</sup> and most sincerely congratulate you on your Brothers Fortunate Escape from his long confinement, My Compts to him & with the best Wishes for your success & happiness.

I remain Dr Sir, Your Obedt hble servt.,

Robt Morris

PS I beg my compts to our Worthy Friend Mr Whipple. I have not heard from him of a long time.

RC (NhHi: Langdon-Elwyn Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Elbridge Gerry's letter has not been found, but for a January 22 letter to Gerry from Morris supporting Langdon's proposal for exchanging his brother Woodbury for Gov. William Franklin, see these *Letters*, 8:620n.

## John Penn to Theodorick Bland, Jr.

Dear Sir

York Feby. 18th. 1778

Since my last<sup>1</sup> nothing of Consequence has happened, except Genl.

Howe's agreeing to an exchange of Prisoners; officers for officers, Soldiers for Soldiers, & Citizens for Citizens. Congress Resolved some days ago that as Genl. Howe had refused to suffer any clothing to be purchased for our men in Philada., he should not be allowed a Commissary to purchase any necessaries for his prisoners with us, but be obliged to send them himself, & that British prisoners in our hands should undergo the same treatment our's suffered with the enemy. Genl. Howe complimented Genl. Washington in high terms but cast reflections on Congress, he was answered by our General, that he should always resent any affront offered the Representatives of a Free people under whose authority he acted, & that he had avoided ever saying any thing against the Conduct of those whom General Howe served. I never have recd. one letter from you since you left this place. Our Committee is still at the Camp, my best wishes attend you & your Lady to whom I beg to be remembered.

I am with great respect, Dear Sir, Your obedt Serv

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). In the hand of John Penn, signature clipped.

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 9:42.

## Gouverneur Morris to Benedict Arnold

Sir, Moore Hall, camp, Valley Forge, 21st Feb. 1778.

I Received your favour<sup>1</sup> yesterday evening, and do assure you upon my honour, that your sentiments perfectly accord with my own, upon the subject of that fatal or ill-fated expedition; for one or the other it must be, since it is necessary that we should destroy it, or it will destroy us. Your plan of turning the force collected at Albany, to the southward, is wise. It cannot fail of success; the other must. I wish I could be on the floor at congress to support your opinion, not as well as it deserves, but as well as the little abilities I am master of, will permit. And here let me add, that I shall always be happy to support the opinions and the interests of him, whose conduct and valour have saved the state I represent, at the expence of his blood. I am confined at this place by the business of the army,<sup>2</sup> which is in the uttermost confusion. Neglect in the commissaries, worse in the quartermasters, disputed rank and relaxed discipline, form the great outlines of the picture. Fill this up with as dead a colouring as you like, and it will not surpass the truth. This is not the first American army that has looked ill; and the time will come when it will shine. You and Lincoln must patch up your broken shins, and come to our assistance very early the next campaign. Howe, I believe, means to push us early; so that it is possible we may cut him up nicely. I hear some cloathing is arrived to the southward. We have taken every measure in our power to ruin the



Canada expedition. Excuse blunders of every kind; for I write in a hurry, and in company.

Your friend,

Gouv. Morris.

MS not found; reprinted from Francis Bailey's *Freeman's Journal* (Philadelphia), July 18, 1781. Addressed: "Benjamin [*sic*] Arnold, esq. major general, Albany."

<sup>1</sup> Not identified. Arnold was at Albany at this time recuperating from wounds received at Saratoga (Bemis Heights) October 7, 1777.

<sup>2</sup> For Morris' appointment to the committee at camp which was conferring with General Washington at Moore Hall while the army was in winter quarters at Valley Forge, see these *Letters*, 8:673–75n.1.

## Edward Langworthy to William Palfrey

February 25, 1778

[At its sale, this document was described as "A letter written and signed by Langworthy as a delegate to the Continental Congress . . . to Pay Master-General, Colonel William Palfrey, at Camp (Valley Forge. . . . This letter was sent to Col. Palfrey explaining the forwarding of a large sum of money from Congress already advanced to General Mifflin . . . the result of a request by (Col. Henry Emmanuel Luterloh)." *Heritage Collector's Society Catalog*, September 1985, item 41.] For Langworthy's correspondence with Palfrey, see also these *Letters*, 9:249–51, 311–12.

## William Duer to Robert Morris

My Dear Sir,

York Town 12th. April [1778]

I have forborn acknowledging the Receipt of yours by Dr. Burke<sup>1</sup>—inclosing a Letter from our Freind Duane, but I had determin'd, if possible, to pay you a Visit at Manheim. Chase and myself often having been disapp[ointe]d in our Resolution several Times had determined absolutely to have set out this Day; but the ill Aspect of the Weather giving us Reason to apprehend that we should be detain'd longer than we coud spare from the public Business, we have with great Reluctance given up our hopes of paying you a Visit till the End of the Week. It is said that my Freind Goveneur Morris is at your *Chateau*—for the Sake of our Country, my dear Morris, entreat him to push on and come with him yourself. From a Want of Representation in the State of New York, and several other Emba[rr]assments we cannot bring on many Matters absolutely essential to our Safety without you especially the Establishment for the Army. I am desired by all your Friends in Congress to press you on this Matter; and I flatter myself we

shall not plead in Vain. If G Morris should be at Lancaster pray Write to him in the most pressing Terms to come forward. I send Mrs. Morris by the Bearer an Small Parcel which Mrs. Wood at Readg. desired me to deliver, and which *I Quid nunc like* I absolutely forgot when I was at your House. I am sorry to hear of her Indisposition, but hope she has by before this perfectly recover'd. My dear Friend, don't fail to accompany Mrs. Morris; ten or Twelve Days of your Joint Attendance will do more good than Six Months of your Presence One Month hence.<sup>2</sup>

I am with great Affection, Yours

Wm. Duer.

RC (VtU: McCullough Collection). Addressed: "To The Honble. Robert Morris, at Mannheim." For an extract from this text, see these *Letters*, 9:404.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Morris returned to attend Congress briefly at York May 13–15.

His Mannheim correspondence also included the following letter to his Baltimore business partner Jonathan Hudson written May 8, reproduced here from the description and extracts provided from an autograph catalog.

"Morris opens his analysis with comments on British motives in sending the Carlisle commission to attempt reconciliation with the Americans: '... It appears to me that a French War is inevitable or else Great Britain must acknowledge our Independence on the same liberal & generous principles that the French have done, and altho' they may be glad to do this hereafter, yet I do not think the Pride & Dignity of that Nation can now be sufficiently humbled to do it at this era. Consequently when their Commissioners will arrive here, they will not be invested with such Powers as will enable them to make Peace on terms that we shall claim. I think they dare not send British Troops to reinforce those already in America, because those will probably be wanted to defend their own Country, and from the Posture of affairs in Europe, they will not be able to procure many Foreigners. Our Army is & will be stronger than theirs and I think they cannot stay this Summer in Philadelphia. Next Winter however they dare not tarry there, but as they know their own Strength & Superiority at Sea, I think it probable they will withdraw their Troops, increase the Number of Cruizers and Watch our Trade more narrowly than ever. If the French & Spaniards engage in the War as I think they inevitably must, they will certainly open our Bays & Rivers by sending strong Fleets to Convoy the Trade, but this can only be occasional & the greater part of our time we may expect to be blocked up. . . .'

"He then proceeds to the implications of recent events for public credit: 'You are now to Consider the Independancy of America as established by being acknowledged by some of the greatest Powers in Europe. . . Consequently our Public Security as a Nation is become vastly more valuable than it was, Individuals will think it so & throw in their Money to the Loan Offices, this will lessen the Necessity of further emissions, and if the War shou'd become entirely Naval, our expences will be trifling. . . Taxes will be Collected and the quantity of Circulating Money reduced. . . ' Morris looks forward to the swift recovery of the value of Continental currency: 'I infer that so soon as the People begin to think our Money will retrieve its original Value, the Planters & Manufacturers of America will be eager to turn their several Commodities into Money which they bear high prices & on the Contrary, Speculators will think their Money too Valuable to part with, unless on terms that hold up manifest advantage. . . ' He instructs his commercial agent in Baltimore on the course to be followed in his private business ventures: 'Shou'd you meet with opportunities of buying fast Sailing Boats of the Virginia Pilot Boat Construction. . . cheap. . . I wou'd advise you to purchase because I think from the reasons already given such Boats will maintain their Value. But with respect to purchasing Imported Goods at this time on Speculation I am much puzzled, they are now very dear, an European war or American Peace will produce greater plenty than we now

have and one or other of those must happen. I think therefore it may be as well to wait a while longer for there is a Critical time in Speculations when a Man shou'd strike & being too quick is as bad as being too slow.'" *Sotheby's Catalog*, March 27, 1985, item 266.

## Gouverneur Morris to George Clinton

*York Town, 1 May 1778.* A letter from Gouverneur Morris "as Member of the Continental Congress to Governor [George Clinton], expressing the hope that Congress will deal suitably with them when occasion arises and suggesting that the Legislature will soon have to be convened ('...The greatest possible Exertions should be made from every Quarter. This is the last Campaign in which we shall struggle for Life Thereafter we shall meerly follow Glory...'); he offers congratulations on the treaties concluded with the King of France ('...He hath behaved very much like a Gentleman and deserves the grateful Acknowledgements of every American...'); he also notes the potential usefulness of a meeting with Jay, Livingston and Gates."

MS not found; reprinted from description and extracts in *Sotheby's Catalog*, July 23–24, 1987, item 403.

## John Hancock to Dorothy Hancock

My Dear Dolly,

*Philadelphia* June 29th. 1778, Monday Mornng

I did not expect so early to have Dated a Letter to you from this place, I arriv'd here on Saturday Eveng. The Day I reach'd Congress at York Town<sup>1</sup> we had an Accot. of the Evacuation of Philada. Congress then Determin'd to Celebrate the 4th July at Philada. & fix'd on a certain Day to Adjourn from York Town; & as it was necessary some Gentlemen of Congress should early repair to Philada to order the necessary preparations for the Celebration of the Anniversary of Independence, they Appointed Mr Duer, Mr Matthews of South Carolina & myself, & after tarrying one Week at York Town we Set off from thence & got here on Saturday Afternoon, I could not get Lodgings to my mind, & have been with Mr Stephen Collins who has been kind enough to Lodge me untill I could Accommodate myself. I shall remove to Mrs. House's in a day or two. The City is not much Injur'd, but the amazing Quantity of Flies left in it makes the City very disagreeable, & it is moreover exceedingly hot. The Enemy are Marching thro' part of the Jersies, their Men Desert prodigiously fast, upwards of 500 have come into this City, & it is computed that near if not more



than 1,000 have already Deserted; General Washington is near the Enemy, several Skirmishes have happened; & this moment an Express comes in who Says after he left the Army he heard a heavy firing which continued some time; that we momentarily expect important Advices, if we can *Burgoyne* this Army it will be a fine Affair. This moment 38 Deserters come in, their Army lessens exceedingly fast. Congress will meet here on Thursday next, & on Saturday our Celebration Day. I have seen many of our old Friends, who are exceedingly pleas'd with the Change of Affairs; the Woman (I forget her name) who liv'd above us, & was so helpful when our Child lay dead, is very well, & was much pleas'd to see me, begs to be remembred to you. Mrs Collins begs her Compliments. to you, as does Mrs. Yard, the latter is going into the Country for her health. I shall write you very particularly by Post, this I Send by the way of Providence by a Gentleman who promises to send it to you. I beg you write me very often, My Dear, I have the pleasure to Tell you that my Health is really better'd by the Journey, pray God it may continue to Advance. Do let me know whether you have got abroad, & the Sunday you first get to meeting, Remember me in yo[u]r prayers. How is our dear little Boy John, pray take care of him. My Love to Mrs. Brackett, beg her to Remain with you, I really Regard her. I long to hear from you, not a word nor a Line yet from you since I left Boston. Don't forget me, My Dear, do give me very frequent Letters. How is the whole Family, give me a particular Accot. of every thing. I want some good Cherries, I hope you have feasted on them. Remember me to Mr Bant, and my Bror. & all Friends. I write this in the Quar Masrs. Office, & the Gentleman is waiting, I can't add, only my earnest & sincere Desire that you will use every means for the Advancing your health, & making your self happy. This is my Ninth Letter, pray write me often. I am worried with the Flies, there is no Eating or Drinking without their Company.

I wish to hear from you by every Oppory.

I am my dear Dolly; with the most sincere Attachment & highest Affection, Yours for ever.

John Hancock

[P.S.] My poor Ned is sadly disappointed, Sally is married to an English Lighthorseman, & gone off with them; & Hannah the Molatto Girl who liv'd with us is also married to one of the same Corps, & gone off. Matthews my Barber & his wife are gone with the Enemy, & a Number of others, & many have tarried behind who I hope will be made Examples of, but I will be more particular in my next; the Gentleman waits, I must Seal up. Pray write me often, JH

Sally carried off all Ned's things he left with her.



## Titus Hosmer to Jeremiah Wadsworth?

*Philadelphia, July 19, 1778.* "Mr. Kellogg sent me your favour of the 11th instant, with a message that I might find him at the Indian Queen. I have not seen him. Your letter to Congress was read and referred to the committee of the Treasury<sup>1</sup>. . . . They say they put a warrant into Capt. Tracy's hands at York for two million dollars in your favour. . . . If Capt. Tracy applies to me I shall cheerfully do what is in my power to help him; which as far as I can judge at present is very little. . . . I am plunged into the ocean of Congress. It is a maze, a labyrinth of which I have not yet got hold of the clue. Some business is done in Congress, some in committee and boards. I am labouring to explore these different powers and provinces, but make very slow progress. As I have no desire, expectation or design of making a long residence with them, I am almost tempted to give over the search & let the world run its own course without giving myself any trouble about it. Our friend Mr. Dean is here with a minister from France to Congress.<sup>2</sup> He has the most decisive proof of the friendship of the King & Court of France to him personally as well as to the states. . . . he is well received here by a considerable number of gentlemen who within are full of envy, malice and all uncharitableness towards him. . . . The French fleet will give you some trouble, I fear. I wish you may be able to furnish them with what they call for, but I confess I don't know where the supplies for them are to be found without distressing our own army. If you can furnish me with any clue, I will very attentively watch any designs that may be formed against you. I would do this from motives which respect the public good only, as well as from personal friendship. . . . I am yet a mere freshman. The northern delegates are kind enough to assist me in the system of politics I am to form. I listen attentively. They talk freely and answer my questions. If they are embarked on any plot, I believe in the character of a pupil I can now get at the bottom of it. . . ."

MS not found; reprinted from extract in *Graham Arader Catalog*, no. 88 (spring 1989): item 70. See also these *Letters*, 10:337n.

<sup>1</sup> If Jeremiah Wadsworth was the recipient of this letter, the receipt of his July 11 letter is recorded on the journals of Congress for July 15 at *JCC*, 11:692. It was referred to the board of treasury, but is not in the *PCC* and there is no other mention of it in the journals. The case for Wadsworth's identity as the recipient of this letter is also supported by the fact that as commissary general of the Continental Army he was one of the few persons to whom such a large sum as two million dollars, the subject of this letter, could have been appropriated.

<sup>2</sup> For the arrival of Silas Deane and Conrad-Alexandre Gérard July 11, see these *Letters*, 10:262.

## Nicholas Van Dyke to Caesar Rodney

Honor'd Sir,

12 Sept. 1778

I should have wrote you before this, but have waited hitherto that I might be able to write fully & in Concurrence with my Colleague,<sup>1</sup> respecting the Matters from our State. He lives about a Mile out of Town, & the Indisposition of his Family has prevented his Attendance in Congress all this Week untill yesterday. The Application respecting Mr. McKinly our late Presidt. is to be taken up this Morning & from the Appearance of things I have great reason to expect Success for him.<sup>2</sup> Chandler's Affair also has been attended to, so as to have right done & the civil Authority of our State supported,<sup>3</sup> but I could wish the Civil Authority had committed the Offinders, & shewn a little more Resolution on that Occasion; we shall also pay due Attention to every other Matter & write you thereon in a day or two.

You doubtless have heard that the Report of the Arrival of Part of Byron's Fleet was premature & not true, it is currently reported the Enemy are about to evacuate Newyork, & there is some Reason to believe it, their Destination is a Subject of Conjecture, some suppose for the West Indies, others Hallifax & Qubec, they have lately, carried off or stole all the Cattle, Sheep & Hogs & Forrage on Long Island from East to West, they have been preparing light Cloathing for the Troops.

I am Sir, your Excellency's Most Obedt.,      Nichols. Van Dyke

RC (VtU: McCullough Collection).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Thomas McKean.

<sup>2</sup> For Congress' approval September 14 of the proposed exchange of former Delaware president John McKinly for William Franklin, the last royal governor of New Jersey, see these *Letters*, 10:481n.13.

<sup>3</sup> In response to a letter from President Rodney protesting the seizure of property from Delaware citizen James Chandler by Continental soldiers from Pulaski's Legion, Congress on September 15 ordered delivery of two accused soldiers to state authorities at Wilmington, "to be dealt with according to [Delaware] law." *JCC*, 12:916.

## Henry Laurens to Richard Caswell

Sir

Philadelphia 7th October 1778

The Act of Congress which I had the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency in my Letter of the 4th Instant for continuing the Embargo &c.<sup>1</sup> was deficient of one Clause, which the Paper inclosed herein is intended to supply and to which I beg leave to refer.

I have the honor to be, With great Esteem & Regard, Sir, Your Excellency's Obedient & most humble servant,

Henry Laurens,  
President of Congress

P.S. Your Excellency will also receive inclosed an Act of the 5th Instant for exchanging with Continental Currency [su]ch local Bills of Credit as have been [recei]ved in the Loan Office of each State [respe]ctively.<sup>2</sup>

E N C L O S U R E

The following\* is part of an Act of Congress of the 2nd October 1778 "for continuing the present Embargo and for other purposes therein mentioned"—omitted in the Copy transmitted the 4th Instant to North Carolina: to follow the words—"the Persons applying for the same comply with the following stipulations to wit."

\*"1st That the Shipper or Shippers of the Cargo solemnly make Oath that no part of the flour or grain proposed to be shipt has been purchased or contracted for since the 10th day of October 1778."

Certified Henry Laurens, President.

RC (Nc-Ar: General Assembly Records).

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 11:18.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 12:983.

## Henry Laurens to Richard Caswell

Sir

16th October 1778

I beg leave to refer you to the above<sup>1</sup> which has been lying for the present conveyance. I have now the honor of inclosing an Act of this date for preventing the spreading of seditious Papers in these States by the Enemy under the Mask of a Flag of Truce or otherwise, and for punishing Persons detected in attempts to disperse such Papers.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honor to be, With very great Esteem & Respect, Sir, Your Excellency's Obedt. & most humble servt.,

Henry Laurens,  
President of Congress.

RC (Nc-Ar: General Assembly Records).

<sup>1</sup> For this October 13 circular letter to the states, see these *Letters*, 11:54.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 12:1015-16.

## Samuel Holten to John Hancock

Dear Sir

Philadelphia Novr. 3d, 1778.

The letter you was so kind as to forward from Mrs. Holten came safe to hand, and I feel my self under obligation, for your care in that respect.

I was in hopes to have had the pleasure of seeing you here this fall, but by the account Mr. Hudson gives me, I do not expect it; I can however put up with the disappointment the better when I consider, that by your being present at our Court the state (I make no doubt) will receive assential service.

Congress have received a packet of letters and papers from Mr. J. Adams, but they contain no intelligences of any great importance; It yet remains uncertain as to the intentions of the Court of Spain, respecting our affairs.

Your noticing the inclosed directed to Mrs. Holten,<sup>1</sup> so far, as to cause it to be delivered to Colo. Hutchinson, or the Honl. Mr. Hopkins, will be considered as a favor. I inclose you the paper of this morning but I believe it contains but little intelligence.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect your most obedient Servt.,  
S. Holten

RC (DSI: Walter Fuller Don Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## Richard Hutson to John Hancock

Dr. Sir,

Philadelphia Novr. 3d 1778.

I arrived in this City the 19th Ult. after an agreeable Journey of sixteen days.<sup>1</sup> My unsettled Situation since my Arrival must apologize for delaying so long the Performance of my Promise of writing to you. Our quondam Lodgings being full when I arrived, I was reduced to the necessity of putting up at a Tavern, where I remained 'till Sunday last, when to my infinite satisfaction I got possession again of my old Room. Permit me, Sir, to take this Opportunity, to express the grateful sense I have of the very kind and polite Treatment which I received from you and your amiable Lady while at your House. I often reflect with Pleasure and Regret, on the Halcyon Days I spent at Boston. Major White who arrived here on Thursday last encourages me to expect the Pleasure of your Company here very soon. If you would chuse



to have a Room engaged for you here, you'll please inform me by the earliest Opportunity, as Mrs. House has a Croud of Applications every day, and not having heard from you on that subject, as you gave her Reason to expect, she is at a loss how to act. Congress is growing thinner every day. Col. Lee sets off for Home This Morning. Mr. Mathewes will take his departure on Sunday se'nnight next. Mr. Laurens moved Yesterday for the Election of a new President, but he was, on motion, requested to continue in the Chair till the Confederation takes place,<sup>2</sup> which happy Event is considered as not very distant; as the Assemblies of the three delinquent States Jersey, Maryland and Delaware are all now sitting. We have spent one Day, some time since, on General Lee's Trial, but have not got over the Threshold yet. His Patience is almost exhausted, and he begins to be urgent. Indeed I do not wonder at it. I have not heard a Lisp of Mr. Deane's Business in Congress since my Return. Monsieur Gerard has been at Death's Door, with a nervous Fever, but is happily on the Recovery. My most respectful Compliments wait on Mrs. Hancock. Pray remember me to your Brother, Mr. Bant, Doctor Cooper & his Brother &c. &c. &c.

I am, Sir, with the sincerest esteem, your very humble sert.,

Richd Hutson

RC (DSI: Walter Fuller Don Collection).

<sup>1</sup> The first mention of Hutson in the journals after his return to Congress is on October 21 (*JCC*, 12:1037), but on the basis of this statement he probably attended on Tuesday October 20 as well.

<sup>2</sup> This effort of Henry Laurens to step down as president of Congress was treated in volume 11 of these *Letters* under the conjectural date October 31. In light of this explanation by Hutson, the resolution printed there should have been dated November 2. See these *Letters*, 11:153.

## Henry Laurens to William Alexander

My Lord,

Philadelphia 24th. Novr 1778.

I had the honor of writing to you the 21st<sup>1</sup> & yesterday of receiving Your Lordship's favor of that date<sup>2</sup> with the Papers referred to. It would seem as if the event fortunate to us in the dispersion & distress of Admiral Byrons Fleet is nevertheless likely to be attended by the inconvenience of detaining the Enemy's Garrisons at New York.

Your Lordship will receive with this two of Dunlap's Papers of the day & also a Copy of the Treaties of Amity & Commerce & of Alliance eventual & defensive between his Most Christian Majesty & the United States of America, this is part of my private quota of the Number Printed & distributed among the States & present Members of Congress, & as Congress have restricted the number of Copies & forbid a general publication, I beg Your Lordship will keep this Copy in

your own hands 'till we see what the States shall determine. I am of opinion that each of them will order new publications for the information of their Citizens respectively, in my opinion the present situation of our affairs suggests that it ought to be so, & I wish it were in my power with propriety to send you a few spare Copies for the benefit of your Neighbors. Mr. Rivington will otherwise soon poison the minds of his Readers with spurious peices.

By Letters from a very intelligent correspondent in Holland of the 19th August & anterior dates in the same Month we are assured that those United States will not renew their late prohibition to the exportation of Warlike Stores to these, that their ports are open for the reception of our Ships & products & that the Council were balancing on the great question of recognizing the Independ[en]cy of North America. Could we now or would we, reassume that Spirit of Virtue, Patriotism & Œconomy which we pretended to possess in 1775. Peace would soon be at our Command, but alas! avarice overflows, & indeed My Lord our circumstances are deplorable, Monopolizers, speculators, & delinquents for unaccounted Millions, together with a general supineness in all the States, alarm us with a prospect far more wretched than our strongest fears had presented at our first entrance into this arduous contest & unless Patriotism will arise & cleanse the Augean Stable we shall soon be huddled into a Chaos.

I have the honor to be, With the greatest Respect & Esteem, Sir,  
Your Lordship's Obliged & obedt. servant, Henry Laurens

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). Addressed: "The Right Honorable the Earl of Stirling, Elizabeth Town."

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 11:234.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Stirling's November 21 letter to Laurens is in the Laurens Papers, no. 18, ScHi.

## Oliver Ellsworth to John Dunlap

[ante December 12, 1778]

To the PRINTER.

Observing that Mr. Deane in his late publication says that it is probable that the Honorable William Lee, Esquire, Commissioner of the United States at the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, and Commercial Agent for the Congress in Europe, still holds the office of Alderman of the city of London,<sup>1</sup> I have consulted on this point the Royal Kalender, or Annual Register, for the year 1778, and find the following list of Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London for the year 1778.

The Right Honorable Sir James Esdaile, Knight, Lord Mayor.

Wards.

Bridge Without,	Robert Alsop, Esq. Father of the city.
Farringdon Within,	William Bridger, Esq.
Portsoken,	Right Hon. Thomas Harley.
Bread-street,	Brass Crosby Esq.
Bishops Gate,	James Townshend, Esq.
Queenhithe,	Frederick Bull, Esq.
Farringdon Without,	John Wilkes, Esq.
Langhorn, <sup>2</sup>	John Sawbridge, Esq.
Aldersgate,	Sir Thomas Halifax.
Recorder,	John Glynn, Esq.
Cripplegate,	Sir James Esdaile.
Castle-Baynard,	Samuel Plumbe, Esq.
Cornhill,	Brackley Kennett, Esq.
Cheap,	John Kirkman, Esq.
Billingsgate,	Richard Oliver, Esq.
Lime-street,	Sir Watkin Lewis.
Bassishaw,	William Plomer, Esq.
Walbrook,	Nathaniel Thomas, Esq.
Coleman-street,	Robert Peckham, Esq.
Cordwainer,	George Hayley, Esq.
Vintry,	Nathaniel Newnham, Esq.
Aldgate,	WILLIAM LEE, Esq.
Broad-street,	Richard Clarke, Esq.
Bridge Within,	Thomas Wooldridge, Esq.
Dowgate,	John Hart, Esq.
Candlewick,	Thomas Wright, Esq.
Tower,	Evan Pugh, Esq.

\*Cum tot sustineas, et tanta negotia solus, ———— in  
 publica commoda peccem. Si longo sermone morer tua tempora,  
 Cæsar. Hor.<sup>3</sup> OBSERVATOR.<sup>4</sup>

MS not found; reprinted from John Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet; or the General Advertiser*, December 12, 1778, where it was printed over the pseudonym "Observator."

<sup>1</sup> For the stir that was created over the appearance of this item publicizing William Lee's status as an Alderman of London, see these *Letters*, 11:344–45n.2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Langborne.

<sup>3</sup> Horace, *Epistles* III.1–4. "Seeing that you alone carry the weight of so many great charges. . . I should sin against the public weal if with long talk, O Caesar, I were to delay your busy hours." *Horace, Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932), pp. 396–97.

<sup>4</sup> For Oliver Ellsworth's identity as "Observator," see these *Letters*, 11:490n.1, 519n.2.

## Committee of Congress to John Houstoun

Sir,

Philaa. 1st. Jany. 1778 [1779].<sup>1</sup>

Having in a former Letter<sup>2</sup> to your Excellency suggested the Necess-

sity of continuing the Embargo on Rice for an unlimited Period—We have now to observe that the several Purposes for which it was required will in our Opinion be fully answered by the 20th Day of Feby. at which Day we could wish it were taken off but without any previous Notice since thereby much Advantage would be taken by Engrossers upon the Public. In Order to releive the State over which you preside from the disagreeable Situation of having an Embargo on one of her staple Commodities as soon as possible we have taken this earliest Opportunity to give your Excellency the necessary Information. We add that in our Opinion the Exportation of that Article will greatly releive the Necessities of the Northern States exhausted by this cruel War.

With the greatest Respect, we are, your Excellency's Most obedient and humble Servants,

Nath. Scudder

Gouv Morris

Wm. Whipple

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). Addressed: "His Excellency the Governor of Georgia." Written by Morris and signed by Morris, Scudder, and Whipple.

<sup>1</sup> For the November 10, 1778, appointment of this committee to superintend the commissary and quartermaster departments, see these *Letters*, 11:201n.

<sup>2</sup> Not found; but for the congressional resolution upon which this former recommendation was based, see *JCC*, 12:1121.

## William Whipple to Josiah Bartlett

*Philadelphia, 18 January 1779.* "He is concerned that their correspondence is being tampered with: 'The circumstances you mention leaves [sic] no doubt that some Villainies have been practiced at some post office or on the Road between this & N. Hampshire nor do I think it would be very difficult to guess where, perhaps *our* correspondence may be intercepted in the same manner. . . I shall in future number my letters as above. . .' He asks to be kept informed of 'any interesting acts that passed last Sessions' of the state legislature. 'The Plan of Finance that was under consideration. . . has been sent' to Bartlett, though 'not so well dressed as was intended' because some States 'had rather their constituents should have a naked Bird than wait a week for the Plumage. . .' Whipple inquires about new members of the state assembly and warns that 'Circumstances may cause an alteration in the conduct of men without changing their Principles. I need not caution you against men of that Character—we ought to be particularly careful not to place too great confidence in those who are not fully established in true Republican Principles, even 'tho they may fall in (at this late hour) with the spirit of the times. . . in my judgement such characters cannot be too carefully guarded against, such



no doubt are to be found in every State and will be creeping, or forcing themselves into public life. . . I know you have seen instances where the Blackest designs have been hid under the cloak of Patriotism, & violent Patriotism too. . . ' He assures Bartlett that he points out this danger only from 'a sincere affection for my Country and zealous desire to see Republicanism established in the highest perfection. . . ."

MS not found; reprinted from description and extracts in *Christies' Catalog*, December 14, 1984, p. 107.

## Oliver Ellsworth to David Ellsworth

Dear Brother,

Philada. Jany. 26t. 1779.

I thank you for your Letter of the 17t Inst. & rejoice with you in the happy prospects you have before you. How much so ever I wish to be present on the joyful occasion, I pray you not to delay it a single day for my coming. Tho' I expect to be at home the latter end of next month, perhaps I may not be releived so soon, or be otherwise disappointed.

I have no news to communicate. Every body is now thinking & talking about the paper currency. I have written my thoughts upon it in a short piece signed Observator, which has been published here, & probable [probably] will be also in the Hartford newspaper.<sup>1</sup>

My duty to our honored parents, & respects to our Brother & Sister Mather.

I am Dear Sir, your most hearty well wisher,

Oliver Ellsworth

RC (DNDAR: Ellsworth Collection). Addressed: "Mr. David Ellsworth, Windsor, Connecticut."

<sup>1</sup> For Ellsworth's "Thoughts on the Paper Currency," which was published over his pseudonym "Observator" in the January 26 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet* and the March 9 issue of the *Connecticut Courant*, see these *Letters*, 11:487-90, 518-19. See also Ellsworth to John Dunlap, December 12, 1778, above.

## John Jay to Sarah Jay

*Philadelphia, January 31, 1779.* "Company or business leaves me so few leisure moments that I am determined to devote the present to you, and not postpone writing to another opportunity, which may not happen these three or four days. I am now perfectly alone, and to tell the truth enjoy it. Either my room-mate or other friends, or persons on business are usually with me. Your favor. . . came to hand last night.

... Why did not your last contain a bill of health? Brockholst is just come in—he tells me Sukey informs him that your Mama has been sick, and others of the family indisposed. I hope you have escaped. Peter it seems has had his share—These are unpleasant circumstances and I lament them. Two letters from your father were delivered me by... Mr. D. Harte this morning. They dine with me tomorrow. I was the more happy to see them as they told me you were well. Sally! The charms of this grey city would please me more if you partook of them. I am afraid to think of domestic happenings; it is a subject which presents to my imagination so many shades of departed joys, as to excite sensations very improper to be indulged by a person in my station, determined at every hazard to persevere in the pursuit of that great object to which we have sacrificed so much. The soft ideas of peace and tranquility, and more mild senses which health and youth and love and innocence blessed with affluence create, must for the present be faintly remembered, and never suffered to take possession of our minds. Let us refer these contemplations to some future less tempestuous season and in these rough times think of nothing so much as how to move... thro' the spheres assigned us; action, firmness and neglect of those little luxuries and pleasures which relax and enfeeble the mind, now becomes us and should mark our conduct. Resigned to the will and confiding to the wisdom and goodness of Providence, let us cheerfully travel through the world in any road unto which He may think proper to lead us. That part of it in which we are now journeying is to be sure not very desirable, but who knows, perhaps a few miles may carry us beyond the present adversities and the remainder of the way be as pleasant as this part is otherwise. I am interrupted. God bless you...."

MS not found; reprinted from extract in *Kenneth W. Rendell Catalog*, no. 172 (July 1985), item 71.

## John Jay to George Clinton

February 9, 1779

[At its sale this document was described as a "Draft of an Autograph Letter (unsigned), as President of the Continental Congress to General George Clinton, concerning General Israel Putnam, enclosing (not present) a Resolution of Congress of January 30, 1779, empowering the Government to give warrants on goods 'taken from Inhabitants on this River for the use of Troops after Reduction of Fort Montgomery,'" *R. M. Smythe Catalog*, no. 80 (May 27, 1989), item 172.] For the resolution Jay enclosed, see *JCC*, 13:124–25.

## Committee of Congress to Caesar Rodney

Sir,

Philadelphia 11th Feby. 1779

We inclose you the copy of a Letter from Francis Wade Deputy Quarter [Master] General to the President of Congress, which hath been for that purpose referred to us.<sup>1</sup> We cannot but lament that no salutary Provisions have been hitherto devised to put a stop to the dangerous practices complained of.

We must in duty to the Public again thro' your Excellency reiterate our Requests that the Legislature of the State of Delaware will attend to this important object.

We are Sir respectfully, Your very humble Servants,

Gouvr Morris

Wm. Whipple

Francis Lightfoot Lee<sup>2</sup>

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). Written by Lee and signed by Lee, Morris, and Whipple. Addressed: "Govr. of Delaware."

<sup>1</sup> For the referral of this letter, which is not in the PCC, to the committee February 8, see *JCC*, 13:150.

<sup>2</sup> For the November 10, 1778, appointment of this committee to superintend the commissary and quartermaster departments, see these *Letters*, 11:201n. Lee replaced Nathaniel Scudder on the committee January 23. *JCC*, 13:103.

## John Jay to Sarah Jay

*Philadelphia, March 5, 1779.* "It is now near nine o'clock, my fellow lodgers out, and what seldom happens—I am perfectly alone and pleasing myself with the prospect of spending the remainder of the evening in writing a letter to you. As it rains and snows there is less probability of being interrupted. . . . Could I be certain that this letter would be read by none but yourself, it would be long and perhaps entertaining. It would contain many little anecdotes which prudence forbids me to commit to paper, and must be reserved to those social hours which I hope we shall soon pass together. These restraints are very unpleasant, tho' I confess the tale of my two letters to you which fell into the enemy's hands at Elizabethtown tends to reconcile me not a little to that caution in writing which, tho' disagreeable, I have long practiced. They contain nothing improper to be published, and if printed without an alteration it would give me no concern to see them in a newspaper. . . . Kitty [Livingston]. . . is still at Raritan, waiting for an opportunity to return. As the story goes, Mr. Duer was to have accompanied her. . . but has hitherto been prevented. I wish to know

the particulars of Susan's convention with Lord Cathcart. It is said she had the advantage of him in the treaty, and displayed much fortitude as well as address on the occasion. Pray how did John Lawrence fare? We hear he was in the house and was made a prisoner. Did they release or carry him off? One of your late letters informs me that Doctor Derby will not part with the boy mentioned in Brockholst [Livingston]'s letter. I am sorry for it, especially as your brother likes him. My father. . .appears pleased with your attention, and speaks very affectionately of his little grandson. . . . I have been honored. . .with a letter from Mrs. ———. She is as usual uneasy and wants to have a house in the neighborhood and requests my advice and interposition. I wish I could make her, and everybody else, happy, but that is a consolation rather to be wished than expected. The sensible and once gay, witty and handsome Miss Emlen, whom you knew and admired four years ago, is now a Quaker preacher. Strange things happen in the course of this world. I will not hazard my conjecture on the causes of this turn. We will talk it over when we meet. Writing with all this caution takes much of the pleasure of it. . . ."

MS not found; reprinted from extracts in *Kenneth W. Rendell Catalog*, no. 172 (July 1985), item 72.

## John Jay to Sarah Jay

*Philadelphia, March 14, 1779.* "The probability that our separation will not last much longer increases. . . I have been so often disappointed that I cannot confide entirely in [Mr. Gurney's] promise, and the more so as Mrs. Gurney's indisposition or inclination may cause another week's delay. . . . On your arrival you must expect much company, and I fancy it would not be very agreeable to receive your friends in a bed chamber. . . . By a Poughkeepsie newspaper I find Peggy has lost her Uncle Barclay of Albany. I have a late letter from Fady, but he mentions nothing of it. He informs me that the family were as well as usual, and that my favorite mare was stolen and carried off. But this is one of those misfortunes which give me little concern. Want of exercise, disappointment, and some other little cares and inquietudes have, I found, impaired your health. Keep up your spirits. . . . A fine season approaches and I flatter myself that the ensuing four months will compensate for the last. How does the little boy do? Does he begin to speak plain? Does he run about?. . . I hope to see him tanned and ruddy—no moonshine looking boys. I am as anxious about his constitution as his life. Let not his strength be sacrificed to his skin. Pardon my solicitude on this subject. . . . Last summer I set



him down in a muddy spot in the road. He was confounded and unhappy till the dirt was washed off his feet. This was no good omen. . . .”

MS not found; reprinted from extracts in *Kenneth W. Rendell Catalog*, no. 169 (December 1984), item 107.

## Samuel Holten to John Hancock

Dear Sir.

Philada March 30, 1779.

You was so kind before I left Boston to advance me a sum of money & another sum at Yorktown, & least you should suppose there is any neglect in me for not repaying the same, I have given directions to Capt. Warner at Boston (my brother in law) respecting the same, and therefore if he has not already, I expect he soon will, wait upon you with the money.

We have but very little public intelligence here at this time, tho' it would give me pleasure to converse with you upon some important affairs that I am not at liberty to communicate, & could by no means trust on paper.

Mr. Adams informs me he shall take his final leave of Congress in May next.

The state of our money & finances, I think are truly alarming.

It gives me much concern for our people on Acct. of bread, but Congress has done all that I expect they will at present respecting the same, and I am really sorry our letters did not reach you before your com[mittee] set out, tho' they inform me they have procured 1,000 barrels in the state of New York, you may perceive by my letter to the honble. Council, that I took particular care to inform them respecting the same, some time before the resolution passed.

I inclose you a pamphlet which if you have not seen may be agreeable.

I am, Sir, with great respect & esteem, your most obedient & most huml servt.

[P.S.] I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you in Philadelphia.

FC (MH-H: Autograph File). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

## Jesse Root to John Jay

Sir

Coventry June 22nd. 1779

I was hond. with yours of the 2nd Inst. with the inclosures,<sup>1</sup> on the 14th. Am now Setting out for Albany, Mr Elsworth is going with me,<sup>2</sup>

our General assembly did not rise till last Friday which prevented our going Sooner.

The address of Congress of the 26th ulto.<sup>3</sup> is received with general approbation & is published in all the Towns, by order of the Governor.

The assembly of this State<sup>4</sup> have granted a Tax to Call in the 5,100,000 dollars assigned for their quota.

The Injustice measured by the Continuation of the law making bills a Tendry is Strikingly apparent & universally Complained off, if a Stop Could be put to the depreciation, query whether it would be for the Interest of the Country to appreciate the bills, other ways than by lessening their quantity.

The frequency of the yeas & Nays, on questions not of the greatest Importance, appearing in your Journals, adds not to the dignity & reputation of Congress in the Veiw of the people.

It seems that the business of the Continent & the reputation of Congress, Suffers by their retaining So much of the Executive in their hands; it being impossible for Congress, to attend to & Execute that Infinity of business, which Comes before them, in time & manner, the nature & urgency of the Case often requires.

Permit me, Sir, to Congratulate you on the great & glorious news from the Southward, this is Som[e]thing more than Burgoining them—May all the foes of America be as they are!

I inclose you £33.15.0 in Continental Bills which I received in exchange for the Connecticut bills you gave me. One quarter of a 20/ bill was paisted on being of a different denomination which occasioned the loss of 5/.

This State has ordered two Regts. to be raised beside their quota of Continental Troops more especially for the defence of this State.

I am with great Esteem & respect, Sir, your most Obedt. humble  
Servant, Jesse Root<sup>5</sup>

RC (DLC: Jay Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 13:13.

<sup>2</sup> Root, Oliver Ellsworth, Samuel J. Atlee, Timothy Edwards, and John Witherspoon had been appointed a special committee to conduct an on-site inquiry into “the disturbances on the New Hampshire Grants.” *Ibid.*, note.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 14:649–57. See also these *Letters*, 12:510, 537, 551.

<sup>4</sup> That is, Connecticut.

<sup>5</sup> For Jay’s reply, see Jay to Root, August 6, 1779, below.

## Committee of Commerce to Bernardo de Gálvez

Commercial Committee of Congress  
Philadelphia 19th July 1779

Sir  
We have been duly honored with your polite and obliging Letters

dated the 3d April, 5th and 6th May and 4th June 1778 all which were read in Congress,<sup>1</sup> but must beg leave to apologize for our not answering those Letters sooner by assuring you the delay did not proceed from any neglect of ours, but from other fortuitous causes, particularly Congress's being obliged to retire to an inland part of the Country previous to this City's being invested by the British Army.

By authentic advices lately received from Europe, we learn that His Catholick Majesty has offered his mediation in order to adjust the disp[ute] now subsisting between France, England, and these United States,<sup>2</sup> which we hope may have a salutary effect, and thereby put an end to a cruel and inhuman War hitherto carried on by Great Britain against the Inhabitants of these United States, by burning thir Towns and Villages on the Sea Coasts, massacreing the innocent Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children without distinction by the scalping Knife, Tomohawk and Bayonet.

Permit us Sir with grateful hearts to acknowledge the kind sentiments expressed in your Letters for our present welfare and future prosperity, as also the pecuniary assistance afforded to the States Agent Mr. Oliver Pollock to whom we write at large by this conveyance,<sup>3</sup> and be assured Sir that we shall use all the exertions possible for making a speedy reimbursement.

When it shall please the Almighty to put an end to the present ruinous War, we flatter ourselves with the hopes of cultivating a cordial and permanent friendship between the Spanish Nation and the United American States.

We have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, Sir, Your Excellency's Most Obedient And obliged Humble Servant,

Fra. Lewis

(By order of the Committee)

RC (Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Papales Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 112—"Cartas de la Junta de Comercio nombrada por el Congreso de los Estados Unidos a don Bernardo de Gálvez"). In the hand of Moses Young and signed by Francis Lewis. Addressed: "His Excellency Don Berndo. de Galvez, Governor of New Orleans."

<sup>1</sup> None of these letters is in the PCC, but for Congress' reading of Gálvez's letters to the committee of commerce of April 3, and May 5 and 6, 1778, see *JCC*, 11:709, 769, 12:1083-84.

<sup>2</sup> See these *Letters*, 12:71-73, 13:59, 61, 400.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 13:256-59. See also Secret Committee to Gálvez, June 12, and Committee of Commerce to Gálvez, October 24 and November 21, 1777, above.

## John Jay to Jesse Root

Dear Sir

Pha. 6 Augt 1779

An Expectation of seeing you here has till now induced me to postpone acknowledging the Rect of your favor of 22 June.<sup>1</sup> I have recd.

the money mentioned in it and am greatly obliged by your Attention to that Matter.

Your observation on the bad Policy of Congress ret[ainin]g within our hands so much executive authority perfectly corresponds with my Sentiments. Committees are certainly inadequate to the Purpose, and I never expect to [see] our marine or commercial Matters well managed while under their Direction.

The Legislature of Virginia have imposed a Tax in Kind from which they expect & will probably derive considerable Advantages. If I am rightly informed it is confined to Grain.

There is no Doubt but that the Divisions by Yeas & Nays are frequently improper—but as there is no drawing a Line, we must submit to the lesser Evil for the Sake of the greater Good. This is almost the only Way in which our Constituents can be informed of the Conduct of their respective Delegates which in my opinion is of great Importance for them to know.

The Successes of the French in the W Indies are splendid, & will probably be followed by interesting Consequences. If they should acquire a decided Superiority in those Seas—Britain must either draw a great Part of their Force to the Islands or lose them. This would weaken their operations here, and either give us Time to breath or opportunity to expel them from our Country.

I am Dr Sir with great Esteem, your most obt Servt.

FC (DLC: Jay Papers). In the hand of John Jay, drafted on the verso of Root's June 22 letter to Jay.

<sup>1</sup> See Root to Jay, June 22, 1779, above.

## John Armstrong, Sr. to John Wheelock

Dear Colonel:<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia, 31st. August 1779.

In answer to your favour by Coll. Elcott—It gives me real uneasiness that in the course of these few days, I am thro' one incident & another, unable to acquaint you with the final effect of your father's Memorial to Congress.<sup>2</sup> The truth is, that after the report of the Committee (whereof I informed you) was brought into the House, I depended on Mr. Shareman to attend to the effect of it and often put him in mind of it. That Gentleman who I know is very well disposed to you, happens now to be absent. Coll. Elcott's time too short and public business at this moment too pressing for me to be able to get an end to that business. I have no doubt of its final success, but advise you as I shall soon be absent to write Gen'l Dipple or Mr. Pebody,<sup>3</sup> to both of whom I shall particularly speak on that subject & give it every assistance that memory and time will admit me.



If anything is done by Congress respecting the communication you wish to maintain with the Canadian tribes thro' the medium of y'r College, it must and ought to be by the representation of Eastern delegates, at least these of New Hampshire & perhaps of Connecticut, but in my opinion however Salutory, is not likely to be soon taken up. We lately had a person from Canada in this City, who's business being only with the French Minister we know not what it was but probably might rather respect the Whites than the Indians.

With respect to the purchase of back lands, there is not any in this State that would at all answer the purpose you propose—we have but a little more to purchase of the Indians and that not good except the Spot at Wyoming whereon the Connecticut people have settled.

The Illinois Country of which you speak is five hundred miles I suppose beyond, or westward of the western extremity of Pennsylvania. In that part of the country the space is said to be very great & the lands very fine, and in my opinion ought to belong to the United States, but at present is wholly claimed by the State of Virginia, but what Indians are to be dealt with either by Congress or either State, I do not yet know—but in that Western world there is outlet for the whole Continent Sufficient I believe for Several Centuaries.

We have of late been favoured with much good News, Ponobscot for our humiliation—The Enemy at New York are certainly reinforced from Britain & the Campaign must be expected to be considerable & perhaps Severe, somewhere or other.

I am Dear Colonel Your very respectful friend & humble Servant.

John Armstrong

Tr (John Armstrong Papers, Rokeby Collection, Barrytown, N.Y.).

<sup>1</sup> John Wheelock has been identified in these *Letters*, 11:268n.3.

<sup>2</sup> For Eleazar Wheelock's April 2 memorial, which was referred to the Indian Affairs committee May 12, 1779, see *JCC*, 14:579; and *PCC*, item 41, 10:383–85.

<sup>3</sup> That is, William Whipple or Nathaniel Peabody.

## Henry Marchant to Silas Talbot

Sir,

Philadelphia Augt. 31st. 1779.

Your agreeable Favour of the 27th with its Inclosures I recd. this Day.<sup>1</sup> I most sincerely congratulate you on the repeated and most Signal Instances of your Success and good Fortune. Your Name is often repeated & heard with Pleasure. It was but a few Days past I had the Pleasure of reading in Congress a Copy of a Letter from you to Genl. Gates; & this Day your Letter to the President was delivered by me, read, orderd to be printed & committed to the Marine Committee. Nothing but the Want of a proper Vessell for you prevents your being

gratified to the highth of your Wishes.<sup>2</sup> I must wish you not to quit a Continental Command however small for the Present, for private Employ. Your Interest I think may be better advanced, and you will be in a higher Road to Promotion and Honor. I have given Dr. Richmond every Assistance in my Power in the little Business he had to do. And it will ever be my greatest Pleasure and Happiness to do every Thing in my Power to further the noble and honorable Views of the Brave and Virtuous. I shall be the shorter in this, as I did myself the Pleasure [in wr]iting you more at large in my former Letter which I hope You will soon receive on your Return to Providence and which I hope will be with additional Success to yourself & your brave Officers & Men, as well as to Your Country.

Should You not have any Agent here for Yourself & People—I would recommend you to a Gentleman well experienced in Accompts, and of tryed Fidelity—Col. Wm. Paulfry—Paymaster Genl. now residing in this City.

Accept of my warmest Wishes for Your highest Prosperity, and beleive me your sincere Friend & humble Servt.,

Hy. Marchant

RC (RHi: Talbot Papers). Addressed: "Lieut. Col. Silas Talbot—Commander of the [Con]tl. Sloop of War the Argo."

<sup>1</sup> Talbot's letter, which is not in the PCC, was read in Congress this day. *JCC*, 14:1008. Talbot had responded to Marchant's letter to him of August 9, for which see these *Letters*, 13:341–42.

<sup>2</sup> For Talbot's successful quest for the command of a Continental vessel, see *ibid.*, pp. 342–43n.2.

## James Lovell to John Adams

[For this document, see these *Letters*, 13:495–96. The enclosure to this letter, which we were unable to identify, has been printed in Adams, *Papers* (Taylor), 8:148–50.]

## John Jay's Draft Vermont Bill

[ante October 5, 1779]<sup>1</sup>

An Act for complying with and carrying into Effect  
the Recommendations contained in certain Resolutions  
of the Congress of the united States of America  
of the                      Day of                      1779

Whereas the Congress of the united States of america did on the  
 Day of            last past,<sup>2</sup> unanimously enter in certain Resolu-  
 tions in the words following vizt.

(Here insert verbatim the Resolutions with the Preambles &  
 Recitals in their Order in which they stand[])

And Whereas the said Congress did on the            Day of October  
 Instant unanimously enter into a certain other Resolution in the  
 words following to wit (here insert the Resolution repealing a certain  
 Clause in the former ones and substituting another verbatim)

And Whereas the aforerecited Resolutions & Recommendations are  
 founded in equal Justice and true Policy, & have for their object the  
 Establishment of perpetual Harmony, Friendship, and mutual Confi-  
 dence between the States therein named, which it is no less the Desire  
 than the Interest of this State to promote—

Be it enacted by            and it is hereby enacted by the authority of  
 the same that all the Powers & authorities which it is recommended  
 to, or requested of this State in and by the sd. Resolutions to vest in or  
 grant to the said Congress, shall be, and hereby are vested in and  
 granted to the said Congress, as fully and amply as if the same were  
 here again particularly enumerated and described And that the Deci-  
 sions and Determinations which shall be made in the Premises in  
 Pursuance of the Powers and authorities hereby granted shall be obli-  
 gatory on the State and the People thereof so far as the sd. Decisions  
 and Determinations shall respect the same or any Part thereof, And  
 Further that this act shall be always construed in a Sense most ad-  
 vanced of the Design, true Intent & meaning of the sd. Resolutions.

And it is hereby further enacted by the Authority aforesd that no  
 advantage shall be taken by this State of the nonperformance of the  
 Conditions in any of the Grants of Land in the sd. Resolutions re-  
 ferred to, but that further Time be given to fulfil the same respectively  
 to wit until the Expiration of six Years to be computed from the Publi-  
 cation of the Act.

N.B. Such further Clauses for the Appointmt of Agents &c. may be  
 added as may be thought expedient.

N.B. This last Clause is to be considered as part of the Bill which we  
 have agreed to send to our several States.

MS (VtU: McCullough Collection). In the hand of John Jay. Endorsed: "Octr. 1779. Mr. Jay's Dr. of Bill to Submit the Claim of Vermont to Congress."

<sup>1</sup> This Jay draft bill was enclosed in his letter of this date to New York governor George Clinton, for which see these *Letters*, 14:29. A variant of this text, printed from Jay's retained file copy, is at *ibid.*, pp. 29–30n.

<sup>2</sup> That is, 24th day of September. See *JCC*, 15:1095–98; and these *Letters*, 13:546n.1.

## Jesse Root to Oliver Ellsworth

Dr Sir

Philadelphia Novr. 1st. 1779

I recd. your favours of the 13 & 17th ult with one Inclosed to Mr. Wilson which I delivered, this day recd yours of 25th, with the inclosed paper & thank you for the Communication. Our delegation is out this day & we are not Informed of any New appointment. Conclude the state dont mean to be with out a delegation in Congress, Shall be glad to be at liberty to return home—however at any rate Shall leave Congress the latter end of this Month & depend you will releive me as I conclude you will be reappointed altho, you have Modestly omitted your own name in the Votes for Nomination.<sup>1</sup> We have no News from any quarter to be depended on later than has been transmitted. There is a report via N york that a packet has arrived there with Intelligence from Europe that the Combined fleets of France & Spain have had an Action with the british fleet in the Chanel, in which the latter had Suffered greatly—the Ardent Sunk & the rest retired into Port in a Shattered Condition—glorious news this if True—no late news from the Southward. The monthly requisitions of taxes from the States are nominally large indeed, and the Sums Set to Connecticut more than their Just proportion—which we endeavoured to have reduced—but the total required is absolutely necessary, and there Can never be a more opertune time for payment. We must recall our attention from the pursuits of private gain at the Expencc of the public, & turn it to great & nobl Exertiens to Save the republic; Where are those glorious principles that at first animated us to engage in the mighty Conflict & have led us almost to the goal. Is it possible, after expending vast quantities of blood & treasure, and on the point of Sufering the prize, we Should fail, for want of one more finishing effort, kind heaven's forbid the Idea—let us put to our Shoulders & I have not the least doubt, but, that, almighty providence which has hitherto aided our virtuous endeavours, will give a Crowning Stroke to all our labours, Expences & perils.

Please to present my Compliments to Mrs Ellsworth, from your  
Obedt. humble Servt, Jesse Root

PS Mr Laurence is appointed to go to Holland to negotiate a loan & Settle a treaty of amity & Commerce.

This letter I opened after it was Sealed.

RC (Congregational Library, London, William B. Sprague Collection. On deposit at Dr. Williams's Library, London, 1987).

<sup>1</sup> For the context of this letter and the extract from it made for Edmund C. Burnett in the 1920's, see these *Letters*, 14:142.



## John Fell's Diary

[December 1-4, 1779]

Philadelphia, December 1st. Wednesday. Commercial Committee.<sup>1</sup> Congress. This day Mr G Bryant,<sup>2</sup> was put in nomination for the Admiralty Board, the Ballots taken several times but no choice made. Dined with the French Minister.

Thursday Decemr. 2d. Coml Committee. Congress. A motion made for Congress to remove from Phila. to Hartford, My Report for the State Prisoners being supply'd in the same manner as Prisoners of War not agreed to. A Commissary General of Purchases was Balloted for, the Persons in nomination were Coll Ephraim Blain, and Coll Chs. Steward, when Col Blain was appointed 7 Votes, Steward 3.<sup>3</sup>

Friday Decemr 3d. 1779. Com Com. Congress. Mr G Bryant was this day Ellected Commissioner of the Admiralty Board, and Brown Secretary. Resolv'd this day to Remove Congress from this City the last week in April next. The Places in nomination are Hartford, Albany, Fredericksburgh & Burlington.<sup>4</sup>

Saturday Decemr 4, 1779. Coml Committee. Congress. Yesterday a motion was made per Mr Forbes, that as the time of Major Genl Lees Suspension was expired he might be dischargd from the Service when a debate was like to ensue it was putt of[f] to this day, When the Question was calld for, the Previous Question was moved, and the Yeas & Noes calld, which was carried in the Affirmative 5 Yeas, 3 Noes, 1 Divid[ed].<sup>5</sup>

NB This Week General Sulivans Resignation was Accepted.<sup>6</sup> The House went in to a Committee of the whole on a Plan of Mr Dickenson which was Committed, in order to get rid of it.<sup>7</sup> Letters from General Washington & others were Read. Coll Clark and the No Carolina Troops in Town to Day on their way to South Carolina.<sup>8</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell. This 94-page MS is a clean copy that Fell obviously penned sometime after November 30, 1780, the date of his last entry, apparently from notes or a rough draft. It is the second of two such diaries he kept of his congressional activities, the first of which was incorporated into volumes 11-14 of these *Letters* in over 250 daily entries, for which see 11:324n. The contents of this second volume are presented in this supplement in the form of 50 weekly entries.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Fell was a member of the committee of commerce, whose membership at this time also included Cyrus Griffin, Cornelius Harnett, James Searle, and Meriwether Smith. See *JCC*, 12:1275, 15:1445.

<sup>2</sup> That is, George Bryan. See *JCC*, 15:1339; and these *Letters*, 14:231n.1.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 15:1343. Secretary Charles Thomson's journal does not record the vote.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 15:1344; and these *Letters*, 14:247n.4.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 15:1348-49.

<sup>6</sup> See these *Letters*, 14:184.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently John Dickinson's plan for reorganizing the commissary and quartermaster departments, for which see *ibid.*, 13:30-32, 170-73; and *JCC*, 15:1342-43, 1349.

<sup>8</sup> For Col. Thomas Clark's orders to march to South Carolina, see these *Letters*, 14:28n.2.

## John Fell's Diary

[December 6–11, 1779]

Monday Decr 6. Coml Committee. After the Reports on the Treasury, the Report on the Court of Appeals was debated but nothing done.

Tuesday the 7. Com Committee. Court of Appeals again taken up and went in to a Committee of the whole house, but nothing decided, only agreed to have one Sett of Judges.<sup>1</sup> This day Mr Bryant Resignd being a Commissioner at the Admiralty Board, and Mr Lewis was chose in his Room.<sup>2</sup> A Commissioner for the Board of War, was Balloted for, and Coll Gryson was chose. Dined with the Chevalier Luzarne.

Wednesday Decr 8. Com. Committee. Congress. After the Letters and Reports, the day spent in debate about the Virginia Troops going to So. Carolina.<sup>3</sup>

Thursday the 9th. Thanksgiving day.<sup>4</sup> No Congress.

Friday Decr 10th. Coml Committee. Congress. Several Letters, Reports &c were Read. Coll Blands Resignation accepted.

Saturday Decr 11th. Commercial Committee. Congress. Letter from Genl Washington wth an Acct from N York. The Virginia Line ordered to So Carolina. Report, for the States of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey and Connecticut to supply, certain Quantities of Flour, Wheat & Corn for the Army by 1st April.<sup>5</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 15:1360.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 15:1357, 1360. George Bryan did not actually resign, but simply declined appointment to the court.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 15:1364–65.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 15:1170–71, 1191–93.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 15:1371–72.

## John Fell's Diary

[December 12–18, 1779]

Sunday Decemr. 12th. The President Summon'd the Members on an information respecting the Sailing and destination of the Fleet from N York but as the reports were mere conjecture, nothing was done in consequence.<sup>1</sup>

Monday the 13th. Coml Committee. Congress. This day chiefly spent in debate about the mode of the States furnishing the Quotas of Provision, the motion Recommited.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday the 14th. Com. Committee. Congress. Several Letters, Memorials & Reports &c. Very Cold. Capt. Ashmead takn.

Wednesday 15th. Com Committee. Congress. After the dispatches, A Report from a Committee for Recruiting the Army was taken up but not finished when Adjourned.

Thursday the 16th. Com Com. Congress. Some Letters &c. A draught of a Letter to be sent to the French Minister, had a long debate.<sup>3</sup>

Friday Decemr 17, 1779. Com. Committee. Congress. Letter from Genl Green, offering to Resign, the letter Referrd to a Committee as were also several Motions, Reports, &c. Dined with Mr Pettitt.

Saturday Decemr 18th. Com. Committee. Attended Congress only in the morning (Very Cold).

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> Secretary Charles Thomson made no mention of this rare Sunday meeting in the journal of Congress. *JCC*, 15:1372–73.

<sup>2</sup> There is no mention of this debate or motion in the journals. *JCC*, 15:1373–74.

<sup>3</sup> For this letter to the chevalier de La Luzerne, which was the outgrowth of a “representation” to Congress from Juan de Miralles, the unofficial Spanish agent to the United States, proposing joint Franco-Spanish operations against British East Florida, see *JCC*, 15:1386–88; and these *Letters*, 14:274–76. For Miralles’ mission to America, see also Helen M. McCadden, “Juan de Miralles and the American Revolution,” *The Americas* 29 (1973): 359–75; and Light Townsend Cummins, *Spanish Observers and the American Revolution, 1775–1783* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), pp. 105–63.

## John Mathews to Benjamin Lincoln

Dear General,

Philadelphia Decr. 15th. 1779

I take the opportunity by Collo. Laurens, of apprizing you of the State of Baylers horse,<sup>1</sup> that you may endeavour, if practicable, to remedy the inconveniencies they labour under by the time they reach you.

Collo. Washington (who now Commands them) informs me, that about fifty of his men are mounted on heavy Waggon horses, totally unfit for the service they are appropriated to, & the State of the Continental Treasury at present, will not admit of purchases to replace such as are unfit, but sensible of the services they may render you, I thought it advisable they should come on even as they are.

But as the quota of the taxes of our State, is intended to be kept there for the use of your department, I think you may contrive in this manner to put this Corps in a much more eligible situation. You want horses both for Artillery, & Waggon, these horses are well calculated for these purposes. Then, they may be turned over to this service, & others purchased, better adapted for Dragoon horses to replace them, by which means the service will be promoted, & the states put to no additional expense. I am not unacquainted with the difficulty of getting horses, but I think so small a number may be procured.

And as a body of good horse are capable of rendering essential service in that Country, & considering the eminent danger that now threatens it, I should imagine Ge[n]tle[m]n. who had horses fit for the purpose would not scruple to devote them to the immediate, and necessary defence of their Country. From the death of Pulaski, I imagine that Legion will soon dwindle into nothing, I therefore intend, applying to Congress to have them reduced, and incorporated into the other Corps.

Collo. Laurenc[e] can give you every information of the State of affairs here, which to save your time enjoins silence on me.

I am Dr. Genl., with the most sincere Esteem, Yr. Obedt. Servt.,  
Jno. Mathews

RC (VtU: McCullough Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For the assignment of Col. George Baylor's dragoons to the southern department, see these *Letters*, 14:254, 257–58.

## Samuel Huntington to William Armistead

Sir

Decr. 18th. 1779

Pay to Charles Pettit Esqr. Asst. Quar. Masr. General or his Order the Sum of one hundred and two thousand dollars on Account of Major Genl. Green Quarter Masr. General & for the Use of his Department granted on the application of the said Charles Pettit for which the sd Major General Green is to be accountable.<sup>1</sup>

I am Sir your very humble Servant,

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DNA: RG 217). Addressed: "William Armistead Esqr., Commissr. of the Continental Loan Office for the State of Virginia." See "Records of and pertaining mainly to the Virginia Loan Office, 1778–1834 (FL.217.11)," Howard H. Wehmann, *A Guide to Pre-Federal Records in the National Archives* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989), p. 88.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 15:1392.

## John Fell's Diary

[December 20–24, 1779]

Monday Decr. 20th. Com. Committee. Congress. Several dispatches, the Army short of Provisions. Went in to a Committee of the whole on a Report from the Treasury per Mr Gerry debated till adjourn'd.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday Decemr 21st. Com. Committee. After sundry disagreeable and alarming Letters were Read relating to the Army; Went in to a



Committee of the whole on ways and means on a Motion of Mr Elsworth debated till Adjourn'd.

Wednesday 22d. Com. Committee. This day went in to a Committee of the whole, when a motion was made by Mr R Livingston which was Read & debated, but nothing agreed to. Weather more moderate.

Thursday Decemr 23d. Com Committee. This day spent in a Committee of the whole, on the Plan of drawing Bills of Excha at the rate of 5 Dolls or 22/6 Sterlg for 100 Dolls. to the amount of 20 Million of Dollars, to bear 6 per Ct Interest the money to be Paid down and the Bills to be drawn Payable in 12 Months. Some of the Plan was agreed to per the Committee.<sup>2</sup> Adjourn'd.

Friday Decemr 24th. Com. Committee. Congress. Went in to a Committee of the whole; A motion was made by Mr. Elsworth to Postpone the former motion and take up a new one, after some debate, Mr Huntington moved that £25,000 Sterlg. be used for the Purpose of Purchasing Flour &c for the Army, and that Mr Forbes & Mr Wadsworth be appointed for the Purpose with liberty to call in an assistant.<sup>3</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 15:1396–97.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 15:1404–5.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 15:1408. Following this entry, Fell noted that on Saturday the 25th it was "Very Cold" and that he "Dined wth Mr Griffin," and on Sunday "Dined with Mr Totten."

## John Fell's Diary

[December 27, 1779–January 1, 1780]

Monday Decemr 27th. 1779. Com. Committee. Letters from Genl. Washington, acquainting with the Sailing of upwards of 160 Sail, One fleet suppos'd to be for Cork, and the other suppos'd for Georgia, in the Latter it was said Coll Buskirk and his Regiment were. An Admiral with one and a Commodore with the other. Sr G. Collier.

A Secretary for Dr Franklin was Balloted for 3 times viz<sup>1</sup>

	1st	2d	3d
Mr Lovell	6	6	6
Mr Morris	3	4	3
Mr Hambleton	2	1	2

A Report to have the Post goe twice a week, and the Expresses to be discharg'd was agreed to.

£75,000 Sterlg. of the Bills to be drawn was fixt @ 25 Dollars for 1 Spanish Milld Dollar @ 4/6 Sterlg.

Letters, from the General and some Commissarys that the Army were in great want of Provisions.

Tuesday Decemr. 28th. Com. Committee. A Number of Letters, Memorials &c. Report to regulate the Post office &c @ 20 prices from 1775.<sup>2</sup>

This day and night a very violent Storm of Wind, Rain and Snow.

Wednesday Decemr. 29th. 1779. Coml Committee. Congress, Letters from Genl. Washington with further advice of the Sailing of 2 Large fleets from New York, with several other Letters, memorials &c. Moderate weather.

Thursday Decemr. 30th. Coml Committee. This day several Letters, and Reports from Committees one from the Committee to Regulate and fix the Sallery of the Commissary General of Purchases, and that department was long debated, agreed not to fix the Sallery till April,<sup>3</sup> the Report for 15 Millions of Dollars to Mr Wadsworth, brought in Yesterday was Postponed.

Friday Decemr 31st. Commercial Committee. Sundry Letters, Memorials &c. The Report on the Commissarys department, was long debated and to little Purpose. Dined with Mr Benezet. Very Cold day.

Saturday January 1st, 1780. Commercial Committee. After the dispatches were Read, the Treasury Reports were taken up 6 Million was Past for Coll Wadsworth the late Commissary General of Purches, renew'd the debate on that department.<sup>4</sup> Dined wth. Mr R Morris.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of this vote in the journals, although on December 22 Congress resolved "That Monday next [27th] be assigned for electing a secretary to Doctor Franklin." See *JCC*, 15:1402, 1410–13.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 15:1415.

<sup>3</sup> No details concerning this report were recorded in the journals. *JCC*, 15:1423.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 16:5–7.

## John Fell's Diary

[January 3–8, 1780]

Monday Jany 3d. Com. Committee. Letters and Memorials &c, finish'd the Regulation of the Commissary Generals Sallery 40,000 Ds &c.<sup>1</sup> Dined wth the Chavalier.

Tuesday 4th. Com. Committee. Letters from General Washington, said to be 5,000 gon[e] from N York, Report to fix the Place for the Court of Appeals, long debate.<sup>2</sup> Adjourn'd.

Wednesday 5th. Coml Com. Sundry Letters, Report from the Board of War, to supply certain Officers on Long Island with Specie,<sup>3</sup> Report for Esstablishing the Court of Appeals.<sup>4</sup> Long debates.

Thursday Jany 6th. Com Committee. After the Letters and Reports, the Esstablishing the Court of Appeals was again debated.

Friday Jany 7th. Com. Committee. Esstablishing the Court of Appeals took up the chief of this day.<sup>5</sup> Sallery of the Judges to be 30,000 Ds per annum.

Saturday Jany 8th. Com Comm. Several Reports from the Board of War.<sup>6</sup> The Resolution for the Esstablishing the Court of Appeals after a number of amendments the main question was Put and the Yaes & Noes being calld, it Past in the Negative and the whole committed to a New Committee.<sup>7</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> According to the journals of Congress, the commissary general's salary had been set on January 1. See *JCC*, 16:5.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 16:13–14.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 16:14–15.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 16:17–18.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 16:22–24.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 16:25–27.

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 16:29–32. Following this entry, Fell wrote "Sunday Jany 9th. The weather has been as severe this week as was almost ever known. Dined with Mr Moses."

## John Fell's Diary

[January 10–15, 1780]

Monday January 10th, 1780. Com Committee. Congress. This day a Letter was read signd by Gen Lee but said not to be wrote by him, insulting Congress on Acct of his tryal, after some debate a motion was made that he be dismis'd the Service of the United States, then another motion was made to Postpone the first motion to which the Ayes & Noes were taken and the question lost being equal, the main question was then Put and the Yaes and Noes calld, 5 Ayes, 4 Noes, 3 devided so it was carried in the Affirmative.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday Jany 11th. Com Committee. Sundry Letters, Petitions, Memorials &c. Very Cold.

Wednesday. Jany 12. Com Com. Letters giving an Acct of the distressd situation, of the Army for want of Provisions &c. Coldest day this Season.

Thursday Jany 13. Com. Com. After the Letters were Read from Genl Washington brought by Colls. Magaw, Ramsay &c with Genl Philipss Letter to Gl Washington to setle a Cartel for the Exchange of Prisoners, they were all Referrd back to the General,<sup>2</sup> A Report from the Board of War relating to Prisoners was taken up and agreed to.<sup>3</sup>

Friday, January 14th, 1780. Commercial Committee. Sundry Letters, Reports from Committees &c. The Report for Organizing the Court of Appeals in Admiralty Causes, was again taken up a New and long debated.<sup>4</sup>

Saturday Jany 15th. Com Com. This day chiefly spent in debate on the Court of Appeals. Some Paragraphs agreed to. Sallery 25,000 Ds per annum.<sup>5</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> For Gen. Charles Lee's dismissal from the Continental Army, see these *Letters*, 14:344n.2.

<sup>2</sup> For Congress' decision to permit Washington to resume prisoner exchange negotiations, see *ibid.*, p. 346n.2.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 16:48–52.

<sup>4</sup> On this subject, the journals for this day somewhat ambiguously note: "The committee on a court of appeals brought in a report. Ordered, That the same be taken into consideration to morrow." *JCC*, 16:56.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 16:61–64. Following this entry, Fell wrote: "Sunday Jany 16th. The weather continues very cold, yet. Dined wth Jos Wharton."

## John Fell's Diary

[January 17–22, 1780]

Monday Jany 17th. Com Committee. After the dispatches went in to a Committee of the whole to apportion 61 Million for the Expences of the Ensuing Year for the several States to Provide.

Tuesday Jany 18th. Com Comm. The chief Part of this day spent in debate whether the Yaes & Noes should be Publishd and Passd in the Negative, and then agreed to have the Journals Publishd Monthly.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday 19th. Com Comm. Letters from France, Letter from Lieut. Hale that he had absconded.<sup>2</sup> Motion for appointing a Committee of one Member of Congress and two Commissioners to Regulate several departments in Conjunction with the Commander in Chief, and Report.<sup>3</sup>

Thursday Jany. 20th. Excesive Cold. Sundry Letters from Genl Washington & Lord Sterling relating to the Expedition to Statten Island. Nominated several Persons for the Commissions for the regulating departments and for Judges of the Court of Appeals.<sup>4</sup>

Friday 21st. Com Comm. Report from the Board of War Relating to appointing Coll. Armand to a Brigadier General, long debate, Referrd to the General.<sup>5</sup>

Gen Schuyler and Coll Pickering were Balloted for Superintending the different departments.

Saturday 22d. Commercial Committee. General Mifflin was chose by Ballot for One of the Commissioners to Regulate and Report a saving in the Expençe of the Quarter Masters, Hospital, Commissary of Military Stores and Commissary of Issues Departments &c.

This day the Judges for the Court of Appeals were Balloted for as follows vizt.



Mr Wythe	10	Treat Pain	1
Horsemen <sup>6</sup>	9	Duane	2
Paca	9	Boudinot	1
McKean	2		

Mr Paca and Mr Horsemar having equal Votes, a debate arose which of the two should be first enterd, at last agreed to leave the Precedency to be settled by them selves. Dined with the French Minister.<sup>7</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 16:69–71.

<sup>2</sup> For the controversy surrounding the prisoner-of-war status of Lt. Christopher Hele, see these *Letters*, 12:80n.1, 283n, 13:438, 583.

<sup>3</sup> For the appointment of this committee January 20, see *ibid.*, 14:367–69.

<sup>4</sup> For the nomination of court of appeals judges, see *ibid.*, pp. 359–60n.5.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 355–56, 410.

<sup>6</sup> That is, Titus Hosmer. The journals of Congress do not record the balloting that Fell preserves here. *JCC*, 16:79.

<sup>7</sup> Following this entry, Fell wrote: "Sunday January the 23d. All the week the Weather has been severly Cold, to day rather more moderate. NB Yesterday a Match at Cricket was Played on the River Delaware and an Ox Roasted."

## John Fell's Diary

[January 24–29, 1780]

Monday the 24th. Com. Comm. Letters from General Washington per the Colonels Ramsey, Mathews and Ely concerning the Exchange of Prisoners,<sup>1</sup> and the objection of the Resolution of Congress abt. the Convention Troops caused long debate, at last Committed.

Tuesday 25th. Com Com. The Committee Reported that the Resolution about the Convention Troops be Repeald and that the General Proceed to settle the Exchange which caused great debates.<sup>2</sup> Mr Livingston made a motion to have the Pay for the Convention troops insisted on as a Preliminary and no Privates given for Officers, I had the Yaes & Noes calld on all the questions and over ruled his motion.

Report from the Admiralty Board, for the Pay of all Officers in the Navy to cease that are not in actual service.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday Jany 26th. Com Committee. Committee appointed to conferr with the Minister of France.<sup>4</sup> The Committee to whom was referd the Generals Letters relating to the Exchange of Prisoners, Reported that the General have orders to Proceed with the Cartel and to PostPone the demand of the money for the Pay of the Convention troops, which caused great debates but was at last agreed to.<sup>5</sup>

NB The Report from the Committee to Pay Stephen Moore on Acct for his damages &c at West Point 30,000 Dolls. was PostPoned.<sup>6</sup>

Thursday 27th. Com Com. Letters, Reports &c. Report not Issue Rations to a number of Persons in the Hospital department and to remove the Hospital from Philada. Referred to the Medical committee, to such Place as they Judge Proper.<sup>7</sup>

Friday Jany 28th. Commercial Committee. Lottery Office only to draw the Prises;<sup>8</sup> Moved to have the Committee of Commerce anex'd to the Admiralty Board.<sup>9</sup> Sundry Letters, Memorials &c. Mr. Moores Report Recommitted.

Saturday Jany 29th. Com Com. Motion made<sup>10</sup> to request the General to come to Philada a few days to consult on measures for the ensuing Campaign.<sup>11</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> For the delivery of Washington's letters by Nathaniel Ramsey, George Mathews, and John Ely, see these *Letters*, 14:346–47n.3; and *JCC*, 16:85.

<sup>2</sup> This report and debate is not recorded in the journals. *JCC*, 16:84–89.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 16:85–86.

<sup>4</sup> For the composition of this seven-man committee, see *JCC*, 16:89.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 16:89–94.

<sup>6</sup> This report is endorsed by Charles Thomson, "Delivered January 25, 1780," but its postponement this day is not noted in the journals. It was taken up on the 28th and re-committed, resubmitted February 4, then rejected and amended February 7. *JCC*, 16:86–87, 109n.2, 124–25, 133–35.

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 16:99–100.

<sup>8</sup> *JCC*, 16:101–2.

<sup>9</sup> According to the journals this motion was "referred to the Board of Admiralty and Committee of Commerce." *JCC*, 16:101.

<sup>10</sup> There is no mention of this motion in the journals. *JCC*, 16:110–11.

<sup>11</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: "Sunday Jany 30th. This day the weather has been more moderate & thawd more than for several Weeks. Dined with Mr J Wharton."

## John Fell's Diary

[January 31–February 5, 1780]

Monday Jany. 31st. Com Comm. Letters from Genl Washington, with an Account of the Enemys surprising the Posts at Elizabeth town and Newark, Burnt the Accedemy at New Ark and some other houses and took some Prisoners at Eliz town they Burnt the Meeting House, Court house &c and took some Prisoners. Letter from do reccomending Col Blands Expences to be Paid. Committee appointed to Confer with the Minister of France brought in a Report which was Read.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday February 1st 1780. Com Committee. Letter from Mr. Holker, Referrd to a Committee of 3. Letters &c from the Governor of the State of Vermont, informing that they had appointed Delegates to Congress, vizt. B. Genl Ethan Allen, Jonas Fay, Paul Spooner, R Bradley<sup>2</sup> & the Honble Moses Robinson Esqrs. After some debate the Letters &c were Referrd to a Committee.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday Feby 2d. Com Comm. General Arnolds tryal was Reported, which causd many debates, some to have it Printed at last settled to lay on the Table till Monday next.<sup>4</sup>

Thursday Feby 3d. Com Comm. Reports from the Treasury Board, relating to Mr Nourse and Col Troop, also for the Payment of 500 Guineas Borrowd of R Morris, also the Pay of £300 hard money for the Rent of the Presidents House for which they demand 45 for one.<sup>5</sup>

Letters from George Walton Governor of Georgia, complain[ing] of G. McIntosh.<sup>6</sup>

Complaints from the Clothier General of the Hide department.<sup>7</sup>

Friday February 4th. Commercial Committee. The Report for settling the Quotas of Troops for the different States was Read and after the debates and objections, was agreed to as brought in vizt.<sup>8</sup>

New Hampshire	1,215	
Massachusetts Bay	6,070	
Rhode Island	810	
Connecticut	3,238	
New York	1,620	
New Jersey	1,620	
Pennsylvania	4,855	
Delaware	405	
Maryland	3,238	
Virginia	6,070	
North Carolina	3,640	
South Carolina	<u>2,430</u>	35,211
Georgia		

Saturday Feby. 5th, 1780. Comm Committee. Letters from Guy Johnson, to Genl Schuyler and his answer,<sup>9</sup> no Acct. of Coll Thurston, supposed he fell at Minisink. When the Report of the Quotas was to have the main question, Objections were made per Mr Gerry and all the debate over again which brought on Motions and amendments and nothing done.<sup>10</sup> Weather continues exceeding severe.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 16:111–16.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Stephen R. Bradley.

<sup>3</sup> For the appearance of the Vermont agents this day, see these *Letters*, 14:384–85.

<sup>4</sup> For Congress' handling of the proceedings of Benedict Arnold's court martial, see *ibid.*, 487n.4.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 16:122.

<sup>6</sup> For the congressional response to Walton's letter, see these *Letters*, 14:414–15.

<sup>7</sup> There is no mention of this matter in the journals, but for the board of war's February report on the recent letter (not found) from the clothier general, James Wilkinson, see *PCC*, item 148, 1:155–58. For the clothier general's limited supervisory powers over the commissaries of hides, see Greene, *Papers* (Showman), 5:368–69.

<sup>8</sup> According to the journals, this report was not adopted until the following day. See *JCC*, 16:123, 125–26.

<sup>9</sup> *JCC*, 16:125.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 16:127–28.

## John Fell's Diary

[February 7–12, 1780]

Monday Feby 7th. Com Com. The chief Part of the day taken up by the oppisition made per Mr Gerry to the Quotas of the Troops &c.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday Feby 8. Very bad weather. Reports from the Treasury, Report from the admiralty to appoint Mr Denning and Mr Brown Commissioners to settle Accounts with all Agents &c.<sup>2</sup> Also a Report to order a Court of enquiry for the Loss of the Sloop Fly.<sup>3</sup> Report from the Board of War again taken up and opposed as before, Coll Troop Resignd his Secretaryship to the Treasury.

Wednesday Feby 9th 1780. Coml Committee. Several letters were read. Report from the Committee of 12 was read for the different States to supply their Quotas in certain articles.<sup>4</sup> Report from the medical Committee, Report from the Board of War for raising the troops for the ensuing Campaign after being againe violantly opposed by Masachusetts, and long debate was at last agreed to. Mr Gerry had the Yaes & Noes calld and he was single in the Negative.<sup>5</sup>

Thursday Feby 10th. Com Committee. Sundry Letters. Reports from Committees &c. Report for the Admiralty Board to dispose of the Wine that was saved.<sup>6</sup>

Friday Feby 11th. Com. Committee. Reports from the Treasury Board, Board of War &c. The Report from the Committee respecting the Letters from Georgia on Acct of B. G. McIntosh caused long debate.<sup>7</sup>

Saturday Feby. 12th. Com. Com. This day the Report of the Court-Martial on Genl Arnolds tryal was finishd reading, and agreed to the Sentance that he be Reprimand[ed] per the Commander in Chief.<sup>8</sup>

A Letter from Genl Lee was Read Asking Pardon for his last letter to Congress.<sup>9</sup>

A Letter was Reciv'd from Mr Jay dated the 22d Decemr<sup>10</sup> informing of the frigate Confedracey having lost all her Masts, Yards, Sails and Bowsprit off NewfoundLand, and on the 26 Decr they Sailed in a french frigate for France.<sup>11</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding this subject, the journals record merely "That to morrow be assigned for the consideration of the report of the Board of War, for recruiting the army." *JCC*, 16:135.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 16:142.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 16:138–41.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 16:143–46.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 16:145–51. According to the journals, Nathaniel Peabody of New Hampshire and John Penn of North Carolina also voted no.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 16:152–53.

<sup>7</sup> On the subject of Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, the following resolve was deleted from the journals. "That Genl Lincoln be directed to employ Genl McIntosh in the State of South Carolina, or elsewhere out of the State of Georgia." *JCC*, 16:156.



<sup>8</sup> See *JCC*, 16:161–62; and these *Letters*, 14:487n.4.

<sup>9</sup> *JCC*, 16:157–59.

<sup>10</sup> According to the journals, John Jay's letter was read in Congress on the 17th. *JCC*, 16:171.

<sup>11</sup> Following this entry, Fell wrote: "Sunday Feby 13th. Continues very Cold. Dined with Mr Jos Wharton."

## John Fell's Diary

[February 14–19, 1780]

Monday Feby 14th. Com Committee. The chief of this day was spent on a motion for Reccomending to the States to Revise their Laws oblidging Creditors to take Continental money equal to Gold and Silver. After a long debate a motion was made to commit it, which was carried the members chosen Mr Gerry, Mr Levingston & Mr Houston.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday Feby. 15th. Commercial Committee. Yesterday the Secretary being Sick the Journals of Saturday were not Read, which occasiond long debate abt the Propriety of having the Proceedings of the Court Martial relating to the tryal of Major General Arnold being brought on the Journals or whether they should be printed seperately.

NB All this debate was occasiond by Mr McClean calling the Yaes & Noes on the motion for confirming the Sentance of the Court Martial, then a question was put whether it was in order to have them on the Journals, 5 for 5 against, 1 devided, so it could not go on.<sup>2</sup> Letter of 15th January from Genl Lincoln advising of the frigate Queen of France being Condemn'd at So Carolina as unfitt for Service—that he hears it reported the Spanierds are in Possesion of Mobile & Pensacola.

Reports from the Board of War &c. Agreed for the order of the day to morrow to take up the report to settle the Quotas of the several States. Referrd G Arnolds Accounts to the Treasury Board.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday Feby 16th. Com Committee. The order of the day to fix the quotas of the several States was taken up and continued to adjournment.

Thursday Feby 17. Com Committee. This day spent in debate of settling the Prices of the Quotas for the different States to furnish,<sup>4</sup> Letters from Mr Jay and Captain Harding were read giving an Account of the accident that happend to the Frigate Confedracey. Capt. Hardings Letter was dated at Fort Royal, Martenique, Decemr. 31st,<sup>5</sup> Mr Jays Decr 22d.

Friday Feby 18th 1780. Commercial Committee. Letter from Genl Schuyler relating to receiving Proposals of Peace from several Indian Nations, and desireing the Opinion of Congress. Referrd to the Board of War.

When the order of the day was brought on relating to fixing the Prices, to be furnishd by the States of the different species of Provision, Mr. Gerry according to his costum made objections and moved a motion to which he insisted on the Yaes & Noes being calld, and thought the Chair determind it out of order, he enterd in to the debate, and the opinion of the house was at last taken and given against him, this debate took up 2 hours before we could Proceed to business.<sup>6</sup>

Saturday Feby. 19th. Com Comm. Letter from Genl Heath, and one from Genl Washington, relating to the Fire at one of the Magezines at Wt. Point fort, a Quantity of Tents, Stores &c and a Number of the Officers lost all their Bagage; Also, an Acct. of the Enemys attack of Lt Coll Thompson and his Party at Youngs near the White Plains, a Coll., 2 Captains and abt 90 Rank and file taken Prisoners, 14 Killd and seventeen wounded.

Saturday the 19th. After some time spent in debate about the Prices of the supplies of the Quotas to be furnishd by the States Mr Lovel moved to Postpone the business before the house to take up a Letter from Mr Gerry complaining of his Privelidge being hurt Yesterday, which was at last read, and debated till Adjourn'd.<sup>7</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Elbridge Gerry, Robert R. Livingston, and William C. Houston. *JCC*, 16:165.

<sup>2</sup> On this subject, the journals record only "Resolved, That fifty copies of the trial of Major General Arnold be printed at public expence," but see *JCC*, 16:161–62, 167.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 16:167–68.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 16:171–73.

<sup>5</sup> Actually, December 30. See *JCC*, 16:171; and *PCC*, item 78, 11:487–90.

<sup>6</sup> This episode triggered a protest from Elbridge Gerry the following day over the breach of his "privilege" as a member of Congress which eventually led to his withdrawal from Congress, for which see these *Letters*, 14:430–33n.1, 435–36.

<sup>7</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: "Sunday February 20th. Last week the weather has been moderate, and this is a fine Day. Dined with Mr Leper."

## John Fell's Diary

[February 21–26, 1780]

Monday Feby 21st. Com Committee. On reading the Journals, before the order of the day could be brought on Mr Peabody made a motion that the Letter of Mr Gerry complaining of a breach of Privelidge might be considerd, which caused a confused disagreeable debate, at last the question of order was put and carried in the Negative, that the motion was not in order.<sup>1</sup>

Letter from Genl. Washington, referd to the Board of War.

Report from the Board of War, relating to Genl Schuylers Letter and that from the Commissioners of Indian affairs, to settle a Peace &c.

Tuesday Feby 22d. Letter from Genl Green with great complaints for want of money in his department.

Letter from Mr Gerry with the several Motions, amendments and debate took up 2 hours.<sup>2</sup>

The order of the day on Supplies was debated and some Paragraphs agreed to, and some Rejected. Dined with the President.<sup>3</sup> Rainy day.

Wednesday 23d Feby. Letters from Dr Franklin and A Lee, Memorial from Genl Arnold to have his Accounts settled, and not be referred to the Board of Commissioners.<sup>4</sup>

Report from the Board of War relating to Coll Armands taking the remains of Genl Polaska Legion to be joind to his Corps,<sup>5</sup> Report from do shewing the difficulty of Reduceing the Army and Reccomending a Committee to be appointed from Congress to goe to the Army for the Purpose.

Letter from the Governor of Maryland relating to Cloathing their Troops, Committed to 3.

Order of the day on Supplies, gone through all the Paragraphs but when the Question on the whole was to be put Adjourned.

Thursday Feby. the 24th, 1780. Memorial from Mr Benezet in behalf of Mr Bingham, after several motions, agreed to referr it to the Commercial Committee.<sup>6</sup> Order of the day on the report for supplis. Mr Pa[r]tridge moved for an alteration in the Price of Rum and after long debate and the Yaes and Noes several times calld, it was fixt at 1 Dollr  $\frac{3}{4}$ .<sup>7</sup>

Friday Feby 25. The Question on the whole report for supplies was taken & the Yaes & Noes and Pas'd in the affirmative. NB I was No.<sup>8</sup> A number of dispatches, memorials &c were read & Committed.

Saturday Feby 26. Com. Committee. The President read a letter to him, from the Minister of France, with a Copy of a Circular Letter which he Proposed to send to the several Governors of the different States recomending their utmost Exertions for the next Campaign if approved by Congress.<sup>9</sup> This gave rise to a very long and warm debate, some members were of opinion it would be attended with alarming consequences, others thought it justifiable. I did not approve of the measure but as the letter was wrote in modest terms I could not Perceive any dangerous consequences that could arise, at last it seemd to be reluctantly agreed to, that the President should acquaint him. Congress did not approve the measure. A number of Reports from the Treasury Board Passd.<sup>10</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of this incident in the journals (*JCC*, 16:180), but for Elbridge Gerry's breach of privilege dispute with Congress see the preceding entry, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 16:184–86.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Samuel Huntington.

<sup>4</sup> Benedict Arnold's petition was nevertheless "referred to the Board of Treasury." *JCC*, 16:187.

<sup>5</sup> For the adoption of this report this day, see *JCC*, 16:187; and these *Letters*, 14:410.

<sup>6</sup> See *JCC*, 16:190; and these *Letters*, 14:481.

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 16:191–94.

<sup>8</sup> *JCC*, 16:196–201.

<sup>9</sup> This effort of the chevalier de La Luzerne to appeal to the states for greater exertions is not mentioned in the journals, but see these *Letters*, 14:447–48n.3, 514.

<sup>10</sup> See *JCC*, 16:208–9. Following this entry Fell wrote: "Sunday Feby 27 1780. Last night Thunder, Lightening and Rain. Fine Day."

## John Fell's Diary

[February 28–March 4, 1780]

Monday Feby. 28th 1780. Com Commit. Letters from General Washington, Genl Schuyler, Govr of Virginia and several Reports &c.

Letter from Lt Coll White complaining that the Board of War refused to grant him a Colonels Commission, which he insisted on, having after long and trifling debate it was agreed to acquaint him that Congress would grant no more Colonels Commissions, it was also moved that the Board of War order Col White to Proceed imediatley to the So[uth]ward, this was not agreed to.<sup>1</sup>

Congress was to have fixt this day for the Adjournment but the consideration was Postponed till the second Monday in March.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday Feby 29. 1780. Number of Reports, memorials &c were read. Barron Steubens request per the Board of War for 700 Louiedores committd.<sup>3</sup> The report on the Tender Law debated and new motions made.<sup>4</sup>

Wednesday March the 1st, 1780. Rainy day & night. Several Memorials, Letters &c. Another troublesome Letter from Genl Arnold complaining of the Commissioners of Accounts orderd to lay on the Table, the way all such Letters ought to be treated.<sup>5</sup>

Thursday March 2d. Blows hard. After reading Sundry Reports &c A motion was made for the house to goe in to a Committee of the whole to take in to consideration Reports from the Committes for taking up the matter relating to reccomending to the States to making Provision for sinking their quotas of Continental Money &c.<sup>6</sup>

Friday March 3d. Com Committee. A Letter from Mr Pettit was Read relating to the great distress the Quarter Masters department was in for want of Money &c being in Debt 30 Million of Dollars besides what was wanting for other uses &c. Committed.<sup>7</sup>

After went in to a Committee of the whole on the Report begun Yesterday.



Saturday March 4th. This day a Packet arrivd from France with dispatches from Dr Franklin &ca but nothing very new or Interesting took up all the day in reading. NB Agreed to order the Treasury not to sell any more Bills of Exchange till further orders.<sup>8</sup> NB A Number of Vessells came up today.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> This failed motion is not mentioned in the journals. *JCC*, 16:210.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 16:211. In testimony of dissatisfaction with Philadelphia as a national capital, Congress had resolved December 3, 1779, to adjourn from Philadelphia "the last Saturday of April next," but left to a future decision "the place to which Congress will. . . adjourn," for which see these *Letters*, 14:247n.4.

<sup>3</sup> The board of war had actually recommended that baron Steuben be reimbursed 250 Louis d'ors for his expenses in coming to America and advanced an additional 546 for expences incurred since his arrival. *JCC*, 16:215–16.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 16:216–17. For Fell's views on the present fiscal crisis which led Congress on March 18 to repudiate the Continental dollar, see these *Letters*, 14:463–66n.2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 16:220.

<sup>6</sup> See these *Letters*, 14:466n.2.

<sup>7</sup> See *JCC*, 16:224. For Charles Pettit's report to the quartermaster general, Nathanael Greene, on this crisis, see Greene, *Papers* (Showman), 5:436–40.

<sup>8</sup> *JCC*, 16:228.

## John Fell's Diary

[March 6–11, 1780]

Monday March 6th. Coml. Committee. Memorial from Ebenezar Seth Platt, who had been a Prisoner in NewGate. Referrd to the Treasury. do from Coll Baty Commissary of Prisoners to Resign. Referrd to the Board of War.<sup>1</sup>

Letter[s] from Major Genl Lincoln dated Charlestown Jany 31st & Feb 1st advising that he had sent 2 Frigates to Georgia, and that they had seen 5 Sail of the Line and some other Vessells and had taken 3 Vessells with 40 Dragoon and some Officers &c. Committees Report for the Quarter Master General not yet to Resign.<sup>2</sup> A number of motions &c.

Tuesday March 7th. Rainy Day. An Act of the Senate and Assembly of New York was read and after some debate respecting the New Hampshire Grants was Committed. Letter from the Governors of Massachusetts Bay Respecting their Claim &c. Agreed to take the matter up to morrow.<sup>3</sup> Several Reports from Committees were Read.

Wednesday March 8th. Commercial Committee. Letter from the King of France, with advice of the King & Queens Portraits being taken and would be sent to Congress. Report from the Board of War, reccomending 5,000 Militia to be raised in Virginia, No Carolina &

So. Carolina vizt. Virginia 3,000, No Carolina 1,500, So Carolina 1,500, and to reccomend to the Commander in chief to send what troops he thought necessary to So Carolina.<sup>4</sup>

The Board reccomended the Expediency of Purchasing a quantity of Flour to be immediatly sent to the Army, who will soon be in want.<sup>5</sup> Disagreeable Accounts from many Quarters of the want of Money and not One Million of Dollars in the Treasury.

Thursday March 9th. After the dispatches Congress went in to a Committee of the whole on finance which after debateing till past 3 oClock, it was then moved for the Committee to rise, And moved the several Papers before them with others on finance be Committed a new to a Committee of 5.<sup>6</sup>

Friday 10th March. Com Committee. This day some Reports from the Board of War and Treasury were Read and some agreed to, but nothing done of any great consequence.

Saturday March the 11th, 1780. Some Reports from the Board of War read, and some agreed to. The Report on the Tender Law moved for and after debate and great oppisition, was committed to the Committee who are to bring in a Report on finance and the quotas of the States.

Committee Reported on a Proclamation for a fast on Wednesday the day of April.<sup>7</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> Col. John Beatty's resignation was accepted March 31. See *JCC*, 16:230, 319.

<sup>2</sup> This report is not mentioned in the journals, but for Congress' response to Nathanael Greene's letter of resignation, see these *Letters*, 14:511; and Greene, *Papers* (Showman), 5:457–58n.6.

<sup>3</sup> For these New York and Massachusetts responses to Congress' appeal for settling the Vermont dispute, see *JCC*, 16:236–37; and these *Letters*, 13:546n.1, 14:468, 482–83n.1.

<sup>4</sup> These board of war recommendations were in fact adopted this day. *JCC*, 16:239–40.

<sup>5</sup> This recommendation is not mentioned in the journals.

<sup>6</sup> According to the journals, a committee of six, for which see *JCC*, 16:243.

<sup>7</sup> That is, "the last Wednesday in April," the 26th. See *JCC*, 16:225, 252.

## John Fell's Diary

[March 13–18, 1780]

Monday March 13th. After the dispatches were gone through, the order of the day for Congress to fixt where to adjourn to, and the affair relating to Vermont were both Postponed to take up a Report from a Committee on Finance, went into a Committee of the whole.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday March 14th. Com. Committee. This day spent in a Committee of the whole house on finance and some Resolutions agreed to.

Wednesday March 15th, 1780. This day spent in a Committee of the whole on the finance Report and agreed to by the Committee. I disapproved the whole.

Thursday March 16th, 1780. After the dispatches, and Reports from the Treasury were read the Report on Finance, was considered per Paragraphs till adjourned.

Friday March 17th. Com Com. After the whole of the Report on finance, had been gone through and the Question ready to Put on the whole. Mr R Levingston moved for 3 of the Paragraphs to be Postponed to consider a motion of his in their stead, so that after spending so many days the whole is now to begin a new.<sup>2</sup>

Saturday March 18. Com Commercial. After the Reports from the Treasury &c Mr Levingstone withdrew his motion And the Question was taken on the finance Report. And the Yeas & Noes being called were Yeas Noes divided,<sup>3</sup> so passed in the affirmative.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> *JCC*, 16:255.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings in committee of the whole are not entered on the journals. Cf. *JCC*, 16:259.

<sup>3</sup> That is, six yeas, four noes, one divided. *JCC*, 16:267.

## John Fell's Diary

March 20, 1780

Monday March 20th, 1780. Letters from General Lincoln and Mr Laurens, Relating to the movement of the Enemy in the neighborhood of Charlestown, Report from the Committee to Recommend the Revising the Tender Law in the several States, Pass'd.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 16:269.

Following this entry, Fell recorded nothing for Tuesday, March 21, and then on the 22d wrote that "At 10 AM Left the City" for a trip home, during which he visited several New Jersey towns and officials before returning to Philadelphia April 3.

## John Fell's Diary

[April 4-8, 1780]

Tuesday April 4th, 1780. Congress. Letter from Dr. Morgan. Report from a Committee of a Circular Letter to be sent to the different States, long debated.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday April 5th. Commercial Committee. Letter from Genl Washington advising of an Imbarkation at N York and to know if Congress approv'd of sending the Maryland Line, Delaware Regiment, and Major Lees Core to South Carolina, Long debate upon the matter.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday the 6th. Com Com. Letter from Genl Washington, wrote in the most distressing terms relateing to the Army who are in want of almost every necessary, A Committee were appointed to draw up instructions for a Committee to be appointed to goe to Camp and consult with the General, (Messrs Livingston, Mathews & Ellsworth).<sup>3</sup> Also the Generals Letters &c relateing to the failure of settling the Cartell at Amboy, Referrd. Report from the Delegates of the State of Massachusetts for leave to stop 6 Million for the Ponobscot Expedition &c.<sup>4</sup> Postponed till to morrow.

Friday April 7th, 1780. Com. Committe. Congress. Sundry Reports from the Board of War, Treasury Committees &c, Coll Atlee 20,000 Ds on Account.<sup>5</sup> Ponobscot affair againe Postponed.

Letters from J Adams, of opinion all the Beligerent Powers are determind on War, especialy Great Britain. The draft of a Letter intended for the Legislatures of the several States was taken up and debated on, and cutt and hackd in a terrible manner and at last recommitted.<sup>6</sup>

Saturday April 8th. Comm. Committe. Report from the Treasury to Pay Sundry Persons Loan Office Certificates, for Debts due to them for Bomb Shells &c which occasiond a long debate, I was in favour of the Report, from necessity as we had no other way to Pay.<sup>7</sup>

Instructions were read for the Committee to goe to Camp. Postponed till Monday.

Order of the day on the motion of the Masachusetts Delegates relating to the Ponobscot Expedition, which causd a very long debate, at last it was agreed that the State should keep 2 Million of Dollars.<sup>8</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> For this circular letter, a revised version of which was adopted April 24, see *JCC*, 16:326–27, 336–37, 345–48, 384–87.

<sup>2</sup> The result of this debate was congressional approval “of the measures taken by General Washington for reinforcing the southern army.” *JCC*, 16:329.

<sup>3</sup> Robert R. Livingston, John Mathews, and Oliver Ellsworth were the members appointed this day to draw up instructions for the committee to go to camp, which was selected April 13—Mathews, Nathaniel Peabody, and Philip Schuyler. See *JCC*, 16:332–33; and these *Letters*, 15:15–17nn.1–2.

<sup>4</sup> The subject of this report is not explained in this day's journal entry, but for its disposition, see *JCC*, 334, 337, 339–42; and these *Letters*, 15:25–26, 36–37, 46–47.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 16:335.

<sup>6</sup> See note 1.

<sup>7</sup> See *JCC*, 16:338–39.

<sup>8</sup> See note 4.



## John Fell's Diary

[April 10–15, 1780]

Monday, April the 10th. Com. Committee. Sundry Letters, One from General Washington, advising of the Enemys Fleet having saild from N York, with 2,000 Troops supposd for So Carolina And that another imbarcation is going on said to consist of 5,000 Men. Droll Letter from James Gamble.<sup>1</sup> Instructions for the Committee to be appointed to goe to Camp debated.

Tuesday April 11th. Com Com. After the dispatches, Reports from the Board of War and Treasury &c. The Instructions were againe taken up.<sup>2</sup>

Letter from General Lincoln of the 14th Ulto advising that all was well at Charlestown then, Genl Hogan was arriv'd there,<sup>3</sup> the Enemy had Errected works to fire on the Town without Effect.

Wednesday 12th. Sundry Letters, Reports, Petitions &c. The Instructions for the Committee to goe to Camp.

Thursday, April 13th, 1780. After the Letters, Reports &c The chief of the day was taken up in triffling debate about the Electing 3 Members to goe to Camp, Mr Schuyler, Mr Mathews and Mr Peabody. Dined with Mr McLean.

Friday the 14th. Mr Pintard at Mr Searle. Some Letters were read, A Report from a Committee to allow sundry Warrants in favour of Coll Champion for 4 Million which caused long debate, in the same Report was a Resolve to allow all the Cred[itor]s of the Public Interest till Paid. NB Mr Clark had the Yaes & Noes call'd on that motion, Passd in the Negative.<sup>4</sup>

Saturday the 15th. Went to Gloucester with Pintard &c. Coll Ward appointed Commissary General of Prisoners.<sup>5</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> This letter is not in the PCC, and there is no mention of James Gamble in the journals until he was appointed a deputy commissary November 16. *JCC*, 18:1059–60.

<sup>2</sup> That is, for the committee to go to camp, for which see the preceding entry, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Brig. Gen. James Hogun.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 16:362–63.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 16:366. Following this entry, Fell wrote: "Sunday April 16th. Weather continues very Cold."

## John Fell's Diary

[April 17–22, 1780]

Monday April the 17th. Sundry Reports from the Treasury. Coll. Derricks to have leave of absence for 12 Months and a Bill on Mr Laurence for 500 Ds in Specie.<sup>1</sup> Motion from Mr Mathews to appoint a

Resident at the Court of France, after debate and the Question put Past in the Negative.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday April 18th, 1780. Commercial Committee. Report from the Board of War in answer to Coll Broadheads Letter to give Captains Commissions to Six of the Delaware Indians to Prevent that Nation going in to Hostilities with other Nations was agreed to.<sup>3</sup> The Report from a Committee on Loan Office Certificates, was debated, and some Resolutions agreed to vizt. that the holders should not be sufferers by the Depriication, the further consideration to be taken up to morrow.<sup>4</sup>

Wednesday April 19th 1780. Com Com. Report from the Treasury to draw on Mr Jay for 5 Million of Dollars In Bills of Excha to supply the Treasury at the Current Exchange.<sup>5</sup> Some other Petitions &c.

Thursday April 20. Com Committee. Some Reports from the Treasury, Board of War &c. A motion of approbation for General Greens Conduct in his Office of Quarter Master General, which displeasd me much made by Genl Schuyler and seconded per Mr Ellery.<sup>6</sup>

An Account of the Enemy having been at Paramis with 100 Horse & 300 foot, and Wounded Major Byles badley, left him Prisoner on Parole, Captains Weaver and Seely, Leiutenents Bristow and Glentworth of the Penn[s]ylvania Line, Ensign Thatcher and Shearman, Gen Starks Brigade Prisoners, 3 Privates wounded, 1 Killd, 25 Deserted, 50 non Commissiond and Privates mising.<sup>7</sup>

Friday April 21st, 1780. Commercial Committee. Report from the Board of War relating to Speicia and Flower being supplyd the Prisoners at New York,<sup>8</sup> and also for leave for the appointment of a Commissary of Prisoners of the Enemys to Reside in any of these States.<sup>9</sup>

Letter to be adressd to the several States long debateed,<sup>10</sup> Adjourned to Monday morning. Apricot Tree in Blossom.

Saturday the 22d, 1780. Went to accompany Mr Pintard as far as the wheat Sheaf on his way home.<sup>11</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> *JCC*, 16:372. For Lt. Col. Jacob Gerhard Diriks' career and services in promoting a Dutch loan, see these *Letters*, 15:160–61nn.

<sup>2</sup> For this debate and vote, see *JCC*, 16:371–72.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 16:372–73.

<sup>4</sup> For this aspect of the fiscal crisis that accompanied Congress' repudiation of the Continental dollar March 18, see *JCC*, 16:374–75; and these *Letters*, 15:49n.6, 56.

<sup>5</sup> For the adoption of this report the following day, see *JCC*, 16:381.

<sup>6</sup> There is no mention of this motion in the journals, but for the context of the debate on Greene's conduct as quartermaster general, see Greene, *Papers* (Showman), 5:503–4, 528–30nn.3–5.

<sup>7</sup> This report was contained in an April 16 letter from Capt. Jonathan Hallet enclosed in General Washington's April 17 letter to Congress, for which see *PCC*, item 152, 8:519–21, 527–30; and Washington, *Papers* (Fitzpatrick), 18:271.

<sup>8</sup> *JCC*, 16:381–83.

<sup>9</sup> *JCC*, 16:383–84.

<sup>10</sup> See Fell's Diary, April 4–8, note 1.

<sup>11</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: "Sunday the 23d. Dined with Mr Jos Wharton."

## John Fell's Diary

[April 24–28, 1780]

Monday April 24, 1780. Letter from General Lin[c]oln, advising of the Enimys Ships having got over the Barr at Charlestown &c (rather Gloomy[]).<sup>1</sup> Some Reports from the Board of War and Treasury &c.

Tuesday 25th. Report from the Board of War. Report from the Committee on Loan Office Certificates.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday 26th. Fast-day.<sup>3</sup> Last night it Rain'd and has continued all this day.

Thursday April 27. Com Committee. Some Reports from the Treasury &c. Report on Loan Office Certificates was agind debated on a motion from Mr Houston, to fix the date at 1st Decem 1777.<sup>4</sup> Postponed. Dined with the President.

Friday 28. Sundry Letters &c. A Report for the allowance of the Deputy Pay Master. Syrus Griffin Esqr was Elected a Judge of the Court of Appeals and William Denning Esqr Commissioner of the Treasury Board.<sup>5</sup> Adjourn'd to Monday.<sup>6</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 15:65n.2.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 16:389–90.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. these *Letters*, 15:68n.2.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 16:393–96.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 16:397.

<sup>6</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: "Saturday 29th. Went in a Boat to Gloster. Sunday 30th. Dined with Mr A Stewart."

## James Lovell to Nathaniel Peabody

Sir,

April 28. 1780

I am not at Leisure to write largely; I shall only mention a few Matters of Business. The inclosed Letter<sup>1</sup> is the only one that came for you by yesterday's Post. By the memorandum respectg. Journals you appear to have a very irregular Collection. If they are not essential to compleat the Numbers already sent on to yr. State, they should be returned to the secretaries office; I will take & execute any Direction you may chuse to give about them.<sup>2</sup>

I have this morning been with Doctr. Sheill upon a little Business in the decyphering Way, when I also laid before him a Minute of the Linen & Kersymere in such a Manner as will lead him to give me the Sum due from us by casting his Eye upon his original Invoices.

25 yds at 2/11—72/11

25 yds at —

2¼ yds. at —

Kersymre.

It must appear on Inspection that yours was of inferior Quality.

I have met with nothing but Disappointment in Regard to hard Money. Mrs. L——<sup>3</sup> writes that it is 60 for one. Col. Palfrey never saw the Letter which I wrote to Mr. H——<sup>4</sup> or he would certainly have procured the Money, he says. My old Friend Mr. Lane thought is enough to take a Man's Promise to deliver me a Sum, I know not how much, and to take my Draught on him. This was the 10th of February and the Man reached Philada. only Yesterday. He did as any Speculator might be expected to do. He told me he had none for me. This, between all my good Friends, is doubling all my Expence upon the Linnen. I hope Mr. Livermore will not disappoint you, and I will endeavour to settle what is between us in the Manner most agreeable to you in hard or soft.

Nothing material has happened since you quitted except the arrival of a valuable Vessel from Boston that will give us a considerable Sum by the Vend of her Cargo of [Pepper?], Sugar &c.

Yrs. affectionately,

JL

[P.S.] Make my Compliments to Baron Steuben and beg him to consider whether Col. Regnier can be employed (after having received 500 hard and 3,000 soft Dollars to *enable him to return to France*) without appearing in an unfavorable Light, if there even was no difficulty about Rank.<sup>5</sup> I love the man and am anxious for his real Comfort.

Griffin is on the Court of Appeals, Denning the Treasury. Both chosen this day.<sup>6</sup>

RC (NhHi: Peabody Papers). Addressed: "Honble. Nathaniel Peabody Esqr., member of Congress now at Head Quarters, Morris Town." Endorsed by Peabody: "Recd. May 1st. 2d. answered—by Shelden."

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> Peabody noted at the end of this letter: "State has had 16 Set of Journals, including those the delegates took up to somewhere last Sum[m]er (except 78)—the State own all. I left it not more than—20 of one Sort."

<sup>3</sup> That is, his wife Mary Middleton Lovell.

<sup>4</sup> John Hancock.

<sup>5</sup> For the recent resignation of "Lt Col Pierre Regnier de Roussi, late of the 2d New York regiment having conceived himself injured in his rank by the arrangement of the line of that State," see *JCC*, 16:376.

<sup>6</sup> See *JCC*, 16:397. For the known letters Lovell wrote to Peabody during the period of Peabody's service on the committee at headquarters, see these *Letters*, 15:125–26, 158–59, 217, 236, 324–25, 487–88, 562–63.

## John Fell's Diary

[May 1–5, 1789]

Monday May 1st, 1780. Com Committee. Letters from Sundry Persons were this day Read vizt One from General Lincoln dated the 12th



ulto. advising of the arrival of Generals Woodford and Scott &c. The Sugars Consign'd to Mr Blain.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday the 2d. Commercial Committee. Some Treasury Reports &c. Motion to take up the Report on Loan Office Certificates after long debate was Recommitted.<sup>2</sup> The report from the Admiralty for a New form of Commission, Bond and Instructions to Captains of Privateers agreed to.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday May 3d, 1780. Com Committee. Report from a Committee on the allowance for the Deputy Pay Masters of the Army agreed to 8/10ths on all monies they Pay.<sup>4</sup>

Debate on a Memorial from Mr Wilson relating to the Appeal not being sent within the time limited, for the Mercury Packet.<sup>5</sup>

Thursday the 4th. Commercial Committee. Report from the Board of War, with a Letter from Mr Petitt. Complaint from <sup>6</sup> against Mr Hanson a deputy Commissary, Referr'd to the Committee now at Camp. Adjourn'd early.

Friday 5th. Com Committee. Report from the Committee on the Post Office, recommending double Postage, agreed to, some other Parts of the Report committed to the Treasury.<sup>7</sup> Dined with the Minister of France.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 16:402.

<sup>2</sup> JCC, 16:403.

<sup>3</sup> JCC, 16:403-9.

<sup>4</sup> JCC, 16:409-10.

<sup>5</sup> JCC, 16:410-11.

<sup>6</sup> That is, James Gray, whose complaint against John Hanson was transmitted to the committee at headquarters in a letter of May 6, for which see these *Letters*, 15:91.

<sup>7</sup> See JCC, 16:413-14.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Jeremiah Wadsworth

Dr. Sr

Philadelphia, May 5. 1780.

I was yesterday obliged with your favour of the 23d of April; the contents & enclosures of which I will pay due attention to, & endeavour to make you some returns by the next Tuesdays Post.

Capt Champion I presume has reached Hartfo[r]d long before this, & given you some explanation of matters, & brot. you the means of some small relief under your embarrassments,<sup>1</sup> which I know must be very great, & greater I believe than any man merely from pecuniary motives would patiently enduer.

If all the States will speak in a tone as decisive as Connecticut have done in the last Session of their Assembly & act accordingly the publick may yet pay her debts & restore her credit. A number of the Mer-

chants & Farmers of Connecticut have done themselves great honor & do now exhibit to the world a striking specimen of that spirit on trying emergencies which is only to be found in a pure & uncorrupted republick. I shall publish in Tomorrow's paper some extracts from your & other letters from Connecticut & the manly & well timed address of her principal Merchants, towards whom I feel on this occasion what I cannot easily express.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the Assemblies who have not already met will meet in a few days & I pray God to inspire their councils with wisdom & firmness. I congratulate you Sir on your introduction to one of the most respectable & important of those bodies, where I know you may & I doubt not you will be very useful, and am, Dr. Sr, with true esteem, your very obedt. humbl Sert.

Oliv Ellsworth

[P.S.] The last Tuesdays Papers which I have just sent on to Mr Lyman contain all the news current here from Europe, the West Indies & Charlestown, to which I must refer you for information.

OE

RC (CtHi: Wadsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Ellsworth had written to Wadsworth in a letter of April 15 about Henry Champion's purchases as deputy commissary under Wadsworth, for which see these *Letters*, 15:38–39.

<sup>2</sup> The May 6 issue of John Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet* contains extracts of three letters written from Hartford, dated April 23 and 24, concerning Connecticut's compliance with Congress' recommendations for calling in the old Continental currency at the rate of 40 to 1, plus an April 21 "Address" to the Connecticut Assembly signed by 14 merchants affirming their willingness to accept currency at the exchange rates fixed by Congress.

## William Ellery to Christopher Ellery

Dear Brother

Philadelphia May 8th. 1780.

Your letter of the 4th of April partly and partly of the 8th did not come to hand until a few days past. My affection for you disposes me to do every thing in my power to serve you, and I sincerely wish that my attempts may not prove ineffectual. By the death of Mr. Mumford a vacancy hath been made in the chamber of accounts; to fill which I would nominate you; but I am sure you would not be a gainer by it, the expence of board &c &c are so immense.

The mode Congress hath adopted to introduce a medium of stability supersedes any observations I might other wise make on the first part of your letter respecting that subject of appretiation. You cannot certainly be in earnest when you say that you "never never will believe it is the quantity of our money or indeed any money that makes it depretiate." It is clear says Home "that if the quantity of goods and of money continue the same the price will be in proportion to the de-

mand. If the demand & quantity of goods continue the same, the *price will be in proportion to the quantity of money*. And if the demand and quantity of money continue the same, the price will fall as the quantity increases, and rise as the quantity dimi[ni]shes.”<sup>1</sup> The same author observes, that the value of commodities is regulated both by the quantity and the demand; but *the value of gold & silver is regulatd by the quantity only*, the demand being unbounded. And further says he if there were no drain for our silver, its quantity in our continent would *sink its value* so much as to render the American mines unprofitable. When you reflect on these observations you will I don’t doubt alter your sentiments, and believe, notwithstanding your bold declaration, that the price of labour and commodities may be enhanced by a surplussage of money or in other words that money may be depretiated by increasing its quantity. Indeed you seem to allow this to be true; for you say, if you can make the people beleive that there was not more money than is necessary for a currency it would be more valuable soon. But why? Because when any thing is becoming *scarce* it is *estimable* with the *bulk of mankind*. Whether you great folk will condescend to consider yourselves as part of that bulk or not I can’t say; but certain it is that among the high as well as the low, the rich as well as the poor, the value of things estimable is increased by their scarcity. But I will not press you too hard. If it were possible to exclude barter, and also every species of money, excepting our paper bills, from commerce; and no more should be emitted, there should be ground to believe that the money would appretiate. But whether we should be able to sustain a debt of two hundred millions of hard dollars, if it were possible to appretiate our present money to its nominal value without lessning its quantity. Or whether it would be possible by taxation, which is the only way by which it could be so appretiated, to collect money sufficient for the purpose you may judge?

I am glad to find that Congress mode of paying their debt is popular; but I cannot think that it in any manner resembles the taking away the property of a number of best estates in the community to discharge debts. The plan is not compulsory unless the calling in all the present money by a continuance of the monthly tax is so, which you will not affirm; and clearly Congress have a right to burn it when so called in, and emit other money in its place on good funds. There are perhaps some few men who expect that they should some time or other get a hard dollar for a paper one, and may have for a long time kept their paper by them with that view; but these must be very few, money hath been for some time in such a rapid circulation and the prices of commodities so much enhanced that it hath been impossible to hold it long if people should have been inclined to hoard that which, by its amazing depretiation, had become of little or no value.



At what rate think you did the present holders of our money almost universally procure it? At the advanced rate of article—And can you conceive that any man ought to receive of the public for the money he acquired by the sale of one bushel of wheat, as much money of a different sort as would purchase forty? You will not think this to be just; and would not I beleive consent to pay a tax for this purpose. The subject of finance is at best a subject of great intricacy; and the derangement of our finance, occasioned by depretiation, hath involved it in still greater perplexity; so that if the plan proposed should not be unobjectionable it will not be surprizing. Connecticut and, we hear Massachusetts-Bay, have adopted it. Our State will I presume follow suit, and I imagin all the States will embrace it. It is impossible in the nature of finance to form a plan that will please every one. The great point aimed at is to obtain a medium of some established value; and this is a matter of such magnitude and importance as ought to silence the clamours of self interest, and excite the most vigorous efforts to accomplish it. You will before this gets to hand have seen the resolution of Congress declaring that the holders of Loan-office certificates shall not suffer by depretiation.<sup>2</sup> Congress are disposed to do justice.

By a vessel which arrived here yesterday in 13 days from St Eustatius we are informed that by advices recd. at Martinico, Mr. Jay the Min[iste]r to the Court of Spain had arrived at Cadiz, that the French had reinforced Grenada & St Vincent, and that the French & British fleet were both at Sea. The former consisting of 23 & the latter of 20 sail of the line. No late news from So Carolina.

I received a letter from Mr Marchant dated the 23d ultmo. in which he informs me that he and I shall be dropped. It is what I have for some time expected would take place with regard to me; but I imagined he would keep his standing. Considering these shiftings as the result of liberty, when there is fair play, and some regard is paid to merit, and the reputation and interest of the State, the ejected or dejected persons ought to acquiesce. But when a change is effected by gross lying, and merit in the candidate and the honor and interest of the State are not regarded, as a citizen and an honest man I must regret it.

If I were to consider my own happiness only I should be glad of your removal to Newport; because I shall now find two homes where I have lost my one. I wish you may continue there undisturbed and happy. I expect to be at Cranston in about a month, and in the course of the summer to see you often. Give my regards to your wife and children and all friends.

I am Yrs affectionately,

W Ellery

[P.S.] The Marquis de la fayette is arrived at Boston.<sup>3</sup> We don't know what brought him hither, but I suppose some thing of consequence.



RC (MeHi: MSS S-1259).

<sup>1</sup> Ellery is quoting Henry Home (1696-1782), Lord Kames, on the "Origin and Progress of Commerce." The passage is found in Book I, Sketch III, of *Sketches of the History of Man*, 2d ed. rev. (Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1778), p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> See these *Letters*, 15:49-50n.6.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 94n.3.

## John Fell's Diary

[May 8-13, 1780]

Monday May 8th. Some few Letters, and Reports adjourn'd, Early.

Tuesday May 9th. Letters from Charles town, the Enemy endeavoring to Blockade the Town &c. Peter R. Fell Nominated for a Commissioner of Claims.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday May 10th, 1780. Commercial Committee. Congress. Reports from the Treasury for sundry Services, and One for 25,000 Ds. in Specia, to be obtained by Bills to be drawn for that amount for the use of the Officers Prisoners at New York which Bills are to be sold @ 40 for 1—and the mony to be Procurd at 60 for 1—with 2½ per Ct Commission to the Negotiator &c.

Thursday May 11th. Com Committee. Letters from Governor Turnbull,<sup>2</sup> with the Acts of the State of Connecticut complying with the Requisitions of Congress of the 18th March and also for Supplies, a long debate relating to the late Commissary General of Purchases, concerning his Accounts.

Friday May 12th. Com. Committee. Letters from Mr Carmichael Read, with an Acct of his honorable Reception at Madrid, and advising of 6 Ships of Line & 4,000 Troops coming this way &c.<sup>3</sup>

Letter from the Committee at Camp, give a deplorable account of the situation of Our Army being in want of Money, Provisions &c.<sup>4</sup> A Report of a Treaty of Commerce to be sent to Mr Laurence to Enter in to with the United Netherlands was Read and Postponed.<sup>5</sup> Great want of Money from all Quarters.

Saturday May the 13th, 1780. Commercial Committee. Dined with Mr Geddes.<sup>6</sup>

MS (MeHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> For Peter Fell's nomination this day and appointment to this post June 16, see *JCC*, 17:416, 521; and these *Letters*, 15:343n.2.

<sup>2</sup> For these letters from Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., see *JCC*, 17:422-23.

<sup>3</sup> A February 19 letter from William Carmichael had been read in Congress May 11. His February 15 letter to John Jay, which was also partially in cipher and was enclosed with the former, was read the 12th. See *JCC*, 17:423; *PCC*, item 88, fols. 47-54; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 3:496-97, 507.

<sup>4</sup> For this May 10 letter, see these *Letters*, 15:104-7.

<sup>5</sup> This report is not mentioned in the journals (*JCC*, 17:423–26) or in Secretary Thomson's register of committee reports (*PCC*, item 185, fol. 134).

<sup>6</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: "Sunday the 14th. Went with Mr Jos. Wharton and dined with Mr John Kidd."

## John Fell's Diary

[May 15–20, 1780]

Monday 15th. Coml Committee. This day the Marquis De la Fayette sent to Congress a number of Letters &c from Dr Franklin, John Adams, Mr Dana, Jon. Williams, Junr. &c which were read and Refferd to the Committee on foreign affairs &c.<sup>1</sup> Mr Duane was appointed on that Committee.<sup>2</sup> A Memorial from Genl Arnold, complaining of the Bd of Treasury &c.<sup>3</sup>

Tuesday the 16th, Coml Committee. A number of Reports from the Treasury were Pas'd. A Memorial from Mr Eustace, Referrd to the Board of Warr.<sup>4</sup> A do. in favor of Capt. Paschall for 3,000 Ds. & 250 Dolls. in specia by a Bill of Excha to which I objected and had the Yaes & Noes call'd passd in the Affirmative.<sup>5</sup>

General Arnolds Memorial was taken up, which caused a long and warm debate, on a motion for Committing it to a Special Committee which was at last agreed to. Members Chose Mr Telfier, Mr Jones, Mr Clark. NB Yesterday 3 Members from Georgia took their Seats vizt.<sup>6</sup>

Wednesday May 17th. Coml Committee. This day a Letter was Receiv'd from the Minister of France, advising of the intentions of his Court of sending a Naval force and Army to America and Reccomending a Committee to be appointed to conferr with him and the Marquis De La Fayette on the subject and a Committee were appointed vizt. Mr Levingston, Mr Ellsworth & Mr J. Jones.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Mathews also deliverd a letter from the Committee at Camp which was referrd to said Committee.<sup>8</sup>

Thursday 18th. Com. Committee. A number of Letters were Receivd from Mr Jay & read, several Reports from Committees &c. The Report from the Committee on the Ministers Letter was taken up and Read.<sup>9</sup> Resolved that the states from Virginia to New Hampshire Raise within 20 days 10 Million for a Present Supply & that 25,000 Ds in Specia be drawn in Bills of Exchange on Mr Jay,<sup>10</sup> (which I opposed) on the Part for a Committee to be chose to goe to Camp. A great debate ensued what Powers were to [*be*] given to them, and whether a New Committee or the Committee already at Camp should be appointed. The debate lasted till near 5 oClock and then adjourn'd to 7<sup>11</sup> oClock. The debate on sending a Committee to Camp was again renew'd with great warmth and in my opinion rather indecent expressions against

Mr Levingston in Particular. The debate lasted, till near 11 oClock and then adjourned.

Friday 19th. This day chiefly spent in debate on the Resolution of the Powers &c to be given the Committee at Camp and the letter to be wrote to the Respective Governors of Virginia to New Hampshire.<sup>12</sup> Dined with the Minister of France.

Saturday 20th. Some Treasury Reports Pass'd. Report from the Committee to conferr with the Ministers and Marquis La Fayette after long debate per Mr Burk &c agreed to.<sup>13</sup> The weather very dry & Cold.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 17:428; and Lafayette, *Letters* (Idzerda), 3:xxxvi, 11, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Fell's remark is misleading. Duane was not appointed to the committee for foreign affairs, but to the committee appointed this day "to take into consideration and report a proper arrangement for the department of foreign affairs." *JCC*, 17:428.

<sup>3</sup> For Benedict Arnold's complaint, which was actually aimed at Elbridge Gerry, see these *Letters*, 15:147-51.

<sup>4</sup> That is, Capt. John Skey Eustace. *JCC*, 17:429.

<sup>5</sup> Fell's objection was to an appeal from Capt. Frederick Paschke, not Pascall. *JCC*, 17:430-32.

<sup>6</sup> That is, William Few, Edward Telfair, and George Walton. *JCC*, 17:426.

<sup>7</sup> See *JCC*, 17:433; and these *Letters*, 15:162-63nn.1-2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28.

<sup>9</sup> See *JCC*, 17:436.

<sup>10</sup> According to the journals, these resolves were not adopted until May 19. *JCC*, 17:437-38.

<sup>11</sup> See *JCC*, 17:436.

<sup>12</sup> *JCC*, 17:438-39.

<sup>13</sup> *JCC*, 17:442-43.

## Robert R. Livingston to Nathaniel Peabody

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 21st May 1780

We have lately received the warmest & most pressing representations from our friends on the Grants. The Usurpers determine by the first of June to carry their Laws into effect, & it will be necessary that we either support those who wish to hold under your State or ours<sup>1</sup> by some pointed resolutions & vigorous actions, or submit to see them change their massters tho' sorely against their inclinations.

Georgia is now represented, & the present time appears to me the most favourable for procuring a determination of Congress. I must therefore entreat you to come down<sup>2</sup> immediately upon the rect. of this, not only because the business will admit of no delay but because after the arrival of the fleet, you will not have it in your power to leave camp.

I write you no news or politicks as you will receive all communications of that sort from Mr Matthews & the Marquiss who will do me the honor to be the bearer of this.

I am Dear Sir, with esteem, Your Most Obt hum Servt.,

Rob R Livingston

RC (VtU: McCullough Collection). Addressed: "The Honbl. N. Peabody Esqr., Morristown. Favoured by the Honble. Majr. Genl La Fayette."

<sup>1</sup> For the difficulties New York and New Hampshire had encountered in bringing the New Hampshire Grants issue before Congress at this time, see these *Letters*, 15:41, 55, 170–71.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Peabody was a member of the committee at headquarters which was conferring with General Washington at Morristown, N.J.

## John Fell's Diary

[May 22–June 3, 1780]

Monday 22d. A number of Letters, Memorials &c on many different subjects. One from G Livingston relating to J Hopper &c.<sup>1</sup> Recommendation from the Committee at Camp to Reduce some Regimt.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday May 23d 1780. Some Reports, Memorials &c. The New York Delegates brought on the Resolution relating Vermont which after long debate and amendment, I moved to have it Committed to 3, vizt Houston, Burk & Ellsworth.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday May 24th. Com Committee. Several Letters, Memorials &c.

Thursday 25th. Some Letters &c. I was taken Sick and came out of Congress.

Friday 26th. Went to Congress. After Reading some Letters, Reports &c A Report was taken up Reccomending to the States to Receive in Payment for Taxes, Quarter Masters and Commissarys Certificates which was agreed to.<sup>4</sup>

Saturday 27th. Sick, did not goe to Congress.

Sunday 28th to June the 2d Continued unable to attend Congress. Saturday June 3d. Congress did not meet.<sup>5</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> For this letter from Gov. William Livingston concerning John Hopper, see *JCC*, 17:444; and Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 3:379–81.

<sup>2</sup> See enclosure "No. 3" to the committee's May 16 letter to Congress, these *Letters*, 15:133–35.

<sup>3</sup> According to the journals, these New York proposed resolutions were committed to William C. Houston, Thomas Burke, and James Henry. *JCC*, 17:448–52.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 17:463–66; and these *Letters*, 15:174–75, 194–96.

<sup>5</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: "Sunday June 4th. 1780. Dined with Mr. Ths Willing."



## John Fell's Diary

[June 5–10, 1780]

Monday June 5th. Commercial Committee. Congress. Letters from Govr Rutledge, beleiving Charlestown had surrenderd. Letters from Govr Nash of a later date do not mention it, a number of other dispatches &c &c.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday the 6th. Commercial Committee. Letters by Capt Pickles from Mr Polock at New Orleans advising of the taking of Mobile by the Spanierds.<sup>2</sup> A Motion was made by Genl Armstrong, to send for Genl Gates to Philada over Ruled.<sup>3</sup> A motion was made to order Major Lees Core to So Carolina that was not agreed to,<sup>4</sup> And the President was requested to write to the General about them.<sup>5</sup> Some Reports agreed to & others Postponed.

Wednesday June 7th, Com Committee. Sundry Reports from Committees, Board of War & Treasury.

Thur[s]day June 8th. Com. Comm. Letters from Commodore Paul Jones Referd to the Admiralty Board. Several Accounts agree that Charlestown was safe the 18th May. Several Reports read from different Committees, &c. The 2d Wednesday in Sepr Congress agreed to hear the afair Vermont.<sup>6</sup>

Friday June 9th 1780. Com Com. A Letter from Genl Washing[ton] ordering Major Lees Horse to Camp as the Enemy were out in Force at Springfield.<sup>7</sup> Some Reports of the Treasury, Board of War &c. P.R.F.<sup>8</sup>

Saturday June 10th. Commercial Committee. Some Reports read, from the Treasury &c. No news from Jersey. A man in town Reports Charlestown was taken the 11th. Mercury Packet arrivd from Boston.<sup>9</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 17:486; and these *Letters*, 15:253–54.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 251–52.

<sup>3</sup> This motion is not mentioned in the journals.

<sup>4</sup> For this Francis Kinloch motion, which was not entered on the journals by Secretary Thomson, see *JCC*, 17:492.

<sup>5</sup> See these *Letters*, 15:268–69.

<sup>6</sup> This decision was actually adopted June 9. See *ibid.*, p. 285; and *JCC*, 17:499.

<sup>7</sup> Washington reported this information in a June 8 letter to the board of war, which submitted it to Congress this day. See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 18:488–89; and *JCC*, 17:500.

<sup>8</sup> This cryptic reference probably means that Fell met or dined with his son, Peter R. Fell, this day.

<sup>9</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: "Sunday June 11th. Dined with J Gill."

## John Fell's Diary

[June 12–17, 1780]

Monday June 12th (Billy<sup>1</sup> went home). Sundry Reports from Board of War &c.

Tuesday June 13th. Went to Trenton and staid there to.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday the 15th. PM came to Town, and found that Congress had Recived the Account of the Capture of Charlestown.

Friday 16th. Commercial Committee. Several dispatches, Reports from Board of Treasury &c. B. Genl Weedon and Col Morgon orderd to Join the Southern Army under the Command of General Gates.<sup>3</sup> Dined with the Minister of France.

Saturday June 17th 1780. Com Committee. Genl Schuyler laid before Congress a long Report from the Committee at Camp, with a New System for the Quarter Masters department, to be considerd on Monday.<sup>4</sup> Several Letters, Reports from Committees, &c &c.<sup>5</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Fell remained in Trenton the 14th and returned to Philadelphia the 15th.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 17:518–19.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 17:522–23; and these *Letters*, 15:338–39.

<sup>5</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: "Sunday June 18th. Dined with Mr F Lewis."

## John Fell's Diary

[June 19–24, 1780]

Monday June 19th. Committee of Commerce. The Report from the Committee at Camp Referrd to a Com.<sup>1</sup> Some other Reports Read.

Tuesday June 20. Com Commerce. Letr from General Washington informing of the situation of the Enemy at Elizabeth town, and the disagreeable situation of Our Army, the Arrival of Sr H Clinton &c.<sup>2</sup> Mr Adams appointed to goe to Holland with the same Powers given to Mr. Lawrence to accept the Bills drawn on Mr Laurens &c.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday June 21st. Letter from the Speaker of New Jersey acquainting that their Legislature had Pas't Laws for Providing for Specific Articles required of them by Congress, and the Committee of Congress at Camp.<sup>4</sup>

Letter from Governor Livingston with one inclosed from Lord Sterling reccomending the most vigorous exertions of the States.<sup>5</sup>

Honble Arnold Henry Dohrman, Appointed Agent In the Kingdom of Portugal, Lisbon.<sup>6</sup>

NB Mr. Buckley<sup>7</sup> informd of a Vessell of Mr Dohrmond coming to America which was taken and carried in to Lisbon.

Report of the Committee for fixing the depriceation on Certificates in the Loan Offices which caused long debates, as to fixing the time. Adjourned to 9 oClock to morrow morning.<sup>8</sup>

Thursday, June 22d. After the dispatches were read, the Report of the Certificates were taken up and some Resolutions agreed to.<sup>9</sup>

Friday June 23d. Commercial Committee. Letter from Genl Washington complaining greatly of the want of Clothing especialy Shirts for the Soldiers,<sup>10</sup> Letter from Genl Lincoln requesting an inquiry in to his conduct &c.<sup>11</sup> Sundry other Business. Houston went out of Town. I came home with an ague.

Saturday June 24th, 1780. Commercial Committee. This day no dispatches, reports Read from Committes &c. Adjourned at 1 oClock.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> For Congress' disposition of this report, see these *Letters*, 15:339n.1.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 17:531; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:26–28.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 17:534–37; and these *Letters*, 15:424.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 17:538.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; and Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 3:436–37.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 17:541–42; and these *Letters*, 15:425–26.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps John Buckley, master of the *Alliance*. See *JCC*, 21:828.

<sup>8</sup> See *JCC*, 17:542.

<sup>9</sup> *JCC*, 17:544–48.

<sup>10</sup> See *JCC*, 17:551; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:34–38.

<sup>11</sup> For Gen. Benjamin Lincoln's inquiry, see *ibid.*, pp. 147–50; *JCC*, 17:551–52; and these *Letters*, 15:472–73.

## John Fell's Diary

[June 26–July 1, 1780]

Monday June 26. Commercial Committee. Letter from M G Gates dated from Travelors Rest in Virginia advising of his having Receiv'd the orders of Congress to take the Command of the Southern Army &c.<sup>1</sup>

Letters from the Presidents of the States of Maryland and Delaware advising of their intentions of complying with the Requisitions of Congress & the Committee at Camp, Respecting the Raising Men, Provisions &c.

Letr from Board of War for 50,000 Ds for a Particular Purpose.<sup>2</sup>

Letr from Gen Lincoln to supply the Prisoners at Charlestown. Several Reports from Committes and a Resolve to Print a New Eddition of the Journals for 1779 without the Yaes, Noes.<sup>3</sup> Medical Committee to

order Regulations for that department during the Suspension of the Director General.<sup>4</sup>

The Report on Loan Office Certificates was taken up and some Resolutions agreed to.<sup>5</sup>

Tuesday June 27th 1780. Committee of Commerce. Letters from the Marquis of Britaignie at Martiniqu, w[h]ere he was sent per General Lincoln from Charlestown for Succors for that Place.<sup>6</sup>

do from Parsons, Alston & Co & do advising of Frigate arriving there who said a fleet of 14 Spanish Ships of the Line & 8 Frigates were expected. Letter from General Du Portail at Charles town, he did not approve of the capetulation of Charles town. The Report with regard to the Payment of Principle & Interest on Loan Office Certifficates was at last agreed to be Postponed till to morrow.<sup>7</sup>

Wednesday 28th. Com Committee. After some dispatches were Read, and Reports from Committees, Mr James Henry moved that the Report on the Certificates might be further postponed. Mr John Henry calld for the Yaes & Noes, which Pasd in the Negative per great Majority.

The Main Question on the Report was then Put, and the Yaes & Noes calld for by Mr John Henry which Pasd in the Affirmative 9 States Ayes, 2 Noes, 1 devided. So this great Question was at last finishd.<sup>8</sup>

Report on Ottis & Henlys having Purchas'd Clothing to the amount of 30,000 Sterlg. Referrd to the Treasury.<sup>9</sup>

Thursday June 29th 1780. Com Committee. This day a great number of Letters, Reports from Committees &c were read and a good deal of Business done.

Friday June 30th. Com. Com. A Letter from the Govr of Maryland advising, to that State agreeing to the Requisition of Congress of the 18th March. The Report of the Committee on the Quarter Master General department, was taken up and debated.<sup>10</sup> (A bad System.[])

Saturday July 1st 1780. The French Minister sent a Memorial to Congress at the request of the Governor of the Havana requesting leave to Purchase 3,000 Bs Flour &c. Referrd to a Committee.<sup>11</sup> Some other Committees filld up.

Congress were invited per the President of the College to attend the Commencement.

The President of Congress was requested to give notice that on Tuesday at 2 oClock he would see Company being the Annaversary of the Independence.<sup>12</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See PCC, item 154, 2:206–8; and JCC, 17:558.

<sup>2</sup> In this June 24 request, the board explained that they wished “fifty thousand dollars for a purpose which we beg we may be excused from explaining at present.” Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> JCC, 17:563.



<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 17:561–62.

<sup>5</sup> According to the journals, Congress only revised the report, and then postponed “the farther consideration thereof.” *JCC*, 17:563.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 17:565–66.

<sup>8</sup> *JCC*, 17:566–69.

<sup>9</sup> *JCC*, 17:569–71.

<sup>10</sup> See *JCC*, 17:579–80; and these *Letters*, 15:339n.1.

<sup>11</sup> *JCC*, 17:580.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 17:580–81; and these *Letters*, 15:399.

## John Fell's Diary

[July 3–7, 1780]

Monday July 3d. This day a number of dispatches were Read, also several Reports from Committes &c. Adjourn'd to ½ past 9 to morrow.

Tuesday July 4th. Congress met and Proceeded to the Commencement at the University. Afterwards the President of Congress gave a Cold Collation to the Gentlemen in Town at the State house on Account of the Anivarsery of Independance and a Number of Cannon &c fired on the Occasion.

Wednesday July 5th. Com Com. The Report on the Quarter Masters department took up the chief of this day.

Thursday July 6th. The Report taken up again to day and continued in debate till we Adjourn'd.<sup>1</sup>

A Resolve Past that Mr Lawrence Proceed to Europe.<sup>2</sup>

A do to let the State of Pennsylvania have £1,000 Sterl[ing] Bills.<sup>3</sup>

Friday July 7th 1780. Sundry Reports from Committes, Memorials &c. A motion moved for Mr. Lawrence to have a Commission to Act in settling a plan of Amity & Commerce with the United Provinces.<sup>4</sup> Adjourn'd till Monday.<sup>5</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 17:589–90.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Henry Laurens. *JCC*, 17:590.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> For the adoption of this motion, see *JCC*, 17:594.

<sup>5</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: “Saturday July 8th. Exceeding Hott. Sunday July 9th. Continues very Hott.”

## John Fell's Diary

[July 10–15, 1780]

Monday July 10th. This day a Number of Dispatches from different Quarters. Reports from Committees &c &c.

Tuesday 11th. Com Committee. Several Reports from Committes, Treasury and Board of War. A Report from the Admiralty to fix the Wages, Subsistance &c of the Navy caused a considerable debate.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday July 12th. After some Reports, Petitions &c were Read, the Report of the New System on the Quarter Masters department was gone through but too late to take the Question. It was committed to be Revised.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday July 13th. When the dispatches were gone through, A motion was made to request Genl Washington to endeavour to get Genl Du Portail Exchangd which I was oblidged to give my Negative.<sup>3</sup> Ague.

Friday July the 14th 1780. Letters from Genl Washington and the Committee at Camp Read and Referrd.<sup>4</sup> A long debate in consequence of the Report to appoint Mr Simatier.<sup>5</sup> I left Congress being seized with fevor an[d] ague.

Saturday July 15th. After the Reports from the Board of War and Treasury were read the Report on the Quarter Masters System was taken up to be decided on. I was taken Ill and obliged to leave Congres.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 17:602–3.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 17:607–8; and these *Letters*, 15:339n.1.

<sup>3</sup> For this vote, see *JCC*, 17:609–10.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 17:610–11; and these *Letters*, 15:414–17.

<sup>5</sup> This report, which was originally submitted November 26, 1779, recommended that “Pierre Eugène du Simitière be appointed Historiographer to the Congress of the United States,” at an annual salary of \$2,000. The resolution that Congress adopted this day merely recommended that du Simitière be referred to the states for assistance in collecting materials for his proposed work, “Memoirs and observations on the origin and present state of North America.” See *JCC*, 15:1316–18, 17:613; and these *Letters*, 15:471.

## John Fell's Diary

[July 17–22, 1780]

Monday 17. Several dispatches were Read, One from Genl Washington with an acct of the Arrival of the French fleet at Rhode Island.

Tuesday 18th. Letter this day from General Washington mentions the arrival of Adm Graves at New York with 6 Sail viz, 1 of 90, 3 — 70, 1 64 & 1 of 60. London, Resolution, Prudent, America, Bedford, Royal Oak. Dr Shippins tryal was brought to Congress.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday July 19th 1780. Com. Com. After Reports from the Board of War and Treasury were gone through a Letter I Reced from Mr Denning was Read, Pointing out a number of abuses in the Commissary of Is[s]ues department, which he met with, Referrd to a Committee.<sup>2</sup> Dr Shippens trial was began to be Read.

Thursday July 20th. Com Com. Several Reports were Read and some Referrd, Dr Shippens tryal was again take[n] up and Read.

Friday 21st. Mr Simatiers Letter read, nothing concluded on.<sup>3</sup> Board of War Reported to discontinue the Labratory to the Eastd. PostPoned. Committee, to whom was Referrd Mr Dennings Letter reported, PostPoned till Tuesday next. Board of Admiraltys Report to give Abrm Van Dyke Esqr a Commission of Captain in the Marine Service by the Reccomendation of Genl Washington was Rejected.<sup>4</sup> Yaes & Noes per Mr Mattock {Matlack}. Board of Admiralty were Orderd to make inquiry in to the conduct of Capt Harding for bringing Sugars &c in the Confedracey from Martinico.<sup>5</sup>

Saturday July 22d. 1780. Letter from the Minister of France was read advising of the Fleet at Rhode Island &c.<sup>6</sup> Letters from Mr Adams advising of his being Introduced to the King, Queen &c in France.<sup>7</sup> Dr Shippin tryal was taken up and Read till adjourned.<sup>8</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> That is, General Washington had submitted the court martial proceedings of Dr. William Shippen, Jr., to Congress, for which see *JCC*, 17:638; and these *Letters*, 15:474–75, 619.

<sup>2</sup> For the inquiry into these charges made by William Denning, see these *Letters*, 15:512n.2.

<sup>3</sup> See Fell's Diary, July 10–15, note 5; and *JCC*, 17:648.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 17:650–51.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 17:651.

<sup>6</sup> There is no mention of this letter in the journals, but for the delivery of this information by an aide of the marquis de Lafayette, see these *Letters*, 15:483.

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 17:653.

<sup>8</sup> This day also Pres. Samuel Huntington wrote a brief personal letter to his nephew Samuel Huntington, apologizing that he seldom wrote because of the "multiplicity of business," and explaining that when he left Connecticut he did not anticipate that "I Should have resided so long in Philadelphia." Norton Collection, OCIWHI.

## John Fell's Diary

[July 24–29, 1780]

Monday 24th. Letters from Mr Adams dated March 23d. Letters from G Washington advising of his Corresponding with the French Admiral & General. The Marquis Fayettee is gone to consult about the ensuing Campaign. A Number of Dispatches &c.<sup>1</sup> Mr Van Dykes Commission for Lieutenant Marines signed the 7th.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday July 25. Several dispatches, Memorials &c. A Letter from G Washington with the Resignation of General Maxwell, which was accepted.<sup>3</sup> Chs Pettit Esqr was Elected Assistant Quarter Master General agreeable to the New System on the Quarter Masters department.<sup>4</sup>

Wednesday July 26th 1780. Several Reports from the Board of War, Treasury & Committees. Mr Clark moved to Elect a Brigadier General in the Room of Genl. Maxwell, Referrd to the Board of War,<sup>5</sup> On Report of the Board of War agreed to Remove some Officers at the Laboratory at Springfield and Put it under the direction of the Board.<sup>6</sup>

Thursday the 27th. Com. Committee. After the Letters, Reports &c were Read, Dr Shippins tryal was again taken up.<sup>7</sup>

Friday 28th. Letters this day from Genl Washington, General Green, Governor of Maryland, Committee at Camp &c with their demand for near 2,000 Waggon from Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland.<sup>8</sup> Dr Shippins tryal was again Proceeded on.

Saturday the 29th. A Letter from Genl Washington advising of the British Ships being off Block Island.<sup>9</sup> Letter from Genl Green wanting to Resign Committed.<sup>10</sup> Dr Shippin tryal continued. Dined with the Minister.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 17:654.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 17:661.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 17:663.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 17:665.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 17:670.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 17:670–72.

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 17:676.

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.*; and these *Letters*, 15:475–77, 491–93.

<sup>9</sup> See *JCC*, 17:679; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:272–73.

<sup>10</sup> *JCC*, 17:680.

## Ezekiel Cornell to Nathanael Greene

Dear General,

Philadelphia July 29th. 1780<sup>1</sup>

By a letter from general Washington this day read in Congress what I have for several days Expected was Anounced, That the British Fleet had Arived of[f] Block Island,<sup>2</sup> I wish no bad consequence may ensue from thir Manoevere, At the same time I am not without my fears.

Your letter was also this day read in Congress containing you[r] determination not to act in the Q Masters department, some warmth appeared on the occasion, For my own part I must confess, it would have givin me pleasure, if you could have reconsiled your self so far to the New plan, as to have superintended the department, untill the end of the present campaign as you would thereby kept out of the power of your Enemys, at least so far as to prevent their Tantilizing over you to the great mortification of your Friends, of which you have a number in Congress who I beleive are unanimous in opinion that your resigna-



tion at this time is attended with many delicate circu[m]stances. When I pay the greatest difference to your Wisdom and prudence I cannot but beleive it is in the power of Congress to hurt your feelings more sensibly then they yet have done which I am ready to belive som of them would be happy in shewing an instance of & that soon. Your letter is committed the Committee are Mr Ward, McKean & Henry from Maryland, I Suppose they will report on Monday next, the Measures that will be taken I will not undertake to say, but I expect debates will run high.

I wrote you a letter some time since, I fear it is mislaid as I have receivd No Answer, I cannot take my leave of you, without saying, that I never approved of the plan, as adopted by Congress, for regulating the Q Masters department, my greatest objections was that many of the Salliries, were as I thought insuff[i]cent, and by that means the publick would suffer, for want of men of abilitys, to act in the several departments which I expected they would soon be sensible of—And had you continued, Congress must have taken all that blame to them selves, Which by the steps you have taken, I fear they will endeavour to lay at your door, with too much success. I hope I may be mistaken, I suppose there is not a Sett of men on earth, more fond of chargeing their Blunder to other peoples faults, then we are. As I conceive the gr[e]at Clammor against the staff department to be first raised, in order to cha[r]ge the depriciation of the Currency to their account By the board of Treasury & from thence spread like other Infections.

I am Dear Sr, your most obedient Huml Servt, E Cornell

RC (VtU: McCullough Collection).

<sup>1</sup> An extract of this letter, missing only the opening paragraph and varying chiefly in incidental details, was reprinted from a nineteenth century printed source in these *Letters*, 15:520–21.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry, note 9.

## John Fell's Diary

[July 31–August 5, 1780]

Monday July 31st. Commercial Committee. After the dispatches were Read, the Committee to whom was reported the Q M G Letter relating to his Risigning brought in a report that his Resignation be accepted, and that the Commander in cheif appoint another, but some objections being made it was Postponed till to morrow.<sup>1</sup> After Dr Shippins trial was taken up.

Tuesday August the 1st. Letters from Genl Washington, Committee at Camp and Quarter Master General relating to that department were read and after some debate referred to the Committee as before.<sup>2</sup>

Several Letters from Mr Adams were read, and referred to the Committee on foreign Affairs to which some new members were added.<sup>3</sup> A motion was made to Reconsider the Resolution respecting Mr Hollingsworth not agreed to.<sup>4</sup>

Wednesday August 2d. Com. Com. Several Reports from Committees were read. A long debate on a Resolve for Power to be given Genl Washington to Act in Conjunction with the Fleet and Army without the limets of the United States, carried in the affirmative.<sup>5</sup>

Thursday August 3d 1780. Several Letters and Reports. Report concerning the Q M G Resigning was long debated and was at last Re-committed.<sup>6</sup>

Friday August 4th. After sundry Reports and Letters were Read, the Report that was recommitted Yesterday was in Part agreed to, vizt to accept of the Q M Generals Resignation, but the Resolve recommending Genl Washington to appoint another Q M G met with opposit[i]on and a debate ensued till Adjourned.<sup>7</sup>

Saturday 5th. Congress Balloted for a Q M General, when all the Votes (except Masachuesets who did not vote) were for Col Pickering.<sup>8</sup> A Resolve relating to So Carolina and Georgeia was agreed to.<sup>9</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 17:682–83.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 17:684.

<sup>3</sup> Fell was confused. One of John Adams' six letters was referred to a new five-member committee and the others to the committee for foreign affairs. See *JCC*, 17:685.

<sup>4</sup> The journals indicate only that a petition of Henry Hollingsworth was referred to the board of treasury. *Ibid*.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 17:687–88; and these *Letters*, 15:466n.13, 539–40.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 17:690–91.

<sup>7</sup> The journals record only that "Congress took into consideration the report of the committee" on Nathanael Greene's letter of resignation. *JCC*, 17:694.

<sup>8</sup> The journals contain no information on this balloting, recording only that "Mr. Timothy Pickering was elected." See *JCC*, 17:697–98.

<sup>9</sup> *JCC*, 17:698–99.

## John Fell's Diary

[August 7–12, 1780]

Monday 7th. Several dispatches and a Letter from Coll Pickering that he accepts the Office of Q M General.

Tuesday 8. Com Com. Sundry reports from War Office and Treasury and long debate about Coll Hollingsworths, honesty &c.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday August 9th 1780. Com. Com. Report from the Board of War relating to the regulating the officers in the Commissary of Military Stores departments, some Part agreed to and the remainder post-

poned, to make way for a motion for 100,000 Dolls to be drawn for in Bills of Exchange for the use of the Southern Army.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday 10th. Coml Committee. Resolve Past for drawing 100,000 Dolls. on Dr Franklin for the use of the Southern department &c.<sup>3</sup> Several Reports from Committees, Letters, Memorials &c.

Friday Augst. 11th. Com Com. Letter Read from Mr Mathews one of the Committee at Camp, which not being well approved of, gave Rise to a motion to withdraw the Committee from Camp, and occasiond a long debate of near 2 Hours, when the Question was taken Mr Scott calld for the Yeas & Noes. Pas'd in the Affirmative.<sup>4</sup>

Dr Sheals's pas was Read.<sup>5</sup>

Mr Izards Acct. was taken up and agreed to.<sup>6</sup>

Saturday August the 12th. Report from the Board of War, relating to the department of the Military Stores, agreed to.<sup>7</sup> Report of the Committee on the Memorial of the General Officers considerd and mostly agreed to.<sup>8</sup> Weather continues very Hott. Dined with Mr Govet.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> This debate concerned "the supposed forgery of Robert Anderson's name to a receipt. . . in support of the accounts of Henry Hollingsworth." *JCC*, 17:711.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 17:712–14.

<sup>3</sup> According to the journals, this resolve passed the previous day. *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> For John Mathews' August 6 letter to Pres. Samuel Huntington, which chastised Congress for failure to appreciate the complexities of army administration, and the delegates' response, see these *Letters*, 15:546–48, 569–70.

<sup>5</sup> This cryptic entry is probably a reference to a reading of a passport for Hugh Shiell, which had been authorized by Congress August 10. See *JCC*, 17:715.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 17:722.

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 17:723–25.

<sup>8</sup> See *JCC*, 17:725–27; and these *Letters*, 15:572–73.

## John Fell's Diary

[August 14–19, 1780]

Monday Augst. 14th. This day a large Packet from Mr Jay was Read with very Particular and minute Accounts of all his transactions at Madrid, but nothing yet obtaind, oweing to the demand of the free Navigation in the Missisipa &c.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday 15th. Sundry Reports from Committees were read, 100,000 Ds. in Bills of Excha. to be sent, to be sold for the use of So[uth]ern Army per Mr Clay. Agreed to the Report from the Treasury Relating to Prosecuting Mr Hollingshead.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday 16th. Com Com. Some Letters from Mr Jay and Mr Carmichael dated May 26.<sup>3</sup> Dr Shippen tryal was continued.

Thursday August 17th 1780. Com Com. Some Reports from Committees were Read, And after great Manœuvring about motions on Dr

Shippen trial, a Question was taken whether we approvd the sentence of the Court Martial, and order him to be Released from his Arrest, 5 Ayes, 5 Noes, 3 divided.<sup>4</sup>

Friday Augst. 18th. After the Reports, Letters &c were gone through Dr Shippins affair was againe taken up, and a number of twisting and strange motions were introduced, at last it was agreed to comply with the Court-Martial and he be dischargd from his Arrest.<sup>5</sup>

Saturday Augst 19th. Chief Part of this morning spent in a debate on a Letter from Mr Peters, One of the Commissioners of the War Office, for leave of absence for two months to goe with the Militia of this State; at last the Letter was Referrd to a Committee.<sup>6</sup> Dined with Mr Smith.<sup>7</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 15:577–78n.2, 585–86.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Henry Hollingsworth. See *JCC*, 17:728–30, 734.

<sup>3</sup> Actually May 27. *JCC*, 17:737.

<sup>4</sup> This vote is not recorded in the journals. See *JCC*, 17:742.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 17:744–46.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 17:747.

<sup>7</sup> Following this entry Fell wrote: “Sunday Augst. 20th. This morning the weather Tis surprisingly changed being very Cool.”

## John Fell’s Diary

[August 21–26, 1780]

Monday Augst. 21st 1780. Com Committee. Letters from Mr Jay, Mr Adams &c. Do from Coll Blaine & Mr Mathews, Several Memorials, Petitions and Reports &c.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday Augst 22d. A number of Reports, Petitions &c. Report for fixing Sallerys of Civil departments, do for Raising a Tax on all Exports &c was Read and committed.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday Augst 23d. Com Com. Several Reports from Committes were Read, A Petition from a great number of Inhabitants about the Ohio &c was Read.<sup>3</sup>

Thursday Augst. 24th. Com Com. Sundry Letters and Petitions were Read, One from a number of Inhabitants in the interior Parts of Virginia, wanting to be seperated from that State.<sup>4</sup> Report from the Committee on the General Officers Memorial was taken up, and some Parts agreed to,<sup>5</sup> upwards of 71,000 Ds in Specie was agreed to be divided between the Prisoners at Charle[s]town and New York &c.<sup>6</sup>

Friday August 25th, 1780. Com. Com. Several Reports were read, and some agreed to and Sundry Petitions &c Referrd to Committees.<sup>7</sup>

Dined with the Minister of France, Kings Birthday. Exceeding Hott weather still continues.



Saturday Augst 26th. Com Com. Report to Repeal the order for the Post going twice a week (was Repeald),<sup>8</sup> Report relating to granting Certificates for Purchases per the Q M General & Commissary General &c &c, and sundry other Reports were Read.<sup>9</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 17:749; and these *Letters*, 15:590–93.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 17:755–59.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 17:760.

<sup>4</sup> For the failed attempt of the Virginia delegates to have the Kentucky petition referred to their state, see *JCC*, 17:763–64.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 17:770–73.

<sup>6</sup> According to the journals, this decision was reached August 23. See *JCC*, 17:762–63.

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 17:776–80.

<sup>8</sup> *JCC*, 17:781.

<sup>9</sup> *JCC*, 17:782–86.

## John Fell's Diary

[August 28–September 2, 1780]

Monday August 28th. Com Com. This day a letter from General Washington, was read & referd to a Committee, its contents were the most allarming I ever heard read of, the disagreeable situation of Our Army, and the little prospect he has of carrying his Plans in to execution &c.<sup>1</sup> Several other letters & Reports were Read; Next Saturday is fixt for the appointment of Commissary General of Prisoners, I nominated Mr Abm. Skinner.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday August 29th. Com. Committee. Letter from Govr Trunbull advising of a Convention of the Eastern States for the Purposes of supplying necessarys for the Ensuing Campaign, referd to the Committee that Genl Washingtons Letter was referd to.<sup>3</sup> Reports from the Board of War &c &c. Letter from Mr Forman at the Treasury.<sup>4</sup>

Wednesday August 30th. Com Comm. Some Letters and Reports were Read, The Report for Establishing an Inspector General with a long train of Expensive Officers was taken up, and after some debate Referd to a Committee of 3.<sup>5</sup> The Report for fixing Sallerys of sundry Boards and Officers was taken up, and some agreed to.<sup>6</sup> At 3 oClock adjourned.

Thursday Augst. 31st. This morning Receiv'd by Express, a very distressing Acct. from Genl Gates of his being defeated in So Carolina; being atackd on their March, No Carolina Militia gave way and all the Rest were either Killd or taken.<sup>7</sup> Made some further Progress in the fixing Sallerys.

Friday September 1st 1780. Commercial Committee. Letters per Cap Bell from Dr Franklin, Adams & J D Schweighauser,<sup>8</sup> do from

Coll Broadhead, with Speeches of the Delaware Indians &c.<sup>9</sup> Sundry Reports &c.

Saturday Septemr 2d. Com Com. Several Reports Read and debates thereon. Reports from the Treasury, &c.<sup>10</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 17:786; Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:402–13; and these *Letters*, 15:629, 635.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 17:788–89.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 17:790; and these *Letters*, 15:631n.3.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 17:791.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 17:796.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 17:797.

<sup>7</sup> See *JCC*, 17:797; and these *Letters*, 15:639–40, 16:13.

<sup>8</sup> *JCC*, 17:798.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps Daniel Brodhead's letter to Timothy Pickering, dated "Fort Pitt, Augt. 21. 1780," a copy of which is in PCC, item 147, 4:533. There is no mention of it in the journals.

<sup>10</sup> *JCC*, 17:802.

## John Fell's Diary

[September 4–9, 1780]

Monday Sepr 4th. Letters from Genl Washington to the Generals Kniphausen and Clinton relating to fixing a Commissary of Prisoners at N York and they one, at Lancaster, also Letters from Mr Loring and Mr Schinner relating to the Exchange of Prisoners &c.<sup>1</sup>

Letter from Genl Washington, that there will be no offensive Campaign agst. N York, the french 2d division are not expected till October.<sup>2</sup> Our Army is in a very disagreeable situation. They have been nearly out of Flour and 6 days without meat. The way to raise the necessary supplies caused long debate, and all to little Purpose, at last the Generals letter was referred to a Committee. British Fleet have left Block Island.

Tuesday Septemr 5th. After some reports were read, A motion was made by Mr Mathews, seconded by Mr Telfair, to appoint and give full Power and Authority to G. Washington to Act as Dictator, to the 1st Decr 1781. This caused a long debate which lasted till 3 oClock and on the Question being Put whether the motion be Committd. It Pased in the Negative per a great Majority.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday Sepr 6th. The chief of this day was spent in debate abt the States Poses'd of Western back Lands making a Cesion of a Part to the Public, &c.<sup>4</sup>

Thursday, Sepr 7th. Some few Reports of Committes were read &c. And a Letter signd John Gibson & Ezekl Forman Commissioners of the Treasury were Read, which was debated the remainder of the day.<sup>5</sup>

Friday Sepr 8th 1780. Several Memorials, Petitions and Reports. A Report from a Committee for Recruiting and supplying the Southern Army, was taken up, agreed to raise 15,000 Men.<sup>6</sup> No Carolina moved to have Congress allow them half the Bounty to raise their Men, not agreed to.

Saturday 9th. A Number of Reports, Letters and memorials of no great consequence, A new Plan from the Medical Committee for the Hospital department read.<sup>7</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> For Washington's August 24 letter to Congress, enclosing several letters concerning prisoner of war negotiations from Wilhelm Knyphausen, Henry Clinton, Joshua Loring, and Abraham Skinner, see *JCC*, 17:802; Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:435–38; and PCC, item 152, 9:101–33.

<sup>2</sup> For this August 28 letter, see PCC, item 152, 9:139–41; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 19:462–63.

<sup>3</sup> There is no mention of this debate in the journals, but for Mathews' motion and the congressional reaction to it, see these *Letters*, 16:21n.4, 68–70n.2, 364nn.4 and 5.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 17:806–8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 18:811.

<sup>6</sup> Congress actually resolved "That magazines of provisions and forage for fifteen thousand men for six months, be immediately provided and laid up for the southern army." *JCC*, 18:812.

<sup>7</sup> For the reform of the medical department that was under consideration at this time, see these *Letters*, 16:68–69n.

## John Fell's Diary

[September 11–16, 1780]

Monday Sepr 11th. This day a number of Letters were read from J Adams which took up a deal of time and of little consequence. Letters from Genl. Washington and General Gates, and several others, Referred to Committee.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday September 12th, 1780. Letter from Genl Washington, Genl How and one from Gl Nixon to Resign on account of the Ill state of his health accepted.<sup>2</sup> A Long Letter from the Governor of the State of Vermont so called which took up a good deal of debate and the reading of all the former Resolutions &c to be considered on Thursday.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday Sepr 13th. After the dispatches were gone through, the New Plan for the Hospital department was began upon, and continued till adjournment.<sup>4</sup>

Thursday Sepr 14th. Some memorials &c being Read the order of the day on the Vermont affair was taken up, and as usual a long debate.

Friday Sepr. 15th. Some dispatches were read. Brigr General Smallwood was Promoted to the Rank of Major General, Abrahm Skinner Esqr Commissary General of Prisoners.<sup>5</sup> Report of a Committee for Supplying Cattle to the Army.<sup>6</sup>

Saturday 16th 1780. After some Reports from Committees &c and the Treasury Brd, the Order of the day relating to Vermont was taken up, and a long debate on the subject as usual, at last a motion was made for Postponing, and the Question Put. 5 States ay, 5 do No, so the Question was lost.<sup>7</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 18:817.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 18:819.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 8:821; and these *Letters*, 16:64–66.

<sup>4</sup> See the preceding entry, note 7.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 18:828.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 18:828–30.

<sup>7</sup> There is no record of this vote in the journals. *JCC*, 18:832–33.

## John Fell's Diary

[September 18–23, 1780]

Monday 18. Letters from Genl Washington, with an Account of the disagreeable situation of the Army,<sup>1</sup> A number of dispatches from different Quarters were Read, and debating about Vermont took up the day.

Tuesday Sepr 19th. After some Reports were Read, from Committes, Vermont was again taken up, and an Idle debate took Place as usual and a moition made to meet again at 6 oClock and the Parties to be Presant. 6 PM Congress met. The Delegates from N York began to open their Evidence to shew their right to the Teritory, claim'd per the People of the Grants (Alias Vermont[]).<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday Sepr 20th. Com Committee. Some Letters and Reports were read, And the Report from the Committee on General Washingtons Letters, relating to Raising and Recruiting the Army was taken up and debated. Adjourn'd to 6 oClock.<sup>3</sup>

6 PM Congress met. A Report was Read and agreed to be sent to Virginia to Remove the Convention Troops to Fort Frederick in Maryland, in case of danger from the Enemy. The Delegates of New York went through the remainder of their Evidence, respecting their Right to the Land claimd per the People of the Grants &c.<sup>4</sup>

Thursday the 21st. After some Letters the Report for the Recruiting the Army was taken up and lasted till 3 when it was finishd and agreed to.<sup>5</sup> Adjourn'd.

Friday the 22d. Letters from Gen Gates and others. The Report for a New Regulation in Hospital department taken up and after some debate Re Committed.<sup>6</sup>

Saturday Sepr 23d 1780. Some Letters, Memorials and Reports from Committees were Read, the Report on the Hospital department was again taken up and nearly finishd.<sup>7</sup>



MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> Congress actually received two letters from Washington this day. For the September 15 letter described here, see *JCC*, 18:836; PCC, item 152, 9:169–72; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:49–52.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 18:839–41.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 18:842.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 18:842–43.

<sup>5</sup> *JCC*, 18:843–44.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 18:847–48.

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 18:853.

## James Lovell to Samuel Holten

Dear Sir,

Sepr. 19th 1780.<sup>1</sup>

Not being certain whether Danvers is Shelden's present Residence I take the Freedom to trouble you with the inclosed. I am not well enough to go out in the Rain but I do not apprehend that I have any of the prevalent maladies of this City fixed upon me—a putrid Fever—a Dysentery—or an unusual Remittent, something resembling the Fever & Ague.<sup>2</sup>

We have no news; but, Poverty abundant. The Post however cannot fail to give you some as Rodney is at New York, and french Ships have been seen on the Coast.

President Reed's Lady has been buried this morning. She and Mr. Brymner the great musician were taken off by the Dysentary. Mr. Hodge, who was in France connected with the famous *Cutter*, was returning with 13 others from Sth. Carolina and died at Bohemia 40 miles off having survived all the others. Tricket our Stationer and Monsr. Damon our Brussels news monger are gone also; in short, 30 died on the night that Damon did. I hope you have better air and better Water than we; to say nothing of Wine as I am not in Capacity to draw any Comparisons about so *strange* a Liquor.

We are in the Labyrinths of Vermont and are also driven to be contriving how to *buy* some Portion of that western World which the *Big Knife* pretends to *give* to us.<sup>3</sup>

Give my Compliments to Mr. Gerry to whom I shall write by Col. Wigglesworth the Bearer of his Letter & order to me. Yours affectionately,  
James Lovell

RC (NN: Emmet Collection).

<sup>1</sup> This letter was digitally garbled when it was printed in these *Letters*, 16:94, the heading and first paragraph having been overlaid from a following James Madison letter.

<sup>2</sup> For Lovell's health, see also *ibid.*, pp. 139–40.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 94n.

## John Fell's Diary

[September 25–30, 1780]

Monday Sepr 25th. Letters from Mr J Adams. Several reports from Committees &c. were read and some considerd and Pased.

Tuesday Sepr 26. Some Letters, Reports &c were Read, the Report of an answer relating to the Empress of Russia concerning the Newtral Powers was Postponed, and a New motion of Mr Levingston taken up and Recommitted,<sup>1</sup> Adjourn'd to 6 oClock. Letter from Genl Green was Read, advising of an Imbarkation at Whitestone said to be for Rhode Island, and another at the Watering Place for Virginia.<sup>2</sup>

6 oClock Congress met, The Delegate from New Hampshire being Ill, nothing was done relating to Vermont for which Congress mett.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday Sepr 27th 1780. Com. Com. This morning Letters were read from General Green & Col Hambleton advising of a horrid Plott and Conspiracy by Major General Arnold to give up to the Enemy the important Post of West Point,<sup>4</sup> Coll Hambleton was sent to Secure Arnold, but he had got intelligence of the discovery, and was got off to New York, Capt Andrie Adjutant General of the British, was taken in Camp as a Spy, in consequence of the above intelligence the Chief Justice McKean was sent for in to Congress and requested to have the Generals Papers seized as any other suspected Person &c.<sup>5</sup> Some Letters and Reports &c. (The Delegate from New Hampshire had his Papers read, relating to the Lands in dispute wth them, New York and Vermont, The Commissioners on the Part of Vermont, Refused being Present at the time, and so it ended for the day.<sup>6</sup> Very Cold & Fire.

Thursday 28th. This morning the President inform'd Congress that the time for which he was Elected, was Expired on which a debate arose and a number of motions and amendments were made. At last a Question was taken, whether the House would Proceed to a New Election Pased in the Negative,<sup>7</sup> some Reports were Read, &c.

Friday Sepr 29th 1780. Coml Committee. Sundrie Reports, Letters, Memorials &c. I introduced a motion that no member of Congress should in future draw any money from the Treasury, which with some alterations was Pas'd.<sup>8</sup>

Saturday Sepr 30th. This morning a Letter was Reced from General Washington advising of his being Return'd from Hartford and was at West Point at the time of Andries discovery and Arnolds flight, he also sent a Coppy of Arnolds Letter to him dated on Board the Vulture Sepr 25th which letter is a Curriosity.<sup>9</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 18:864–67.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 18:867; *PCC*, item 155, 1:435–38; and Greene, *Papers* (Showman), 6:310.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 18:867–68.

<sup>4</sup> See these *Letters*, 16:117–18n.2.

<sup>5</sup> For the response of Pennsylvania officials to Arnold's treason, see *ibid.*, pp. 147–48n.2.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 18:868.

<sup>7</sup> For Samuel Huntington's continuation in office as president, see *JCC*, 18:870–71; and these *Letters*, 16:143–45n.3.

<sup>8</sup> There is no mention of Fell's motion in the journals, but for the modified motion offered by Timothy Matlack that was adopted this day, see *JCC*, 18:876.

<sup>9</sup> For Washington's September 26 letter and enclosed September 25 letter from Benedict Arnold, see *ibid.*; *PCC*, item 152, 9:199–202, 225–26; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:91–93.

## John Fell's Diary

[October 2–7, 1780]

Monday 2d. Several Letters were Read &c, Reports from Committee &c. Report on the Medicall Committee was taken up. I nominated Dr Cochran for Director in Chief.<sup>1</sup> Adjourn'd to 6 PM. At 6 Congress met but not States sufficient to do any Business in the Vermont affair for which we met.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday October the 3d. After the dispatches, several Gentlemen were nominated for the Medical department, several matters refer'd to Committies &c. The Report for Recruiting the Army was taken up.<sup>3</sup> Letter from General Washington mentiong his fear of the Army being in great want of Provisions &c.<sup>4</sup>

Wednesday October 4th. Several Letters &c were Read, the Report for Recruiting the Army was finish'd and Refer'd to the Commander in chief.<sup>5</sup> S F<sup>6</sup>

Thursday Octr 5th. Reports from the Board of War, Treasury &c. Letter from Governor Nash relating to Genl Gates &c.<sup>7</sup> A motion was made for the thanks of Congress to be given to Genl Smallwood &c which was oppos'd aledging that would thro a censure on Genl Gates, then a motion was made and carried that an inquiry be made in to the conduct of General Gates for his Expedition on 16 Augst and that the Comm[and]er in chief send a Proper Person to Command the Southern Army.<sup>8</sup>

Friday Octr 6 1780. After the dispatches were read, The Officers of the Medical Department were Balloted for, Dr Shippin had 7 Votes for Director General, Dr Cochran 6. Dr Cochran was unanimously chosen Physican & Surgeon in Chief.<sup>9</sup> Adjourn'd to 6 oClock. Met, a motion was made respecting the New Hampshire Grants, which were debated till adjourn'd.<sup>10</sup>

Saturday October 7th. Some Reports from Committees were read, And then Balloted for the Officers in the Medical department.<sup>11</sup> Several speeches were made relating to finance and our distressd situation and inability to supply the Army &c.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 18:889. See also these *Letters*, 16:169. There is no mention in the journals of Fell's nomination of John Cochran.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 18:891.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 18:893–97.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 18:893; PCC, item 152, 9:203–4; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:105–6.

<sup>5</sup> See these *Letters*, 16:146–47.

<sup>6</sup> Undoubtedly a cryptic reference to Fell's wife Susanna.

<sup>7</sup> There is no record of Abner Nash's letter in the journals or PCC.

<sup>8</sup> For Gen. Horatio Gates' replacement as commander of the southern department, see *JCC*, 18:906; and these *Letters*, 16:154, 159–60.

<sup>9</sup> These votes were not recorded in the journals. *JCC*, 18:908.

<sup>10</sup> *JCC*, 18:908–9.

<sup>11</sup> *JCC*, 18:909–10.

## John Fell's Diary

[October 9–14, 1780]

Monday Octr 9th. Dined with Mr Jos Wharton. Order of the day, was the Report of the Committee for Instructions to Mr Adams &c.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday Octr 10th. This day was chiefly spent in debate on a Motion from Virginia, that all Lands Purchasd of Indians without the Authority or Sanction of the State, should be Null & Void. When the Question was Put I had the Yaes & Noes taken 5 for, 5 agst. and 2 devided and so the motion was lost.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday Octr 11th. Com Com. After the dispatches the Report from the Committee on Mr Adams Letter was taken up, and the Instruction for giving Mr Adams Power to agree to make the Tories Reccompense for their confiscated Lands was long debated and when the Question was taken I had the Yaes & Noes calld and it Past in the negative.<sup>3</sup>

Thursday Octr 12th. Com. Com. This day the Committee on ways and means introducd a Motion for a Secretary to Dr Franklin, which was after long debate alterd to Consol and to have a Sallery, at last was Recommitted.<sup>4</sup>

Friday Octr 13th. Com Com. Letters from Genl Gates, Governor Rutledge, Govr of Virginia and Mr Burk all mentioning the Propriety of Appointing Col Morgon a Brigadr which after long debate was



agreed to,<sup>5</sup> then the Report for appointing a Consol in France was taken up.

Saturday October 14th. Com Committee. Sundry Reports from Committes were Read.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> *JCC*, 18:913.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 18:915–16; and these *Letters*, 16:95–96n.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JCC*, 18:918.

<sup>4</sup> There is no mention of this debate in the journals, but for renewed interest in appointing a secretary to assist Franklin in France, see these *Letters*, 16:406–7n.3.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 18:920–21; and these *Letters*, 16:202–3.

## John Fell's Diary

[October 16–21, 1780]

Monday Octr 16th. This morning did not goe to Congress till Past 1 oClock having been Ill in Bed all the morning. Letters from Mr Jay and Mr Carmichael were Read. Report from the Committee to send Instructions to Mr Jay and a Report for a Thanksgiving day were Read.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday Octr 17th. Com Com. Reports from Board of War, Treasury, and Committees. Report from the Committee to Exchange the Convention Troops was taken up and debated.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday 18th. Cold morning. Sundry Letters &c. The Report of Instructions to Mr Adams was finishd.<sup>3</sup>

Thursday October 19th 1780. Commercial Committee. Letters from Genl Washington that he would appoint a Court of Inquiry on Genl Gates, and that he should send M Gl. Green to take the Command of the So[uth]ern Army.<sup>4</sup>

This day a Letter was Read from Arthur Lee acquainting Congress of his arrival hear and his wish to be heard at their Barr, and also sent a Snuf Box given him by the King of France, which he did not choose to keap, without the consent of Congress and their approbation of his conduct, then Mr Lovell moved to have the Letter Committed which was seconded per Mr McClean and supported per Mr Adams, this caused a Debate till 4 oClock and when the Question was Put for Postponing, the Yaes & Noes whire calld per Mr Duane, and it Passd in the Affirmative and so did the motion for Committing. The Committee were appointed Mr Maddison, Mr Bee & Mr Clark,<sup>5</sup> and in this way to serve Private Ends and Purposes and a Party, is the time of this Country spent, while Our Army are on the Brink of Starving and I expect cannot long be keap from disbanding, are we most shamefully neglecting the Main Chance.

Friday Octr 20th. Com Commtee. The Report for Reforming the

Army was taken up and debated. A Motion was made and seconded to allow half Pay to the Officers for Life instead of Seven Year, this was long debated, the Yaes & Noes calld and Passd in the Affirmative 6 ayes, 5 Noes, 1 devided.<sup>6</sup> Then a long debate ensued till a Motion was made to Reconsider the above which was made to Reconsider the above which was carried and then again debated till 4 oClock.

Saturday Octr 21st. Com Com. The Plan for the Reform of the Army was taken up after the dispatches were Read, And the Question was put whether half Pay for Life should be inserted, the Yaes & Noes were calld, 6 for, 5 agst., 1 devided, And when the Question on the whole Report was taken, it was carried in the Affirmative. The States in the Negative were Masachusets, Connecticut & New Jersey.<sup>7</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> *JCC*, 18:931–34.

<sup>2</sup> Fell's entry bears little relation to the proceedings recorded in Secretary Thomson's journal for this day. Cf. *JCC*, 18:934–37.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 18:948–50.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 18:951; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:189–92.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 18:951–54.

<sup>6</sup> *JCC*, 18:956–57.

<sup>7</sup> According to the journals, Rhode Island was also in the negative. See *JCC*, 18:958–62; and these *Letters*, 16:234–35n.3.

## John Fell's Diary

[November 1–4, 1780]

Wednesday November 1st 1780. Snow. Several dispatches, and Reports from Committees, the Board of War and Treasury.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday 2d. Com Com. Some Reports from Committees &c. The Report for the Exchange of Prisoners was taken up and some Paragraphs agreed to, but not finishd, then the Report for supplies was taken up, but little Progress made.<sup>2</sup>

Friday Novr. 3d. Com Com. Sundry Letters, Memorials &c and Reports from Board of War, Treasury, Committees &c.<sup>3</sup> Dined wth. Mr White, Matlach.

Saturday Novr 4th. Com. Com. The Report for Raising 6 Million of Dolls in Specia [. . .] in Specific Articles and Cash was agreed to<sup>4</sup> and State of Delaware, sundry other Business was done [fro]m that State.<sup>5</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 18:1001–4.

<sup>2</sup> No work on these reports is noted in the journals. *JCC*, 18:1004.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 18:1004–10.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 18:1011–18.

<sup>5</sup> No proceedings concerning the state of Delaware are noted in the journals for this date. *JCC*, 18:1010–21.

## John Fell's Diary

[November 11, 1780]

Saturday Novr. 11th 1780. Several Reports from Board of War, Treasury &c. Memorial from the Medical department &c &c.<sup>1</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 18:1047–48.

## John Fell's Diary

[November 13–18, 1780]

Monday Novr. 13th. Com Com. Letters from Genl Gates, with a confirmation of the Action at King Mountain.<sup>1</sup> Letters from Genl Washington, relating to the Exchange of Prisoners &c.<sup>2</sup>

Tuesday Novr. 14th. Sundry dispatches, reports &c. Letters from Paul Jones refferd to a Committee, Duane, Cornell, Henry.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday Novr 15th. A number of dispatches, Memorials, Petitions &c were Read. A Report concerning the State of Delaware allowing Provisions to be shipd from that State was defferd till to morrow.<sup>4</sup>

Thursday Novr. 16 1780. Com Com. Sundry Reports from the Board of War & Treasury, were taken up, also the Report about an Embargo, refferd to a Committee appointed to conferr with a Committee of the State of Pennsylvania on the subject.<sup>5</sup> Rainy day.

Friday Novr 17th. Com Com. Several dispatches and Reports from Committees &c.

Saturday Novr 18th. After the Reports from the Board of War & Treasury were read, A Report from a Committee was moved to be considerd and the time of Congress was taken up, relating to A Lees snuff Box, a Present from the King of France, the remainder of the Report was long debated, till an adjournment was calld for.<sup>6</sup> At 10 AM Mrs Fell & Peter sett off for home. PM Rain.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> *JCC*, 18:1048–49.

<sup>2</sup> For Washington's November 7 letter and its enclosure, see *JCC*, 18:1049; PCC, item 152, 9:355–64; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 20:311–15.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 18:1051.

<sup>4</sup> This report was designated as one "of the committee on a letter, of [Nov.] 12, from E. Blaine," which does not appear on the journals until November 21. See *JCC*, 18:1062, 1075–78.

<sup>5</sup> See the preceding note; and *JCC*, 18:1062–63.

<sup>6</sup> There is no mention of this debate in the journals, but see Fell's Diary, October 16–21, note 5.

## John Fell's Diary

[November 20–25, 1780]

Monday Novr 20th 1780. Letters from J Adams, who was then in Holland were Read and several Reports from Committes &c.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday Novr 21st 1780. A very extraordinary Report was this day Read from a Committee that the Commander in chief, with the Pennsylvania Line and a Train of Artilary should go to the Southward,<sup>2</sup> A Report about continuing the Embargo was also Read,<sup>3</sup> and the Letter to the King of France per Paragraphs.<sup>4</sup>

Wednesday 22d. After the dispatches, were gone through, the Letter to the King of France was finishd and agreed to.<sup>5</sup> After the Election of Pay Master General came on the Gentlemen in Nomination were Mr Dort, Mr Pearse, & Mr Geddes. After Balloting 3 times Mr Geddes was Elected.<sup>6</sup>

Thursday 23d. This day Produce'd some strange manuvering with Regard to Mr Geddes appointment Yesterday, those in opposition Pretended they did not know of any Charges Exhibited against him as one of the Commissioners of Accounts, and had the Ellection over ruled &c.<sup>7</sup>

Friday November 24th, 1780. Dr Shippen wrote a Letter to the Medical Committee to desire leave to stay in this town to carry on a Course of Lectures, which Produced a motion that he should Prepare to head Quarters,<sup>8</sup> some other Reports were read and a draft of a letter to Dr Franklin. Rainy day.

Saturday Novr 25th. Rain. Dr Franklins letter was againe taken up and Read and some other Reports were the work of the day.<sup>9</sup>

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> *JCC*, 18:1072–73.

<sup>2</sup> For this report, which was also debated on January 1, see *JCC*, 18:1078, 19:2–3.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 18:1075–78.

<sup>4</sup> See the following note.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 18:910, 1048, 1068, 1080–85.

<sup>6</sup> Although John Sandford Dart and John Pierce were nominated for this post on November 10, and William Geddes on November 17, only Geddes is named in the journal proceedings for this day. See *JCC*, 18:1042, 1067, 1079.

<sup>7</sup> See *JCC*, 18:1085; and these *Letters*, 16:377n.

<sup>8</sup> See *JCC*, 18:1090–91.

<sup>9</sup> The letter for Franklin concerned "instructions to accompany the letter [to Louis XVI] agreed to the 22d," for which see *JCC*, 18:1092, 1094; and note 5 above.



## John Fell's Diary

[November 27–30, 1780]

Monday N 27th. Several Letters this day Receivd from Mr Adams at Amsterdam And Letters from the Governor of Virginia advising of the British fleet Sailing from Portsmouth.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday Novr 28th, 1780. Several Reports from Committees &c were Read and the Instructions to Dr Franklin relating the Loan were finishd.<sup>2</sup> I moved for a New Committee of Commerce. The Members chose Mr Clymer, Mr Boon [Thomas Bee], Mr Root.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday Novr. 29, 1780. A Vessell from Amsterdam brought Letters from Mr Adams which were read and Committed.<sup>4</sup>

Thursday Novr 30th 1780. Letters were Reced this day from Mr Adams at Paris acquainting of the French Ministry being much displeasd at Our reducing the Money with Mr. Adams answer, which was very clever.<sup>5</sup> Also Letter from Dr Franklin per Mr Ross reccomending a Capt Hutchins a Native of Jersey who has been long a Prisoner in England, for Corresponding with France. He has been many Years a Captain & Engenier in the British Service and strongly reccomended.<sup>6</sup> Left Congress this day.

MS (MHi: John Fell Diary). In the hand of John Fell.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 18:1095; and these *Letters*, 16:393n.2.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 18:1101–4.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 18:1100.

<sup>4</sup> The receipt of these letters is not recorded in the journals this day. *JCC*, 18:1105–6.

<sup>5</sup> For John Adams' reply to the comte de Vergennes explaining Congress' March 18, 1780, devaluation of the Continental dollar, see these *Letters*, 16:404, 413–14, 423, 461–62.

<sup>6</sup> See *JCC*, 18:1107. Benjamin Franklin's March 16 letter to Congress and an enclosed memorial from Capt. Thomas Hutchins, who was later appointed geographer of the United States, are in PCC, item 82, 1:219–23.

## Willie Jones' Account

[post December 27, 1780]

Dr: The State of No. Carolina to Willie Jones

To my Salary as Delegate in Congress from the 7th of June to the 27th Dec. 1780<sup>1</sup> at £800 per annum, £444.8.10 Specie.

Willie Jones<sup>2</sup>

MS (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). In a clerical hand, signed by Willie Jones, and certified by John Justiss, Oct. 17, 1783.

<sup>1</sup> In this account Jones was claiming travel time to and from Philadelphia as well as attendance at Congress. He actually attended from June 22 to December 13. See *JCC*, 17:543; and these *Letters*, 16:442n.2.

<sup>2</sup> In the continuation of this claim, Jones also indicated that he had already received of the Continental Treasurer, Michael Hillegas, £396.8.10.

## Jesse Root to Ephraim Root

Phil. March 15th. 1781.

Letters from the Govr. of Virginia, & Gen. Greene, as late as 2d of March, inform, that Ld. Cornwallis, retreated to Hilsborough, erected the Kings standard, & Issued proclamation inviting the inhabitants to join him. That B. Gen. Pickins and Lt Col. Lee fell in with 300 tories in Arms, commanded by a Col. Piles,<sup>1</sup> on their march to join the Enemy; that they killed Piles & upwards of an 100 of his party, Wounded many of Rest, & dispersed the whole. That Ld. Cornwallis after Making a short tarry, left Hilsborough & retreated down the river Haw, that Gen. Greene was within ten Miles of him—& the militia Collecting in great Numbers.<sup>2</sup> What will be the issue, time Must determine.

Tr (Vt–Ar: Henry Stevens Collection). Endorsed: “Extract of Lett. from Honorable Col. Root now at Congress Philada. to his son in Y[ale] College.” For Root’s son Ephraim (1762–1825), a 1782 Yale graduate, see Franklin B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, 6 vols. (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1885–1919), 4:234–35.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Andrew Pickens, Henry Lee, and John Pyle.

<sup>2</sup> This intelligence had been reported in a February 28 letter from Nathanael Greene, and in a March 2 letter from Maj. Charles Magill to Virginia governor Thomas Jefferson, who forwarded it to Congress and to General Washington March 8. See Greene, *Papers* (Showman), 7:367–69; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 5:44, 103–4. See also *JCC*, 19:262; and these *Letters*, 17:63, 66.

## Samuel Huntington to John Hopkins

Sir,

[April 13, 1781]

Pay to the Order of John Pierce Esquire Pay Master General the sum of four hundred and eighty five dollars of the New Emission to be given to Col. Febiger for his Expences on Command and for which Sum the said John Pierce Pay Master General is to be Accountable.<sup>1</sup>

By Order of the United States in Congress  
assembled April 13, 1781

Sam. Huntington President

RC (DNA: RG 217). Addressed: “John Hopkins Junr. Esqr., Loan Officer for the State of Virginia. Endorsed: “Passed in the Auditor Generals Office, the 17th April 1781, Joseph Nourse AAG.”

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 19:386.

## Samuel Huntington to John Hopkins

Sir,

[May 31, 1781]

Pay to John Pierce Esq. Pay Master General, or his Order, the Sum of twenty one thousand two hundred and fifty three dollars & 30/90 of the New Emission for the purpose of paying four Months Pay to the Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire Lines, Corps of Artillery, Sappers & Miners now to the southward under the Command of Major General the Marquis de la Fayette, for which sum the said Pay Master General is to be accountable.<sup>1</sup>

By Order of the United States in Congress

Assembled May 31, 1781

[Sam] Huntington President

RC (DNA: RG 217). Endorsed: "Passed in the Auditor Genls. Office June 1st 1781, Jas. Milligan AG."

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 20:581.

## Samuel Huntington to John Hopkins

Sir,

[June 18, 1781]

Pay to the Order of Philip Audiburt Asst Pay Mastr. General on Account of John Pierce Esq. Pay Master Genl. five hundred dollars of the New Emission for the Use of Brigadier General Muhlenburgh, for which sum the said Pay Master Genl. is to be accountable.<sup>1</sup>

By Order of the United States in Congress

assembled June 18, 1781

Sam Huntington President

RC (DNA: RG 217). Endorsed: "Passed in the Auditor Generals Office the 20th June 1781. Joseph Nourse AAG."

<sup>1</sup> *JCC*, 20:660.

## Elias Boudinot to Lewis Pintard

My dear Sir,<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia July 31st. 1781

Am much obliged by your favour per Post, altho' I had already recd. the Papers of a later Date. I have settled a Correspondence by which I recieve them twice a Week, within two days of their Date. The Consul<sup>2</sup> is out of Town, but when I see him will mention the matter to him.

Not a single Syllable of News. We have not heard lately, either from the South or East or indeed from any other Quarter. Will enquire of Mr. Meade agreeable to your request.

I have not yet been able to get a sight of Mr. John Franklin. His lady continues very poorly. Do push for the Medicine & send it me by the Post.

Must beg you will visit my lonely family as often as you Can. My kind Love to Mrs. Pintard & kiss my little Patty. Compliments to Mr. Robinson & family.

Am Dr. Sir, Yours most Afftly,

Elias Boudinot

RC (ViU: William S. Worth Autograph Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Pintard has been identified in these *Letters*, 17:472n.1. For his correspondence with Boudinot, see also *ibid.*, pp. 471–72, 507, 534.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the French consul, Jean Holker.

## Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to John Hall

Dear Sir,<sup>1</sup>

Phila. Augt. 21. 1781

You are in my Debt for two Letters—a remissness that you are not commonly chargeable with, tho one of the Letters I believe the Post was robbed of, & upon second thoughts I am to pass to your Credit. Nothing lately from Europe or Genl Greene. The News Paper will inform you of the News from the West Indias.

The Count De Grace I hope will pay our Bay a Visit, if he should he probably may occasion Lord Cornwallis to Fly to his Kingdom. I mean to the Woods.

Mr. Carroll writes to my Colleague that the first part of his Answer to Mr JC<sup>2</sup> would be in last weeks Paper & the remainder in this. Be pleased to inclose them to me.

With my respectful Compliments to Mrs. Hall, I am, Dear Sir, Your affectionate friend,

Danl of St Thos Jenifer

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Hall has been identified in these *Letters*, 14:355n.5. For other letters that Jenifer sent to Hall at this time, see *ibid.*, 17:241–42, 298–99, 309, 435–36.

<sup>2</sup> Jenifer should have written “S C,” for Samuel Chase, with whom Charles Carroll of Carrollton was engaged in a bitter exchange in the Maryland newspapers, for which see *ibid.*, 299n.1. In this instance, Carroll’s “Answer” to Chase, dated July 16, appeared in Frederick and Samuel Green’s *Maryland Gazette* of August 23 and 30. Chase’s subsequent reply was published in two installments in the issues of September 27 and October 11.



Roger Sherman's Notes

	[post October 6, 1781] <sup>1</sup>
Expenditure of Presidents Table	
Mr. Jay Decr. 10 1778 to 28 Sept. 1779 . . . . .	2975 79/90
Mr. Huntington from 28 Sept. 1779 to 10 July 1780	4424 83/90
Mr. McKean from 10 July to 6 Oct. 1781 . . . . .	<u>1250 83/99</u>
Dollars Specie . . . . .	8650 72/90
Per Annum	
Mr. Jay . . . . .	2834
Mr. Huntington . . . . .	2500
Mr. McKean. . . . .	5000

MS (Privately owned original, 1993). In the hand of Roger Sherman.

<sup>1</sup> A copy of a 60-page notebook in the hand of Connecticut delegate Roger Sherman was made available for use in this supplement by Mr. Joseph Rubenfine of West Palm Beach, Fla. It contains 24 pages of notes on Sherman's readings from Emmerich Vattel and the Bishop of Bristol, various personal expense accounts from 1781 to 1784, and copies of reports now in the PCC on Continental expenses and indebtedness, battle casualties, and the hospital establishment as of July 23, 1781, of which only the present notes do not duplicate information available elsewhere. These reflect Sherman's concern over President Thomas McKean's table expenses, and were undoubtedly written after the date of McKean's first quarterly accounting October 6, 1781, and before Sherman left Philadelphia to return home November 4. He seems to have been alarmed that McKean's account projected to an annual specie expense of \$5,000.

John Sullivan to John Langdon

Sir

Durham December 29th 1781

As my Accounts<sup>1</sup> may possibly be taken under consideration the next week and I am called to attend York Court, I hope the Honorable members will r[e]ceive (in Lieu of my personal Attendance) this Explanatory Letter upon the Account, which I have exhibited against the State of New Hampshire.

If the Spirit of a Committe could be certainly known by their Report, I should Suppose, that Every member would without hesitation, conclude that there are no objectionable Articles in my Account Except those which they have marked, And was I convinced that those Articles only, would be considered, I should rest Satisfied with the Explanation, which I have already given to the House: But Lest the whole of the Articles of Charge (which I have fully explained to the Committee) should be again taken under consideration I must beg Leave to trouble the House with some *Observations*.

Whatever opinion I may Entertain of the Report already made, I have no Doubt of its being taken up & considered by the assembly

upon proper principles; I will therefore Endeavor to explain what have been the real Expences, during the time of my Services.

At the time my Journey commenced, paper Dollars were in most Cases reckoned Inferior to what Coppers formerly were, and in no Case more than Equal, a moments reflection, must convince every member of the Truth of this assertion; but to remove every possibility of Doubt, I have taken some minutes of Expences in Rhode Island, (which was by far the cheapest State I found in my Rout) & have from that made the following comparative Estimate viz

a Breakfast 20 Dollars formerly 12 Coppers  
 Dinner 30 Dollars formerly 20 Coppers  
 Lodging 10 Dollars formerly 6 Coppers  
 Bowl of Punch 30 Dollars formerly 24 Coppers  
 Wine per Bottle 90 Dollars formerly 30 Coppers

From this Estimate it appears That the Dollars which I drew before my Departure were in real value not Equal to two thirds the same Number of Coppers. I drew more money in Philadelphia, & have in the whole after Deducting the Credit, & making allowance for Miscastg. on my Account, charged the State with the Expenditure of about a hundred Thousand old Continental Dollars; in value Less than two thirds the same number of Coppers, even if expended within the Eastern States; & if it be a fact that from about a month after my arrival in Philadelphia to May Last, Speculators were purchasing old continental Dollars at three, four, five & Six hundred for one (of Silver) & Sending them forward in Waggons to Sell for Silver, at about a hundred & Twenty for one; & thereby Drew all the Silver from the Eastern into the Southern States. It must appear, that this money was not there a Quarter part Equal to the same number of Coppers: to make this Evident I must State some few facts. At my Arrival in Pensylvania I found paper nominally at about Seventy five for one; but in one month it fell so Low, that its total Annihilation was feared, by Every member of Congress. Many Efforts were used to restore it, which though they served to prolong its Existence, could not prevent its Destruction & in April 1781 it was carried through the Streets on Poles, & in Waggons, by a formidable Mob of Sailors, & burnt by waggon loads: & I believe many members of Congress feared being called upon, to assist at the Executions. From This time it ceased to have circulation in that State. The many Efforts which had been made to Support its Credit, made its progress very irregular & at sometimes, Even, raised its value more than one half for a few Days; yet it soon re-assumed its natural Course. The State of Pensylvania Issued some money (I think) in Novemr 1780 & appropriated Lands for its redemption in a year; This they Supposed would be Equal to Silver & Gold; & fixed it at Seventy five for one, Issued a Proclamation against Exchanging it but Equal to Silver and Gold, & Determined its compar-

ative value with old Continental money, to be Seventy five for one; This Enhanced its value for a few Days but though the Comparative value between that & Continental money was kept, it Soon took four, & five, and in a Little time after ten State Dollars, to purchase a Silver dollar which made the Continental Dollars 750 for one; but after the old money ceased to circulate it returned to five for one. I mention these circumstances to Account for the Seeming irregularity of the prices in my Account. But to give the assembly an Idea of the value of Continental money in Jany Last; I beg leave to mention that when five of the members of Congress, were Sent to meet the Pensylvania Line; though we rode our own Horses, & were absent only five Days: & three Quarters of the time were Entertained on free Cost at Mr Barcleys, our Bill of Expençe amounted to twenty thousand Dollars. Now if any person after being Acquainted with these facts can make the paper money which I have charged to this State, Amount to three hundred & fifty dollars in real value, he must be Acquainted with some mode of Calculation that I know nothing of. Indeed after Averaging it in the Most Accurate Manner, I possibly can; I can only make it amount to three hundred & Ten: if this be right my Account of Expences will Stand thus.

Old continental reduced to Specie	}	310 Dollars
Hard money Account after		
Deducting Mr Smiths 42 Dollars		<u>850</u>
		1160 Dollars

I take the Liberty of Inclosing you a resolve of Congress, respecting the Support of Delegates which was reduced as Low as possible, on Account of the wretched state of our finances: which allows them Eighteen hundred Dollars a year for their Subsistence; & I beg leave to assure the assembly, that Mr Livermore informed me that he could not Support himself under two thousd, hard Dollars a year. I would then ask whether the most extravagant calculation can make any Expences amount to what congress have themselves determined necessary; who are upon the Spot & know the prices of Every thing?

I will now proceed to consider those Articles, which I suppose may need some Explanation. I shall avoid Troubleing the House with my opinion, whether, if a Delegate on publick Service breaks his Whip, Looses a Spur, or wears out his gloves in riding; he has a right to replace them or whether, if one Delegate Drinks Grogg, & another takes Snuff the latter may charge a Bottle of Snuff with the same propriety as the former his Grogg. Nor will I say whether if one breaks a Snuff Box, by a fall from his horse, he has a right to replace it. It may be said that these Articles are too Low to be charged in Account. This, may be; but I am convinced that when they are in, there cannot be much grandeur in objecting to them. The reason why they appear there is because they were minuted in my Book, & I wish'd to know if the Cast-



ing would be the same in the Account Drawn off, as in the minute Book. I shew the Committee some Taylors Bills, & other Articles, which I marked as not being proper Charges against the State; I Laid my voucher before them for Every Material Article except the Bills brought in by my Servant Hull, and the Bills for Extra Expenses. The former I examined when presented, & minuted in my Account; but I know not where the original Bills are. Those Bills were for wood, Candles, Sugar, Cyder, & other Articles; which he provided. Those which I purchased myself I immediately set down. What he provided, I set Down in that manner. When I asked Company to dine I made all the provision myself, without any Connection, with the family where I Lodged: and Hulls Bills consisted, partly of the Articles purchased for that purpose & partly for wood, cand[l]es, Sugar, Souring &c. While I was at the french ministers Seat, for my health, Hull purchased Every thing for the family. Bills of Extra Expences were for Clubb, when at the Coffea House, & when riding in the Country for my health. It may be thought that these are high but I wish real value may be considered, & not meer Sound; I would here ask what the real value of an Extra Bill, of fifteen hundred, or Two thousand Dollars was; when the Sailors were burning waggon Loads of that money in the Street? And whether at that time New Hampshire had furnished me with a Single farthing of any other kind of money? There is an Extra Bill in the hard money Account, which perhaps ought not all to be allowed. It was at a time, when I rode much in the mornings & afternoons for my health, often fell into Company, Drank Tea, punch &c, & bated my Horses: I find it stands charged in my Account, Sixty two Dollars but carried off forty five pounds, when Sixty two Dollars is in Pennsylvania money but twenty three pounds, five shillings; I never Discovered this Mistake till Since my return from the assembly. This Bill then when the Charge is rectified will amount to about three Quarters of a Dollar a Day for the time; which was the price of a Bowl of Punch, but perhaps the whole of this ought not to be allowed. I am Sorry that any Errors Escaped me in Drawing off the Account but hope the assembly will Excuse it, as I was the less attentive upon a Supposition that the Committee would be regulated Intirely by the original Entries. I shall make but one observation more upon my Account, which is that my Account of Expences on my return, are very small when compared with any other Period of time, This arose from my adopting a mode in publick life (for saving money) which in private life; I never attempted. I Expected many objections would be made to my Bill of Expences; & as I had a number of friends on the Road, I called on them to Save Expences to the State, I traveled to Princetown with five Shillings and four pence; though detained two Days & a half by a Storm. I took care to rest my Horses at the Army, where the Expence was triffling; & in Every other place where it was possible to save Ex-



pence, I improved the opportunity. Thus have I Endeavored to Explain my Account in the fullest manner, and am well assured that if the Substance of the Charges (& not Sound & Shadow) is considered; that it will fall far Short of What in the Judgment of Congress was necessary for the Subsistence of a member. I shall now proceed to consider the allowance for wages reported at one Dollar per Day. In order to Determine Equitably, what Sum should be allowed any person, it ought to be considered, what Business he leaves to Enter the Service, what Loss he Sustains, and What is the Design of Sending him. If the Intention of sending me forward, was only with a view of having a person, to answer for New Hampshire when called; one might have been procured for much Less money, who would have answered that purpose. I was not Sent merely as a Delegate, this I had refused; but I was pressed to go as a Lawyer, to Argue a Cause against three of the first Lawyers upon the Continent.<sup>2</sup> There is not in my opinion a Gentleman in this State who would ask me, to Shut up my office one month, go to Philadelphia, & argue a Cause, where only a Ship & Cargo were Depending, under a Thousand Dollars: & Surely none would Affront me so much, as to request me to Shut up my office a year, & attend to his Business for three hundred & Sixty five Dollars. Can any person Suppose that if the Committee of Safety, when they Urged me to go forward, had informed me that I should receive a Dollar a Day, I should have waited Even to have given an answer. If they Intended it certainly it would have been but fair, to give me notice; but I know they did not, they told me I should be well rewarded, & I am convinced that they intended it. I have heard it said, that in these times of Difficulty, we must all Sacrifice something; but had I not before, Sacrificed five years Service, in the prime of Life, great part of my fortune; and destroyed a fine constitution; had any person done more? Would it not have been cruel, after all this to ask me to do more? I have heard it Said that the members of Assembly have but a Dollar a Day, but let me ask whether there is not a great difference, between a persons going at a distance from his Business & totally relinquishing it, for a Year; and his being absent, three or four times in a year; for a fortnight, or three weeks, where he may perhaps return Every Saturday night, to give directions about his affairs? But I think it can give no offense to say that Every good Member of Assembly, may not be Sufficiently versed in the Rules of Civil, & common Law, & the Legal operation of Grants & Charters; to argue a Cause depending, upon so many nice points; as the Cause between New York & New Hampshire. There are many good members of assembly, who do not attempt to argue their own causes, even where the Consequences are but of little importance. New York had two Eminent Lawyers, deeply interested in the Question; viz General Scott, & Mr Duane; yet they were at the Expence of Sending Chancellor Livingston, and Supporting him in

Philadelphia Several months, only for the purpose of assisting the others: And I was Left alone to argue against those three Gentlemen which I did more than twenty times on the floor of Congress; perhaps I was not Equal to the Task, but if I was not, the fault Lies with those that Sent Me. I did however attempt it; & I flatter myself that there is not a member of Congress, who will say that I proved myself unacquainted with the Question, or with the Laws, by which it was to be Decided. I have also heard it mentioned, that Mr Livermore Served in February & March 1780, for a Dollar a Day. I think that Congress, had at that time, fixed the money at forty for one; & I hear that he was allowed Eighty Dollars per Day; which if the rule of Congress was Just should have amounted to two Dollars a Day, but perhaps a Little reflection will prove, that Mr Livermore had Some Inducements, that I have never had: his political principles were so much doubted that he could not at that time, obtain a vote for Acting as a delegate, more than a month. Perhaps a Sacrifice of Several Months, to prove himself a friend to his Country, would not at that time have been injudiciously thrown away. It has answered the purpose, of changing the Sentiments of the assembly, respecting his principles: but I am not apprehensive, that I was Ever under the necessity of sacrificing a Single Day to convince any man in America, or Great Britain, What have been my real Sentiments, from the commencement of the Contest. This Consideration might have had weight with Mr Livermore & Induce him to Accept of a Less Sum for the sake of removing those prejudices, then he will ever be content with in future. Members of assembly in General have not been at the Expence of a Law Education, have not many thousand Dollars worth of Law Books, Laying by them or Spent most part of their lives in that Study, which alone can Qualify them, to argue a Cause of Such importance & Intricacy.

Surely I could not believe that any Committee before whom I had laid, all the Circumstances, would have offered Less in real value than I was allowed in 1774 which was half a guinea per Day; of much more real value, than three Dollars at this Day; which is my charge: though a whole Guinea, would not now be Equal in the purchase of Articles in General. Should my whole demand be allowed as to both wages & Expences I shall then be a great Looser for I borrowed in Philadelphia Eighty half Johannes, & received from Doctor Bond two hundred hard Dollars, to deliver over to a Gentleman in Boston; which I was under a necessity of Expending in the City & on the way; and all I have to show for the whole of this is, the difference between the two horses, I carried from Home, & a pair I purchased; & that between an Excellent Sulkey & a Phaeton. I did indeed purchase some cloathing but I came home, much worse Clad; than I was when I began my Journey; & if the present report should be Accepted & I should receive Seventy Six pounds this must make me full Satisfaction.

When I was so pressed to go on I could not conceive that any Ballance If Ever so large, would fail a moment of being paid if there was a possibility of raising the money; But I find that the Ballance reported (if I Could forget myself so far as to Accept it) is to be paid when the State of the Treasury will admit; which can be but Little Encouragement, for receiving the True Ballance; if it should ever be allowed from a Treasury, where an order for twenty five Dollars has been Delayed payment, a number of checks & an order which I was compelled to Draw for forty five pounds has come back protested.

I know that the State of our finances is Low but can never be bettered by parsimony; which is too often mistaken for Economy: though they are Essentially Different. The Latter never fails making people in a State, Wealthy, & happy: the former weakens the reins of Government, destroys public credit, Sows Jealousies & discontent; and finally Ends in the ruin of that State which adopts it.

I have the honor to be with much Esteem Sir your most obedient  
Servant,  
Jno Sullivan

RC (NhHi: Sullivan Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Sullivan's accounts as a delegate to Congress from September 1780 to August 1781. He had been particularly hard hit by inflation during his attendance at Congress, and found his New Hampshire constituents skeptical of his explanations of living expenses in Philadelphia and the ravages of paper currency depreciation. The present letter contains an exceptionally detailed account of a delegate's encounter with his state over this issue, and provides insight into why it was often difficult to recruit delegates to attend Congress.

<sup>2</sup> That is, in New Hampshire's dispute with New York over Vermont claims.

## Elias Boudinot to William Livingston

Dr. Sir,

Philadelphia March 5<sup>t</sup> 1782

I must make an Apology for troubling your Excellency, with the enclosed Letter, that I may not appear unpolite to a Lady I once greatly esteemed.<sup>1</sup>

I do not mean to ask any thing in consequence of it, but what is altogether consistant with the Rule you have prescribed to yourself in such Cases.

I have only to add, that the Gentleman her Son in Law she refers to, is a very amiable Character in this City and a decided Whig,<sup>2</sup> and should imagine that a meeting between them at Brunswick, might answer the End as well as Trenton, if there should be any Objection to her coming as far as that Place. It may also be proper to inform your Excellency, that her late Husband was an episcopal minister belonging to Lancaster & sent into New York by the authority of the State, as refusing to take the Oaths &c.



I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obed Hble Servt,  
Elias Boudinot<sup>3</sup>

RC (DLC: Boudinot Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly Sarah Barton, the second wife of the late Thomas Barton (1730–80), whose exile as an Anglican clergyman who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the state of Pennsylvania is explained by Boudinot below. See Milton Rubincam, "A Memoir of the Life of William Barton, A.M. (1754–1817)," *Pennsylvania History* 12 (July 1945): 180–84.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently, Paul Zantzinger, a Pennsylvania merchant, whose previous meetings in New Jersey with his step-mother and late father had elicited some suspicions from Pennsylvania officials. *Ibid.*, pp. 184–85.

<sup>3</sup> In his March 7 reply to Boudinot, Governor Livingston explained that he knew nothing of Mrs. Barton's character, "But I have universally refused all applications for permissions to come out of the Enemy's lines for the sake of having interviews with relations, or the transacting of private business." Boudinot Papers, DLC.

## William Ellery to Christopher Ellery

Dr Brother,

Phila. May 11, 1782.

This will be accompanied by the paper of this day, and a letter to my wife.<sup>1</sup>

The newspaper will furnish you with some subjects of political conversation, but I hope you will not be deluded by a change in the mode of conducting the war, by a change of ministry, and of generals so as to think that we are soon to see peace. You may hear by and by, about treaties of peace, about truces &c. &c. but be not deceived. These are baits calculated for gudgeons. Conscious that it is out of their power to carry on an internal offensive war against us, and at the same time to operate forcibly agst. France and Spain, they mean to fortify their posts so as to render them impregnable; to snug themselves in them while they carry on the war by sea, while they are destroying our commerce, and our armies are wasting away in inaction. In this way of conducting the war you must be sensible at once that they may do us more mischief than by the most offensive internal war they can wage against us. Instead of being amused by the cajolements they may throw out, our business is to augment our force so as to be able to act against them effectually whenever circumstances will admit. I expect that propositions will be made to Congress by our enemies with a view to lull us asleep, and detach us from France, and perhaps proposals may be made to the States seperately, to create a division among them, but the United States in Congress assembled will not suffer themselves to be led away or astray by the most artful seductions; although there may be a member or two introduced in such a manner as to induce some suspicion of their fidelity—nor will I beleive that any one state will listen to separte propositions although tories may



have been admitted to a voice in the election of officers. What may be the case with regard to a state where tories have from time to time been allowed to take a test, and thereby qualify themselves for voting, and in which persons untested have voted, I will not say, but if by the influence of enemies to their country, men of tory principles or dubious characters to a considerable number should obtain seats in the General Assembly, what mischiefs may not ensue?

I have heard of the confusion you had in the town meeting at Newport; that you had a moderator who could not or did not chuse to preserve order, and that whigs and tories, persons tested and untested, were all allowed to vote, and that the old deputies were turned out to a man. What can all this mean? What has become of the spirit which once actuated the whigs? Is it possible that—Is it possible—I am sick of Newport. I rejoice that I have no fixed habitation there, for it would be death for me to live in a place where tories and mongrels reigned triumphant, and if it should during my life happen, which God of his infinite mercy forbid! that such characters should gain an ascendancy in the assembly. I shall bid it adieu!

I am waiting here for my successor in office or somebody else to come on and take my place.<sup>2</sup> As I expect that this will happen soon, I shall not send your bills by this opportunity, but take them with me. Mr. Skinner hath sent in a letter to Congress respecting his department<sup>3</sup> which is refered to the Secy. of War to report.

Shew the newspaper to Mr. Channing to whom with his wife & family present my love. Give my kind regards to Mr. Champlin and his Wife. My duty to our mother and love to your wife and children. I am  
Yrs. sincerely,  
WE

Tr (RNHi: Ellery Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Ellery was replaced by David Howell June 7, for which see these *Letters*, 18:566n.2.

<sup>3</sup> There is no mention of this letter from Abraham Skinner, the Continental commissary of prisoners, in the journals or papers of Congress.

## Arthur Middleton's Draft Motion

[July 16? 1782]<sup>1</sup>

That the agents be called in & informed that Congress is of Opinion that their Power is not competent to the Determination of the question arising upon the objection made by the Agents of Connecticut; and as it appears that the Powers lodged with Congress by the respective Agents are full & sufficient, & conformable to the Articles of Confederation, the said agents are directed to proceed to the Nomination of Persons for erecting a Court to decide the matter

in dispute, agreeably to the Rules provided for that purpose by the Confederation.

Reprinted from *Joseph Rubinfine Autograph Catalogue*, #105 (March 1990), item 23.

<sup>1</sup> Middleton apparently drafted this motion in response to a Connecticut effort to delay the opening of hearings on conflicting Connecticut-Pennsylvania claims to the Wyoming Valley by objecting to the sufficiency of the powers granted to the Pennsylvania agents in the case. Pennsylvania had recently issued new powers to its agents in response to Connecticut's complaint, and this day agents from both states were admitted to appear before Congress. After debating a number of motions on the case, of which Middleton's was apparently one, Congress adopted a resolution directing the agents "to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question, agreeably to the 9th Article of the Confederation." See *JCC*, 22:390-92; and these *Letters*, 18:563n.3, 613-15, 668-69.

## James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Aug. 27th. 1782.

I have examined into the law of this State relating to slaves coming into it from other States, and find an exception for the case of fugitives which will secure your nephew agst. danger from that source.<sup>1</sup> As the French army however is at this time but beginning to move from Baltimore, I hope the Messenger will recover the slave before he reaches this place. Should it happen otherwise my services shall be freely given. With equal chearfulness will I procure the gold lace as soon as it is in my power. At present, *my situation is such* that I can give no other proof of a disposition to serve my friends, in any case where the *least* pecuniary advance is necessary. The balance is so much agst. Virga. in its trade with this place that no draughts on the former can be negociated here. My friends at Richmond are endeavoring to procure some relief for me, but as it will depend on the state of the Treasury I dare not be very sanguine of their immediate success.

We have had not a syllable from Europe since my last. The French fleet is in Boston Harbor. The arrival of a British fleet from the W. Indies is reported, but not confirmed.

The proceedings of the Ct. Martial on Lippencut were yesterday laid before Congress by Genl Washington.<sup>2</sup> It appears that the Culpit did not deny the hanging of Huddy, but justified it as a necessary retaliation & warranted by verbal orders from the Board of Refugees. The Ct. acquitted him, on the pretext that no malicious intention appeared to have dictated the measure. The whole trial would have disgraced a Russian Tribunal before the reign of Peter the first. Carlton explicitly acknowledges & reprobates the crime, and promises to pursue it in other forms, but complains of the precipitate step of Gel Washington in devoting to execution an innocent & even a capitulant

officer before satisfaction had been regularly demanded & refused. As the affair is now before Congress I shall add nothing further till the result is known.

Our friend Mr. Jones<sup>3</sup> arrived on Sunday last, himself, his lady, and his little son, particularly his lady very much indisposed, or rather ill, and having been so from the 2d day after setting out. They have taken their station at Germanto[w]n which they think necessary to restore their health & do not mean to encounter the noise & polluted atmosphere of the City till that end is attained.

RC (Vi: Mary Bain Carter Gift). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 17:483–84.

<sup>1</sup> While the Pennsylvania law of March 1, 1780, declared that all persons of "color," except for registered "negroes or mulattoes," were "free men and free women" within the commonwealth, it exempted "any absconding or runaway negro or mulatto slave or servant" as well as the property of non-residents such as delegates to Congress and foreign consuls. See *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, compiled by James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, 17 vols. (Harrisburg: C. M. Busch, 1896–1915), 10:71–72. For Pendleton's runaway slave Bob, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 4:444n.14.

<sup>2</sup> For the Huddy-Lippincott case and Congress' silence in the matter, see these *Letters*, 19:92n, 248–50.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Virginia delegate Joseph Jones, for whom see *ibid.*, p. 95n.5.

## James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Sepr. 10th. 1782.

I am extremely sorry for the ill luck which your favr. of the 2d instant<sup>1</sup> informs me attended the endeavors to regain Mr. Pendletons fugitive negro; and the more so, as his hopes from my pursuit of him will be equally disappointed. I shall write immediately to Col. Jameson on the subject<sup>2</sup> & enclose your description of the negro and the request of Mr. Pendleton as to the sale of him. As it is possible however that a detached source may render it inconvenient for him to make the necessary searches & applications, and I have no other acquaintance with the army fit for such business, I think it would be well for you to engage the co-operation of such other Gentlemen as you or others connected with Mr. Pendleton may know. Any letters on this subject enclosed to me shall be duly forwarded.

Genl Washington has moved with his army down to Verplanks point. His object in this movement is uncertain.<sup>3</sup> Seven Ships, part of a fleet from the W. Indies under Lord Hood are arrived at New York, and 1,500 foreign troops have embarked at that place for Halifax.

I am inform'd by a letter from Thornton Taylor<sup>4</sup> t[hat] he some time ago wrote to me on the subject of some mon[ey] due to him here, & inclosed a power to receive it for him. Will you be so obliging



as to inform him that the letter miscarried, & that he must write again? I know not where he resides nor how to convey a line to him.

Our Ministers in Europe are still silent, or their dispatches unfortunate. The arrival of a packet at N.Y. has yielded us the intelligence in the enclosed paper,<sup>5</sup> some of which is very interesting. The new revolution in the British Cabinet which seems to be throwing the whole administration into the hands of the Shelburne party, has not a very pacific aspect. Unless however they make a coalition with the old ministry, it would seem that their popular & eloquent antagonists will be able to render their triumph of short duration. In any event their councils must be either divided, or their measures obstructed, perhaps both these evils may be their portion. If an honorable peace could be ours, then whatever it be would be of little moment to us. Adieu.

RC (Vi: Mary Bain Carter Gift). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Rutland), 17:486.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 5:96–97.

<sup>2</sup> Not found, but see *ibid.*, p. 158n.2.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 110n.3.

<sup>4</sup> Not found.

<sup>5</sup> For the “enclosed paper,” see *ibid.*, p. 120n.33.

## George Clymer's “Thoughts on the West India Trade”

[ante September 17, 1782]<sup>1</sup>

The principal nations in Europe who have West India possessions systematically exclude foreigners from any considerable share in their trade. That general intercourse which untill lately No America had with the British islands implied no departure from the system. We enjoyed it only as members of the British empire. But if it can be demonstrated that the more this trade is laid open to America the greater will be the benefit to those nations, they will doubtless be induced to alter their systems in this respect. The following state of facts is offered as demonstrative of this benefit.

Lands in the West Indies are employed to much greater advantage in the cultivation of sugars than in the raising any species of provisions—for instance an acre in sugar cane will in a medium crop yield 25 cwt at 35/ per cwt. £43.15/. and this from the labour of a single slave: whereas an acre in indian corn will not in common produce above 15 bushels at 4/. worth £3—the difference in the two cultivations being £40.15/ in favor of the former—’tho it must be acknowledged in some other species of provisions, as yams and plantains, the difference is not so great. Now the more the inhabitants are obliged to raise of these provisions the more lands and the more labour must



they take off from the cultivation of sugar—the loss, immediate to them and eventual to the mother country, is evident: besides which it is remarked that the disadvantages of the provisions, cultivation must unavoidably encrease, for in proportion as the islands are cleared are they liable to excessive droughts which nothing but the hardiness of the sugar cane can with stand. And in confirmation of the opinion of the importance of reserving all the labor of a West India estate for the sugar culture, the example of Mr. Tuite may be quoted, who had even his indian corn ground in America—this is material, for it was by this man's great skill in the West India cultivation that the Danish island Santa Cruz rose to such sudden prosperity. In addition to what has been said upon this subject—sugar lands by common valuation of entire estates are worth £30 sterling per acre—the same in corn or other provisions not more than £5.

Hence it is plain that it is better for the West Indians to procure their supplies of provisions from abroad than to attempt to raise them at home—but a question arises from whence it would be better for them to draw their supplies—a comparison made of the circumstances of the French and British planters will determine the question—the French are in possession of the more extensive and fruitful islands, the British of the smaller, which from longer cultivation are subject to greater droughts and from constant manuring to destructive vermin—but the British are nevertheless more opulent than the French which can be attributed to no other cause than the American trade which they enjoyed, by which they were enabled greatly to underbuy the French who derive their supplies from Europe—to instance in the article of flour—the relative prices of American and French flour were usually as two to three.

The superiour advantage of the No. American trade admits of a recent proof—by the war with England, as well as by the temporary relaxation of the French system that trade has changed its customary channel—the French at Hispaniola by this means have been able to get their lumber at 150 livres per thousand where the British have paid from 80 to 100 dollars.

If reference be had to the examination in the hosue of commons in 1773 of the West India planters and merchants, it will be found that the importance of the No American trade was well understood and strongly insisted on.

From all this it is abundantly plain that the preference must be given by the West Indians to the American trade—but an idea has prevailed that to admit this trade would be injurious to the present states in Europe, this might be clearly disproved by arguments applied to the peculiar circumstances of each state, but having France principally in view it is sufficient to obviate such objection as she may make to it. It may be urged by her—

1st. That she would lose the benefits of the immediate profit on all the supplies which are now proposed to be furnished by No America.

2. That it would take off from the business of agriculture that proportion of her people which would otherwise be employed in raising the subsistence for the West Indies.

3. That the ordinary revenue on sugars, coffee &c paid on importation in France would be sunk on the articles diverted to No. America.

As to the first, it has been supposed that Wheat equal to the West India consumption has been imported from abroad into France, as is certainly all the beef. The profit then is probably limited to the outward freight; but if other profit is made, even equal to the excess beyond the American prices of it must be remembered that it is gained by one division of subjects at the expence of the other, without any particular national benefit resulting therefrom—for the surplus wealth of the remote West Indians will always center in the parent state, and as much constitute her ability as that of her more domestic subjects.

One of the reasons just suggested will obviate the second objection, the American trade we see would not occasion any lessening of the agriculture in France nor consequently of the hands employed in it.

To the third it may be answered, that if from the greater ability of the West Indians acquired by means of the No American trade more lands can be thrown into the sugar cultivation, and a quantity super-added equal to the American demand, that which is subjected to revenue in France will remain undiminished.

These arguments are brought to meet specific objections—it may besides be observed that as America shall be circumscribed in her West India trade which chiefly keeps her people engaged in agriculture and which has been the basis of all her other commerce, so will her means be circumscribed of supplying herself with the manufactures of Europe, and that she will be reduced, how contrary so-ever to her genius, to have recourse to home manufactures. That France in this article would be the loser by all the difference in profit between employing her subjects in manufacturing for us and in farming for the West India supplies, admitting those supplies to be of her own production. And the difference in favor of manufactures beyond agriculture is almost beyond calculation; it is this alone which has raised to so vast an extreme the national wealth of Great Britain—her exports from this circumstance have risen to sixteen millions sterling—agriculture would have limited them perhaps to four.

But if, which is not an unreasonable presumption, England from the experience of former advantage as well as from the great difficulty her islands would have to subsist without America should willingly reinstate us in our privilege of recanting to her West Indies, and that we are thereby freed from the necessity of manufacturing

ourselves, it may follow as a natural consequence that we shall chiefly purchase her manufactures, and otherwise renew that general intercourse which has been interrupted by the revolution. From this latter consideration it is easy to foresee, however painful to us the reflexion, that France will in a great measure lose those commercial benefits she would otherwise derive from us and is entitled to from the share she has had in the great work of establishing our freedom and dividing the British empire.

MS (DNA: PCC, item 25, 2:145-52). In the hand of George Clymer.

<sup>1</sup> George Clymer drafted these "Thoughts" in connection with his work as chairman of a committee appointed September 5, 1782, to consider "A paper on the mutual advantages of commerce between the U S of America and the West India Islands," which is in PCC Miscellaneous Papers, M332, reel 9, fols. 282-84, but whose author is not known. Clymer's "Thoughts," which was reported to Congress September 17 with a recommendation that it be distributed to the American ministers abroad to guide them in negotiating the removal of "restraints imposed by colonial systems on the No. American trade," preserved "the substance" of the essay referred to the committee. The committee's recommendation was adopted by Congress November 21, when the secretary for foreign affairs, Robert R. Livingston, was directed "to transmit the said paper to our Ministers Plenipotentiary abroad." See *JCC*, 23:747; PCC, item 25, 2:143-66, item 186, fol. 52. Although Livingston was somewhat offended by this intrusion into his conduct of foreign policy, having already discussed the issue in a September 12 letter to John Jay, he sent a copy of the "Thoughts" to Benjamin Franklin with a dispatch of January 6, 1783, but apparently made no other use of it. See Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 5:720-24, 6:200.

Clymer's "Thoughts" was drafted with an eye focused primarily on the trade of the British and French West Indies. For the revival of this issue the following year and its adaptation to the interests of Robert Morris and others eager to gain access to the trade of the Spanish West Indies, see the letter to Francisco Rendon, [August ? 1783], in Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 8:467-79.

## Abraham Clark's Accounts

[November 15, 1782-October 31, 1783]

	The State of New Jersey, to Abraham Clark.	Dr.
1782	To my time in attending Congress from the 15th day of Novemr. to the 4th day of January 1783 including two days going to Philada. & my return home making 51 days at 4 dollars per day	dollars 204
1783	To Attending Congress from the 25th February to the 25th day of June inclusive, including my going and returning, making 120 days @ 4 dollars per day	480
	To Attendance from July 7th to August 20th inclusive except two days absent at home making 43 days at 4 dollars per day	172



To Attendance from Septemr. 12th to Octor. 31t  
inclusive making 50 days @ 4 dollars per day

200

1,056

Per Abra. Clark<sup>1</sup>

MS (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). Written and signed by Abraham Clark.

<sup>1</sup> Receipts on the verso of this document signed by William C. Houston indicate that he received on Clark's behalf from the Treasurer of New Jersey, James Mott, £78.15 and £317.5 on July 6 and October 6, 1784.

## Samuel Wharton to the Delaware Assembly

Sir

Philadelphia 15 January 1783

I did myself the Honor of writing to You on the Sixth of this Month.<sup>1</sup> Congress being urged in the strongest Manner by the Colls of the Army, & other Publick Creditors for a Part, or the whole of their Demands, and having little Expectation of Relief from Impost Laws; They have been constrained to recur to the Power, vested in Them by the Articles of Confederation, and Therefore a grand Committee of the States has brought in the following Report, which is now considering, and will be soon passed.<sup>2</sup> The only Question will be, Whether Congress will in the first Instance value all Lands and Improvements, or wait to receive the Valuations to be made by the several States, and then ascertain Them by Principles conformable to a just, and general Value through all the States. The Execution of the intended Resolution, will not only ascertain the Amount of the Sum, that can constitutionally be raised in all the foederal Governments, But will serve to regulate, with some Degree of Exactitude, The relative proportion of One State to another, and to all the States. It will also shew, how far the Efficiency of Congress, is competent to the Purposes of discharging the Present Debts of the Union, or those which will necessarily hereafter be incurred. While I write the Credit of the United States is not in such Estimation as could be wished, as may be judged by the Rate, at which liquidated Debts, in the Shape of Certificates, bearing Interest, sell. They bring only £94 for £100. And what They will be, when the Creditors find, That Congress have been necessitated to apply to the different States for the tedious, yet only Tax, which is in their Power, I am not without Apprehensions, That our Credit will fall lower, and lower. The Ratio at which national Certificates sell, operates as a faithful, Political Barometer to shew, in what Light publick Credit stands with the People. There are not wanting States, convinced of the Greatness of our Debts, and the Insufficiency of Congress to require the payment of Them, and Moneys also for immediate Purposes, Who are earnest for the different Legislatures to revise



the Articles of Confederation, and grant, among other Things, Authority to Congress to enable Them to act with Energy. This has been frequently insisted upon, and That They should submit to the different States, what in their Opinion would conduce to that End. I think I am warranted to say, That this Idea is much corroborated by the recent Conduct of Virginia and Rhode Island, at a Time when a great Majority of the States had acceded to a Measure, which would, if adopted, have greatly eased the Burdens of the Creditors by a punctual Payment of the Interest of their Demands. There are Numbers of Persons, and those not a few, Even in a certain Assembly, Who are much irritated [by] the unwise Proceeding of Rhode Island. They do not conceal their Opinions, But say, T[hat] the smallest States should be deprived of an equal Vote with those of Extent of Territory, Populosity of Inhabitants, Largeness of Trade, and productiveness of Taxes; and an Alteration should be made in the articles of Confederation in this Respect, and They should not have it in their Power to impede the Determination of a Majority of the States. I think it proper thus early to convey these Declarations, (perhaps They are only directed by a Keen Sensibility, upon the present Disapointment) lest any very serious Disquisition should hereafter be made upon this Subject. The honorable House will be pleased to give these Intimations such Consideration, as in their apprehension, They merit. I only suggest Them, in the greatest Confidence, from a Sense of their Importance. Congress have received no official Advices from Europe, since the Date of my last Letter. I desire through you Sir to convey my dutiful Respects to the honorable House, and to subscribe Myself, with great Esteem & Attachment, Your Honor's most faithful & most obedient humble Servant,

Saml. Wharton

RC (De-Ar: Legislative Papers). Addressed: "The honorable the Speaker of the honorable House of Assembly of the Delaware State [Simon Kollock]."

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 19:549–53.

<sup>2</sup> This report was submitted January 22 and adopted January 25. See *JCC*, 24:93–95n.1. It only dealt with "the Calls of the Army" in a preliminary manner, however, leaving to Congress and the superintendent of finance the difficult issues of raising revenue and maintaining the public credit that occupied Congress from January 27 to April 18, when a comprehensive fiscal plan was finally adopted, for which see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:513–25, 767–81; *JCC*, 24:256–61, 277–83; and these *Letters*, 20:240–41n.1.

## Samuel Wharton to the Delaware Assembly

Sir

Philadelphia January 16. 1783

Not finding a Conveyance to Dover, I just take up my Pen to inform you, That the Resolution herewith inclosed, is after Debate sent to an-

other grand Committee,<sup>1</sup> consisting of a Member from each State. It appeared to be the general Opinion of the Committee Yesterday, That Congress should require from each State a List of all Persons, White, and Black, within it, and a Detail of all Land within its Boundaries, and every Sort of Building and Improvement thereon, with Distinctions of how much Plow Land, How much Meadow, Wood Land &c. By this Combination of the Number of Persons, with the Lands & Improvements thereon, as is just mentioned, The Committee apprehend, That Congress will be in a Capacity to make a just, average Valuation throughout the United States. I shall write you again, as soon as any final Determination has been made upon the Subject under Consideration.

I have the Honor of being, very respectfully, Sir, Your most Obedt.  
& most humble Servant, Saml. Wharton

RC (De-Ar: Legislative Papers). Addressed: "The honorable Speaker of the honorable Assembly of the State of Delaware."

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed proposed resolution was submitted by the "Committee appointed to devise & report the most effectual mode of estimating the value of the Lands in the United States." It was reported back to Congress by the grand committee and referred to the committee of the whole on January 31, and was entered on the journals on February 6. See *JCC*, 24:105, 112–14n.1.

## Samuel Wharton to the Delaware Assembly

Sir Philadelphia January 16 1783

Having by Accident heared of this Opportunity, I embrace it to congratulate you upon the Evacuation of Charles Town. This is signified by a Letter from General Greene to Congress, and it is published, as you will see by the within Paper of this Date.<sup>1</sup> I understand from the War Office, That the Delaware regiment is upon it's March to that State, and that it's Amount consisted of the Numbers stated in the inclosed Account,<sup>2</sup> Which I procured to Day from the War Office.

In the greatest haste, I have the Honor of being, with my dutiful Respects to the honorable House, Sir, Your most Obedient humble servant, Saml. Wharton

Extract from General Greene's Letter to the Secretary at War, Novr 11 1782. "I propose also to send home the Delaware Troops agreable to your Desire."

RC (De-Ar: Legislative Papers). Addressed: "The Honorable Speaker of the honorable House of Assembly of the Delaware State."

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 19:585.

<sup>2</sup> This enclosure reads: "Delaware Regiment—I Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Adjutant, 1 Serjeant Major, 3 Serjeants, 5 Drums and Fifes, 136 Rank and File. Extract from the return of the Southern Army, October 26, 1782."

## Elias Boudinot to Lewis Pintard

Philadelphia Jan. 29, 1783.<sup>1</sup>

"I have nothing worth Communicating there being a total stagnation of all News. . . I have not had an Opportunity of seeing Dr. Rush but will strictly follow your directions as to the House, and will let you know by next Post. There are no shares in the Bank I believe to be bought, but a few Mr. Morris has to sell, which will not be exposed but for a given time. If I can get Time, will send you a Cypher, if not, by another Opportunity. . . . Dr. Rush just sent me a Letter on the subject of the House which I enclose with some difficulty, as the Members of Congress have engaged not to enclose Letters to any Persons whatever, I am in great Haste . . . Yours Afftly  
EB."

MS not found; reprinted from extract in *James Cummins Bookseller Catalog*, no. 50 (November 1995), item 23.

<sup>1</sup> For Boudinot's correspondence with his brother-in-law Pintard at this time, see these *Letters*, 19:588, 597–98, 679–80, 700–701, 730–31.

## Stephen Higginson to John Lowell

Dr Lowell

Phila. Mar 4. 1783.

I arrived here the 26th ult.<sup>1</sup> Our Journey was more agreeable than I expected, the Weather & the Roads were very good for the Season—the genl.<sup>2</sup> rode very moderately & I was not much fatigued at any time. We rose early & were on Our Horses many hours each day. Three days We spent at head Quarters with Genl. Washington, with whose steadiness & great prudence I was much pleased, he surely was made expressly for these times & no other than such a Character could have answered Our purpose. I talked largely with him about our eastern Country—when possessed of its situation & the Views of the Enemy as to it, he gave his Sentiments which came fully up to my wishes. He has stated to Congress his force & that of the Enemys & has requested their directions as to the mode of carrying on the war in case of another Campaign. He thinks we ought to make a manly effort to expel the enemy from N.Y., his present force is not competent to the business but he is clear that it may be effected & that the States can with ease enable him to do it. If Congress advise to an offensive



operation he will not be able to spare any men, but if a defensive plan only is pursued he then thinks Our situation calls for his first attention. When I consider Our situation & that of the Enemy, I can not but think it for Our Interest in every point of View to attack N.Y. Our people are tired of repeated heavy Taxes & calls for men, & their feelings would more readily lead them to one more such exertion as would be necessary for that purpose than to run the risk of protracting the War & preparing for the defensive for several years—the difference in the expence will not be very great. Our whole force is now collected nearly to a point, every great arrangemt. is already made, the Artillery &c all in the necessary situation & the most expensive preparations for this great Object almost compleat, the additional expence therefore of pursuing it rather than acting on the defensive only can not be great.

I do not like the appearance of things in Congress, want of vision, energy & decission is by much too apparent. They are still pursuing the Impost System though ev[e]ry step They advance shews Them that it will eventually prove useless. Funds & force We certainly want but how to possess Ourselves of Them I see not as yet & perhaps never shall. I have not yet had oppy sufficient to enter far into Their Views, but I am alarmed at the want of candour & confidence in each other which is visible—instead of a general disposition to act in concert, to share the burthens necessary to be born—instead of stating frankly Their Views & abilities, of chearfully taking the tour of Duty, & openly declaring what They think right & what They are willing to perform, They use every means to conceal their intentions, & nothing but finesse & intrigue is to be seen. One would think Them a Set of negociators managing seperate interests & representing distant & oposed nations, rather than the Representatives of united States whose interest was common & whose safety depended on mutual Confidence & the closest union. We propose in a few days to take up the old money,<sup>3</sup> a Report now lies before Congress such as We want, but the rate remains a blank & I expect a great division when that Question is called up. Genl. Knox has two of the four ps. of brass Cannon lent to Our State, the Secretary of War had better be requested to return them, & the Continent charged with the two that are lost. Genl. Lincoln wrote Our Governor from Springfield that the company of men which We have for a long time supported at that post are no longer necessary, They may therefore be discharged & the expence saved, or be employed in some other Service that may be useful to the State—there is also in that Laboratory a parcel of Copper which is the property of the State or Martin Gay, the Continent I think have not been charged with it & the Secretary says They do not want it—if called upon he will order it to be returned. When Peace will arrive I see not, We have no Evidence but the Kings Speech & Carletons order as to the property



of Our Subjects which is within Their Lines, that has any great weight in my mind, & I think may or may not come this Spring. Pray give my love to Mrs. L & all other Friends.

The Bearer is just going off & I have no time to copy you must therefore read as well as you can. Yours affy, S.H.

RC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> Higginson took his seat in Congress February 27. *JCC*, 24:153.

<sup>2</sup> That is, secretary at war Benjamin Lincoln, who had returned to Philadelphia with Higginson from a visit to his home in Massachusetts.

<sup>3</sup> See these *Letters*, 19:181n.10, 313–14, 418–19, 676–77, 20:652–54.

## Stephen Higginson to John Lowell

Dr Lowell

[March 11? 1783]<sup>1</sup>

Since I last wrote you We have had close work on the Letters of resignation from the R—f<sup>2</sup> which the papers have announced to you in the most imprudent manner. Col. Dn—b<sup>3</sup> moved for an acceptance & the imiadiate institution of a Board of Treasury. [He] opened the Ball & high debates insued. Messr. N—W; N—M; Colo N—[H]<sup>4</sup> & others against it Messr. D—B; E—L; R—M<sup>5</sup> & others in favour of it, & on this question the Partisans appeared in full colony but with no great advantage on either side. Their zeal carried them much too far—experience has clearly shewn that the great departments are managed by one man of Abilities vastly better than by Boards or Committees of the members. Our expences the last year was amazingly lessned by the late arrangements—if the appointment be judicious, a more rigid oeconomy, greater decission, & a closer adherence to System will always be found in the former than can be expected in the latter Case. The members are frequently changing where the Business is managed by Courts hence a departure from good Systems frequently happen, besides when many are concerned, no one applies sufficiently to Business, & they do not feel that obligation to account nor that fear of reprehension a punishment, as an individual who is placed at the head & must respond for every thing that is done in his department. But though those advantages result from the late managements & though a man may have great merit in his official character, yet care should be taken that he does not become too necessary & acquire too great an influence—the Creature should not be suffered to rise above the Creator. I fear an alteration but I see not how it can be avoided, his demands can not be satisfied by S<sup>g</sup>—C.<sup>6</sup> Some cool & judicious men say that a plan is laid to depress S<sup>g</sup>—C, to drive the States into permanent Revenues to gratify ambitious Views & the y—A<sup>7</sup> is to subserve their purposes—but what can be gained by all

this? suppose They effect their plans in part can any one say that the consequence will be thus or so? can any man feel certain of being at the head? will not the effect necessarily be a general & violent fomentation? & is it not wholly uncertain in such case who or what will rise to the Top. To me it seems too chimerical & yet there are some things that seem to favour the opinion, but I rather think it mere accident that They assure that appearance. Thus much however is clear that there is a vast deal of finesse & intrigue to be seen—all have not right Views. Congress must have more powers & more money or They will soon name to nothing, They can not possibly be useful much longer without—but how to obtain either the one or the other I know not—you can not, that I see, enable Them to coerce a delinquent State during the War—having a few Ships will enable Them in Peace to punish a State by interrupting its Trade, but money must be had to obtain Ships—if we mean to preserve our present forms of Government I am more than ever opposed to Imposts or any kind of Taxes that ar[e] imperceptible, but I have great doubts whether They can be preserved or are worth preserving. You may remember what has been my opinion as to the Views, the interest & the policy of France—most people thought I was wrong & indeed I do not recollect any one who came fully into it. Sorry I am to tell you that We are now possessed of certain unequivocal evidence that their policy as to us is such as I expected, nay they have even gone beyond my expectations—& was it not for the firmness of Adams & of Jay I should fear the consequences. We must be vigilant & firm or We shall gain nothing more than the shadow—no advices yet from Europe—this looks as if the times were not easy to be adjusted, & it is not in my mind improbable that Our interest may have created some difficulties. We have heard that Terms had been agreed on between us & Brittain, but France would not accede to Them. I suppose Them to have been too liberal & advantageous for us in the opinion of France—the Season however is so far advanced that I think We must soon know—if They mean to try another Campaign its almost time for Them to begin in the West Indies.

The advocates for imposts &c avow the Ideas which some in the Massachusetts supposed They entertained. They tell you that the Confederation must be strengthened, Congress must have more power, energy must in some way or other be acquired, but the people will be opposed to such powers & perhaps it is far from being easy to state clearly what farther powers will answer. You must therefore for want of sufficient constitutional power in Congress, create an influence. Imposts &c will be the surest & readiest means of doing this, if judicious appointments are made—men of property & extensive influence & connexions must be attached to Government in that way—such Taxes being imperceptible will not alarm & the collection after a time will be sure. The monies collected in this way if rightly disposed of will in-

crease that influence & give a Tone to Government which will greatly facilitate the collection of other Taxes. The Creditors to the public, & the Army must be also attached to Governmt., by shewing them that you are anxiously endeavor[i]ng to obtain for them, such Security as They wish, for the paymt. of Their Dues. Let the duties be once granted & this united face, say They, will insure the collection of Them. This is their System, suggested from abroad & supported by a certain influence. I had it from one of the most active & zealous among its supporters,<sup>8</sup> at a time & in a manner that satisfied me it is true. Now is it right to forward & establish this System, to take from the People without Their knowledge, the essences of that liberty which is their chief delight, & this under the Idea of its being for their interest & happiness—suppose We were to fancy that They would live much happier, being the Subjects of the King of France or the Emperor of Morocco than they now do, should We under this persuasion have a right to sell Them to either of those p[owers] I conceive not. I consider myself as sent hither to manag[e the] business & to consult their happiness, taking the Constitution [and] general Ideas & principles of Government for my Guide—by this [I am] restrained, nor have I any more right to create a new influence o[r to] invest a new Body with powers divested from the people, than I should have to put Them under the Governmt. & protection of the Emperor of Morocco—it is clear in my mind that new powers must be given to Congress if We mean to maintain Our present union, & the States must be abridged of part of their Sovereignty for the general purposes of continental Governmt.—but the particular defects of the present System should be clearly Stated in Them & Then left to judge for Themselves whether the present union is necessary for Their Safety &c, & what other powers are necessary for Congress to be invested with. These are my present ideas, I can not therefore be in favour of a System to steal from the States or to take from Them by surprise part of Their Sovereignty & power—it would in my mind be a gross violation of the Trust reposed in me. The Financier has advanced some new principles to encourage the adoption of the Impost &c, he says Congress have by the 8th Article an absolute right to demand money within such friends as They think necessary—the amount of the Debt should be required of Them immediately (as the Creditors are entitled to immediate payment) & They are bound to pay it or commute it as Congress please. The Requisition being made therefore the States must comply either by paying the Debt instantly or by acceding to any alteration you will please to give Them—this construction of that Article is to me very extraordinary & absurd. Suppose the Massachusetts a[re] required to pay £200,000 in an hour, a day or a month, would any one think it a reasonable construction? would it not be [...] an impossibility? can it be right to say to the States you sha[ll]



perform what We know to be impossible, or you shall submit to such systems as We please to project, though you believe They will subvert your Liberty & destroy your happiness? the pill it is true is a bitter one but you must swallow it & that without altering its form—these are his Ideas without colouring, his report is to be this day considered & I expect warm debates. I am really tired of the business & wish myself at home. We are aground & no one can point out a safer channel—do not let these Sentiments be too extensively communicated, no good can arise from it at present.

Pray give my love to all Friends & believe yours affy, S.H.

P.S. I hate writing so much that I cannot copy my Letters, you must read Them as well as you can—you may let E Parsons<sup>9</sup> see this if he asks.

RC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> Date conjectured from Higginson's reference to a previous letter to Lowell [of March 4], his preoccupation with the resignation letter of Robert Morris, the focus of congressional debate March 4–5, and the absence of any reference to the news of the signing of the preliminary peace treaty that arrived in Philadelphia March 12.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the "Financier," Robert Morris. For Morris' letter of resignation as superintendent of finance, which had been something of a political bombshell, see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:361–71, 462–68; and these *Letters*, 19:609–10, 761–62, 768.

To explain his use of initials, here and below, Higginson wrote the following note in the margin: "It may perhaps be convenient sometimes to conceal names as in this giving the initial & final Letters only & reversing them as in this Letter, the persons I here mean are the Financier, Colo. Bland, Mr. Wilson, Maddison, Colo. Hamilton, Bland, A. Lee & Mercer."

<sup>3</sup> That is, Bland—"the initial & final Letters only & reversing them." For this Theodorick Bland motion, see these *Letters*, 19:761–62n.5.

<sup>4</sup> That is, [James] Wilson, [James] Madison, and [Alexander] Hamilton.

<sup>5</sup> Bland, [Arthur] Lee, and [John Francis] Mercer.

<sup>6</sup> Congress.

<sup>7</sup> Army.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Gouverneur Morris. Passages in Higginson's letter parallel opinions expressed in "Observations on the Present State of Affairs" printed in Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:304–7, from a document located in the French archives that contains several minor corrections in the hand of Gouverneur Morris.

<sup>9</sup> Apparently the Boston merchant Ebenezer Parsons.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir

Philada. May 20th. 1783.

Your Excellency's favor of the 9th inst. was duly recd. by yesterday's mail. We had communicated to Mr. Thomson the mistake contained in your preceding letter, relative to a recall of the territorial Cession, but have now corrected it as you desire.<sup>1</sup>



If our official & joint correspondence with your Excellency be less circumstantial than that which individual delegates may enter into with their private friends, we persuade ourselves that your Excellency is too sensible both of our public & private respect for your Character, to impute to any defect of either. The difference can only proceed from the necessity in the former case of confining ourselves not only to such matters as are worthy of the public & for which we can be officially responsible, but to such also with respect to which no diversity of private opinions may exist.

Notwithstanding the numerous arrivals from Europe we receive no other information than what passes through the public prints. Sir G. Carlton in answer to a letter from General Washington on the subject of the provisional Treaty repeats the same sentiments regarding the Negroes, which he advanced in the Conference at Orange Town; entering a Caution however against their being considered as a final construction of the article.<sup>2</sup>

We have the honor to be with great esteem, Yr. Excellency's obt. & humble servants,

J. Madison Jr

Theok. Bland

John F. Mercer

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection). Written by Madison and signed by Madison, Bland, and Mercer.

<sup>1</sup> For the "mistake" Governor Harrison made in his May 3 letter, see these *Letters*, 20:249n.2.

<sup>2</sup> For this exchange between Sir Guy Carleton and Washington, see *ibid.*, p. 273n.5.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Saturday July 5. 1783<sup>1</sup>

Yesterday was celebrated at Princeton the eighth anniversary of the Independence of America. Had I the genius of Milton, the fire of Homer, or the sublimity of Virgil I might attempt a description in heroics. But as these are wanting I shall endeavour, in humble prose, to give you a few sketches of the pomp & parade exhibited. To begin in the usual stile, The Morning was ushered in, I cannot say with the ringing of Bells, but with the jingle of the College bell, which being cracked exhibits exactly such a sound as a farmer makes with a frying pan when bees are swarming & he wants to settle them. A flag was displayed, on a pole in the street before the college gate, emblazoned with stars & stripes & with a motto, *Virtue liberty & independence*. At eleven o'clock, The Congress were conducted in to what is called a Hall, where two of the young collegians mounted on a platform & de-

livered two Orations, one on Independence the other on the advantages & disadvantages of a republican form of government. Each Oration closed as you may well expect with plentiful effusions of flattery & encomiums on Congress. These being ended, Congress returned to their chamber, which that I may correct a mistake in one of my former epistles is on the second and not on the third story.<sup>2</sup> In the mean while preparations were making at the Palace, for a grand celebration of the day. A Bower was erected on the green, under which the company were to dine. I cannot indeed boast of its columns, colonades or festoons nor of its triumphal arches or commodious apartments. It was composed of stakes stuck in the ground with forked tops, on which were laid rails & across these some poles to support the heavy branches lopt from the neighbouring forrest which served for a covering. In the front of Mrs. Stockden's house, I mean the palace was erected a grand arcade for the exhibition of fire works which had been sent for in all haste from Philadelphia. But o cruel & fickle fortune, how oft by the turn of thy wheel dost thou disappoint the designs of men, & ruin the best planned projects. About three o'clock the Sky which had hitherto been serene began to be overcast, the clouds thickened, the tempest brewed and about four there fell a deluge of rain, which disconcerted all the measures taken & obliged the stewards and managers to remove the tables into Mrs. Stockden's office. I was happily not a witness to the Confusion occasioned by this sad disaster. I had returned to my lodgings where I waited till the gust was over & then went in my carriage. Dinner was to have been on the table at four, but I found I was in time enough at six. The table was well furnished with hams & rounds of beef. But unfortunately the benches on which the company sat had felt the effects of the storm. However we had this comfort, that though our heads might be heated with wine, we would be cool at bottom. In the evening the ladies collected, and crouds of people attended to see the exhibition of fire works. But, alas, cruel fortune as if she meant to sport herself with our misfortunes had by some strange interposition prevented the arrival of the fire works. Neither Lamps nor oil were provided to illuminate the cherry trees. And the grand arcade, which had braved the storm, stood naked and unadorned & seemed to say, here am I, ready to have exhibited a grand spectacle for the celebration of the day and an Amusement of the quality, people & inhabitants of Princeton, the capital of the United states had not cross accidents prevented. However that the day might not pass without some noise, A Cannon was dragged up from town. But unfortunately in the way the sponge was broken the only sponge in town to clean the gun. This was thought to be irremediable, but happily there was an old bombardier present who undertook to fire without a sponge. Hereupon a rocket was played about seen set as a signal, and the cannon began to fire, but

for want of a sponge they were ob[li]gated to fire so slow that it appeared to be minute guns fired on the death of some eminent commander. Afterward a few rockets were played off, the company then dispersed & thus this Memorable day was closed.

I confess I was very little entertained, and wished myself, a thousand times in Philadelphia with my dear Hannah.

I am with sincere affection, Your loving husband,

Cha Thomson

RC (DSI: Division of Social History).

<sup>1</sup> This is the first of five letters from Thomson to Hannah that will appear in this volume. They are a part of a series of 39 letters known to have been written by Thomson to his wife during Congress' sojourn to Princeton, 34 of which were previously available and were published in volumes 20 and 21 of these *Letters*, and in Eugene R. Sheridan and John M. Murrin, eds., *Congress at Princeton: Being the Letters of Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, June–October 1783* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1985).

<sup>2</sup> See these *Letters*, 20:383 and 387n.4.

## Stephen Higginson to John Lowell

Dr Lowell

Princeton July 8. 1783.

Since you went from Phila., I have had a conversation with Mr. Hawkins a Delegate from N. Carolina about Our Lands, he says that the Lands about Rocky & Pedee Rivers are in general very good & valuable, that Govr. Dobbs Tracts were always esteemed the best Lands in that Country & that he can put me in a way to get a minute account of Them. I wish therefore you would send the description from the Deeds that I may make the Enquiry—another person who has been all over that Country tells me that the Lands about those Rivers & the Court House are very good & valuable. The description must be sent soon as its probable I shall go home when Mr. Gerry comes. The removal of Congress to this place you will have heard from Mr. Gorham & by my Letters to Osgood & Parsons,<sup>1</sup> with the reasons of the Committee stated in Their Report.<sup>2</sup> The main Object of the mutineers is as yet unknown & what the issue of the Business will be is uncertain—it is suspected that persons of high Character beside the military are concerned, & there are circumstances that seem to justify the suspicion. Two Citizens it is said have been charged by the Serjeants who are persons of some rank. I wish there could be a close investigation of the matter, that the truth may be known, but I do not expect it; measures will be or have been taken to put the Enquirers at fault & throw them off from the true Scent—many private meetings, Juntos, messages & Envoys have been occasioned by it. Riders are all the time running back & forward—some great men have been up here consulting & closetting Individuals. Maddison & Hamilton are at Phila. I sup-



pose to assist & direct Genl. Howe in the Enquiry. I wish We had a good man at the head, Howe is not the man, if any of Our great men are or have been concerned, They will easily elude his Search. I have urged a Committee of Congress, chosen men, to attend the Business, but I could not obtain One. Sullivan one of the Officers who fled has wrote to Moyland<sup>3</sup> the Cloathier in this way "blame me not for my Conduct in this matter, Success I know always crowns the Action, but had I not been betrayed by some of the Soldiers, I would have carried my point or perished in the attempt." This Letter was by some means discovered or intercepted & has a strange appearance—who they are that have been at the bottom of this matter I know not, nor can I imagine what they could have in View.

If Congress should remain here & the great Departments be removed, I think We should stand a chance to get rid of another great Officer, & I am satisfied that till this shall be effected, Our Affairs never can assume a better aspect—it is not an uncommon thing to see a variety of circumstances which taken in connexion shall satisfy the mind, & yet no clear positive proof can be adduced. I believe however or rather fear that Congress will return to Phila.—several of the members who when their fears were up, swore never to return there if they once got clear of the City, are now violent in favour of returning, such as Mercer, Read, Izard & others from the Southward.

The late plan of Congress<sup>4</sup> I find will be rejected by almost all the States, I am glad of it, the adoption of it would injure rather than benefit Us—it is now the general Idea in Congress that the present Confederation will not answer any longer, a dissolution must take its place—some of the States have also got the Idea, & I expect it will by common consent like the old money be declared unfit for Use & laid aside, but I hope this will not take place till We are prepared with a new Constitution to take place. My wish is that Congress may keep together till the definitive Treaty is ratified, the Commercial Treaties agreed upon, & all Our foreign Concerns put on a good footing, the Army disbanded, Our peace establishment settled; & then to address the People stating fully the advantages & defects of the present Constitution, & request a Continental Convention for the purpose of framing a new One. Having done this Congress may adjourn leaving a Committee to do the com[m]on business. I verily believe that till this is done & We start anew on other & better principles, no effective Government can exist. In this way We may perhaps get a government that shall have some Energy, We shall have an opportunity of adjusting some mode of settling past Expenditures, & all those other points, which are now & ever will be while they remain as at present, the Source of Jealousy & discord among the States. Such a body of men would come together with different Views & other feelings than those of Congress. These would have no Views but the public Good, their



pursuit would be to establish a Constitution that should strengthen the union, do justice to all the States & have such Energy as to oblige every State to do Justice to the Union—but members of Congress in general seem disposed, & perhaps from a belief that it is their Duty, to turn every thing to the advantage of Their particular States, as far as the Confederation will admit. Their Ideas & Views are local in a greater degree than they would be in the other Case—by comparing the Conduct of the same persons in Our late State Convention for making a Constitution, with that when They were members of either House of the Legislature, you will find that in the former they were much more liberal than in the latter Situation. The same difference would be found in the Legislatures & the body of the people. They will consider any proposition made by such a Convention with much more liberality, & be much more likely to delegate the necessary powers in that case, than they would be was the same thing proposed to Them by Congress. It is natural for us to be alarmed & Jealous, when additional powers are proposed by the same body of men that are to exercise Them. Persuaded that we have no other chance of getting a good & effective governmt. but by a Convention, I have talked frequently with the members on that subject, many of Them now give into the Idea & I do expect that it will be adopted by Congress before they rise. It is now generally conceived that no provision can be made for the Debt, for settling the accounts with the States, for increasing the Bonds of the union, & restoring the public Credit but by a new Constitution—And I am very sure that there is no possible means but that, of shaking off those Systems & that influence which fetter Congress & perplex their Deliberations. The situation of Affairs at past periods rendered those Connexions necessary perhaps, which are now so injurious that they must be broken off, the danger resulting therefrom might then have been much less, than that which was to be warded off by that means—but as there is now nothing to counterbalance the danger arising from such Connexions, We ought to throw them off as soon as possible, & that can not be effected in the present State of things. If half the ingenuity was employed to relieve the public from its distress, that is used to embarrass & increase it, I think many of Our difficulties would vanish like the morning Dew.

Maddison & others are brought now to a State of despondency, their last Efforts proving abortive, with the general alarming appearances, They look upon all as lost & are desirous of quitting the Stage. Mr. Maddison is going home soon, Fitzsimmons calls out for a dissolution of Congress & the whole party are very much disconcerted, but there are some cool steady men who will I hope keep us from any rash or foolish Actions.

There is yet no account of the definitive Treaty, no late Advices from Our ministers. We have only eight States in Town & half of them

are on the Wing, no important Business therefore can be taken up. We have two important Treaties on the Table & several very important Reports on the peace Arrangements &c, which must there remain till We can get nine States. Letters have been written to the States but a general Lethargy & indifference seems to prevail as to all the great public Concerns.

George<sup>5</sup> was at the Capes of Delaware by his last Letter waiting the arrival of the ship—pray forward the inclosed Letter & give my Love to all Friends. I am yours affy,  
S.H.

RC (DLC: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> No such letters from Nathaniel Gorham to Lowell or from Higginson to Samuel Osgood or Theophilus Parsons have been found.

<sup>2</sup> For this committee report on the Pennsylvania Mutiny and Congress' flight to Princeton, see *JCC*, 24:413–21. See also these *Letters*, 20:344–90; and Mary A. Y. Gallagher, "Reinterpreting the 'Very Trifling Mutiny' at Philadelphia in June 1783," *PMHB*, 119 (1995): 3–35, a study published since volume 20 of these *Letters*.

<sup>3</sup> For this letter from Lt. John Sullivan to Stephen Moylan, see these *Letters*, 20:404–5n.2.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the fiscal plan adopted April 18, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 240–41.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently Higginson's cousin George Cabot.

## William Ellery to Christopher Ellery

Dear Brother,

Princeton July 17. 1783.

I this day recd. your letter by Mr. Howell, for which I am much obliged to you. The true reason of the decent behavior of the N.E. troops was not because they had not grog enough to make them tumultuous, but because they had had a decent education. Their situation hath never been better than that of the Pennsylvania line. The latter hath twice revolted, the former not once. We must look for their different deportment therefore some where else than in a difference of constitution. It can be found only, and only be attributed to a difference in education.

I was summoned, but I did not know for what until I approached the State house; and then I did not feel embarrassed. How I should have felt had I taken my seat in Congress and had time for reflection I cannot tell.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps worse than you did when you went to Jamestown to attack and seize some supposed refugees. Congress I now think were in a critical situation, for if a trigger had been pulled, probably the greatest part of them had been demolished. It is impossible to quell the rage of an enraged mutinous soldiery; especially by a handful of men without arms; and Congress was so surrounded that it was impracticable for them to escape. If I had remained in the Congress room I should have endeavored to have behaved as the Roman Senators did when the Gauls entered the Capitol where they were sitting.

We are now out of danger. We have had addresses and assurances of protection upon assurances from this state, and a large body of faithful N.E. troops lying very near Philadelphia. Indeed after the first flurry had passed, Congress was in my opinion in no danger at Philadelphia for a number of respectable citizens in Philad. had taken up the matter seriously and would have stood forth in the defense of Congress had the insult been repeated.

There is no prospect of our removing from this place suddenly, and whither we shall move when we do move I cannot tell. Several States, it seems by the generous offers they have made, are desirous of fixing the residence of Congress in them. We are so remote from the Centre that we stand no chance. I rather think Congress will return to Philadelphia before they fix upon a place of continued residence.

The conduct of our Assembly doth not much surprize me. I knew that Mawdsley and Deblois had many friends in the Assembly, and I suspected that Stevens and Taylor would vote as they have done.<sup>2</sup> Indeed I was so much aware of this that I would have proposed that the town should have instructed their deputies to oppose any admission of refugees before I left home, but I thought it was premature to do any thing in the matter until the Definitive treaty should have arrived, have been ratified, and Congress should have acted upon the fifth article of peace. Indeed, when it is recollected that the citizens of one state by the Confederation are entitled to the privilege of citizenship in all the others, in a matter of this sort great caution should be used. Interest and friendship will have great influence on mankind, but every thing ought to be postponed to the good of the Society where we live. Our deputies who voted for the admission of the two refugees you mention ought to be displaced, and such put in their places as you can rely on; otherwise instructions should be given to your deputies to vote against the admission of any refugees. But here you should proceed cautiously: You should count noses and have every measure as well taken as at the last election. Fruitless attempts are worse than none. They give strength and courage to our adversaries, and weaken and dispirit our friends. I suspect that some members of Assembly were taken in with the notion of a trial. A trial before the Assembly if the cause is to be determined upon this point—whether the petitioner had borne arms or not against the U.S. will be but a sham trial. The only question ought to be—whether they deserted their country and went to or with the enemy. If they did, agreeably to the law, of reason and the laws of nations, they ought not to be admitted to reside among us. The admission of refugees among us will forever embroil us.

If you had the same apprehensions I have of the effects of a permanent revenue, you would I think alter your opinion.

I am very sorry to hear that our mother is so ill. If she should be liv-



ing when you receive this, tell her that under a strong sense of the many obligations I have received from her, from my infancy unto this day, by the ties of natural affection and those of love and friendship, I am bound to pray, as I do, that whenever it shall please God to remove her from this world, her passage from it may be easy. Her future situation I am sure will be happy. I am, Yours affectly, W.E.

Tr (RNHi: Ellery Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Ellery had apparently returned to Philadelphia on June 21 just as mutinous Continental troops threatened Congress in the Pennsylvania State House, but had not joined his congressional colleagues and avoided the personal confrontation with the troops that led President Boudinot to adjourn Congress to Princeton. Ellery and his colleague Jonathan Arnold returned to their congressional seats at Princeton on June 30. See *JCC*, 24:411.

<sup>2</sup> The Rhode Island Assembly had recently voted to permit the temporary return of John Mawdsley and Stephen Deblois, loyalist merchants of Newport, pending a trial for determining whether they would be permitted to return permanently and readmitted to citizenship. See Bartlett, *Records of R.I.*, 9:714–15, 728–29.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Wednesday Aug 6, 1783.

Whether it be owing to the weather which is dull and cloudy, or to my not having heard from you since your letter of Saturday & Sunday, I will not undertake to say, but I find myself only fit for a brown study, too indolent to think and only disposed to fix my eye lids & suffer ideas to float away to the wind unnoticed and unattended to. I cannot however suffer the morning to pass without writing, though I cannot command one lively idea. In short I am in such a dull, stupid humour, that I may be said to exist not to live. Or if this is called life, it is not much more than every animal enjoys, that can open its eyes, eat, drink & move and is without pain; but is quite unworthy of that rational part of man, which powers aloft, brings past as well as present to view, compares, judges & reasons. But I find myself incapable even of having the actions or powers of my own mind. I will therefore quit this subject and only tell you that I long to see you and to be roused from this apathy. Messrs Bland & Higgenson returned yesterday from Black point so that seven states assembled. The members from Pensylvania are not yet arrived. But whether they come or not I do not expect the question for adjournment will be this day decided. Pray inform me whether Dick has recovered his voice, I hope by this time he has moulted his feathers and tuned his notes to cheer his mistress. I had rather hear a song from him than all the debates of a certain house for many days past. I believe they are of equal importance to the happiness & prosperity of the Union, and I am sure his song is the sweetest.



Adieu Dear Hannah, take care of your health and write to me often.  
 I am with sincere affection, Your loving husband,  
 Cha Thomson

Tr (Harriton Association, Harriton House, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1996). Endorsed: "Copied from the real letters Aunt Martha had—by Helen Kerr [great granddaughter of Charles Thomson's nephew, John Thomson]."

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah                      *Princeton*                      Wednesday August 20, 1783.

I attempted yesterday to write a letter, which such as it is I hope you have received.<sup>1</sup> My head was so disordered that I could not command my [any] idea or connect one sentence with another. The whole chain of thinking seemed to be broken and the ideas that swarmed in my brain seemed to me like a hive of bees, or like those of a drunken man. I could not complain of any pain nor could I say I was sick and yet I found I was not well. I wanted to tell you that I arrived safe and hope you escaped the shower that fell after we parted, that the president had not yet been able to provide himself with a house; that the avarice of Witherspoon and the eagerness & credulity of the president, led the latter into an indelicate application to Mr. Smith for the house in which he lives, which it seems is appropriated to the use of the president of the College. But in what manner I expressed this I cannot now recollect. All I know is that I was so puzzled & perplexed with the deranged state of my head that I suddenly broke off, and should not have sent what I had written but that I knew you would be anxious to hear from me. I find myself much better to-day though there is still a ringing in my ears and a noise in my head like the fall of water or the sound of wind through the pines. The doct. left us yesterday morning. John is quite recovered, but George continues drooping. The presents were very acceptable.

I cannot give you any account of the disposition of the members. Several were anxious to know how the people of Philadelphia were affected with the vote of Congress. I told them I had not conversed much with the citizens since their receiving the account of Congress's refusal to return. But I understood that some of the most thoughtful had conceived an opinion that some of the members if not some of the states were resolved to break the Union and that they wished by their votes and conduct to provoke Pennsylvania to some measure that might lead to that, and that she might incur the odium & blame that would follow. For this reason they were extremely anxious that the council and assembly should pursue such temperate measures as would disappoint the views & wishes of such members &

states and convince the whole world that they had nothing in view but the happiness & prosperity of the United States, and that all their measures tended to strengthen the Union, & support the national faith and honor. That I had some reason to think these sentiments were propagated & would have a considerable weight and influence on the conduct both of the Council & Assembly. They wondered how such an opinion could be suggested; that there was not the least foundation for it. I answered that opinions were sometimes formed without just grounds, but they had not the less influence on that account, and that it behoved those who were intrusted with affairs of government to be cautious how they gave occasion to the people to form ill opinions of their views and intentions.

I want much to hear from Philadelphia & to see the message of the Councils & the answer of the Assembly, and to know what part they will take. Sir G. Carleson has informed Congress that he has received positive orders to evacuate New York, but that the conduct & temper of the people of America with respect to the loyalist, render it necessary that he should first provide for their safety and remove them out of the way of that danger with which they are threatened by the committees. He complains particularly of the resolves and proceedings of the committees of Philad. & the backwardness of Congress on neglecting to comply with the terms of the preliminary articles of peace which require them earnestly to recommend to the states a revision of their laws respecting those who have sided with great Britain etc. And he seems to intimate that the Americans have only themselves to blame; if the evacuation of N.Y. does not take place as soon as they would wish; but that for his part he will use his utmost endeavours to carry his orders into execution with all the dispatch consistent with justice & humanity. I think it is probable that New York will be evacuated some time this fall, but I question whether it will be before November.

I want much to hear from you & to know how you got home, take care of your health & rest assured of the sincere affection of, Dear Hannah, Your loving husband,

Cha Thomson

Tr (Harriton Association, Harriton House, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1996).

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 20:564.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Friday Aug 22. 1783.

Notwithstanding the daily jingle of the Cracked bell, which you know is as good as any frying pan beaten with a key, the swarm<sup>1</sup> is still unsettled & ready to fly could they But find or agree upon a proper

hive. In the mean while no work is done, no wax or honey collected, and there is some danger that for want of sustenance & proper lodging the swarm will be broken up or lost in the winter. I hope the farmers will take warning from this and be cautious how in future they disturb or unsettle these useful Animals. Who could have imagined that the little worm wood<sup>2</sup> which accidentally fell in their hive could have so provoked them or rendered their former habitation so disagreeable? I confess I cannot help pitying their situation when I see the anxiety with which they are buzzing about, some flying into one hole some into another, sometimes clustering round their queen, who, poor slut, is as anxious as any but can give no relief or Assistance. Sometimes she appears to me to be desirous of returning to the old hive which is now sweet and clean, but the drones that guard her, a lazy pack, who know they have but a short time to live, and are altogether unconcerned about posterity, think they may as well pass their short inglorious life by flying about or basking in the sun, as in any hive that may be provided, and therefore divert her from her purpose and obstruct her return.

I hope you send Peter to enquire about the wheel. I think it will be best not to send him up till I tell you, unless you come yourself. If you do not conclude to come up soon I should be glad you would meet me either at Bristol or Neshaminy to morrow week. We could be together till Monday & then you could return or come on to Princeton as you think proper. I long to hear from you and to know what is passing in town. William's Mother need be under no concern about him. In the way he is now employed he will I am persuaded improve more than at school.

I am, my dear Hannah, with sincere Affection, Your loving husband,  
Cha Thomson

P.S. I enclose two news papers & if you think proper can always send them.

RC (Harriton Association. Harriton House, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1996). "A gift from Mr Andrew Kerr, great-great grandson of Charles Thomson's nephew John Thomson."

<sup>1</sup> That is, the congressional delegates assembled at Princeton.

<sup>2</sup> The Pennsylvania mutiny.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah                      Princeton                      Wednesday Sept 10, 1783.

I received your letter dated Monday and also the keg of wine. Bond arrived here yesterday but I have not yet seen him.<sup>1</sup>

I informed you in my last letter<sup>2</sup> that Mr. Rutledge was on Monday elected to the chair.<sup>3</sup> Yesterday morning he went out to pay a visit to

the general and as he did not return in time, Congress proceeded to the choice of another chairman & Mr. Carrol was elected.<sup>4</sup> This you will say, is carrying republicanism beyond even the Dutch. They have their president of the week, Congress their chairman of the day. And what then? Whose is the inco[n]venience? Or why should one engross for a year what all are equally entitled to, but have only a chance of obtaining once or at most three times in the course of their political life with at least 25 or 30 chances against them? Whereas if this rule were established, even in case of a full representation, every one might enjoy the dignity and take an airing in the state coach once every five weeks.

I enclose you a news paper of yesterday in which you will see a copy of a letter from [...] <sup>5</sup> publication of this letter gave a good deal of offence & occasional [...] motion, to inquire by what means a copy got to the Printer. I suspect it and the report of the co[mmittee] respecting the [...] were conveyed through the same channell. Though I do not think the publication of any great consequence, yet I think it imprudent and if any member f[orwarded] a copy, he acted improperly & unjustifiably. The letter was referred to a com[mittee] who had reported in part, and the report was under consideration & undecided. But experience [shows?] that though a seat in Congress may give great self importance it does not in an equal degree confer wisdom and prudence.

I find the people of this place to be alarmed & very uneasy at the rise of articles on account of the residence of Congress. Wood, which formerly cost 10 or 12 [...] cannot now be got for less than half a guinea, nor will the country people deliver any considerable quantity at that price as they expect before winter is over it will be upward of 30. [It] is the same with every other article of living. So that you see [...] proverb holds good.

I am sorry to hear of the riot, I hope this will stimulate the legislature to put the city under some better government and convince our demagogues that peace and good order cannot be maintained under the administration & direction of a [...] or [...] and that a person may be a very honest man, good upholsterer or shoemaker and yet unacquainted with the affairs of government and but ill qualified for the administration of justice and preservation of peace and good order in a populous city.

In return for your love accept an assurance of the warmest affection  
of Dear H, Your loving husband,  
Cha Thomson

Tr (Harriton Association, Harriton House, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1996).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Thomson's deputy secretary George Bond.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 25:538.

<sup>4</sup> *JCC*, 25:539.

<sup>5</sup> Blank in the transcription, here and below.



## John Francis Mercer's Note

[September 18? 1783]<sup>1</sup>

In a general Council where such a variety of interest & contrariety of sentiment are combin'd, the deputies of the several Legislatures are *(forced to precede every general act by a mutual concession of their respective views & prejudices,)* constrain'd to make mutual concession the basis of every national act, thus that which will be found most advantageous for the whole can never be framed in exact conf[ormity to the] views or prejudices of a [part].

MS (VHi: Mercer Family Papers). In the hand of John Francis Mercer.

<sup>1</sup> Mercer wrote this "note" on the verso of a September 9 letter from his brother James while drafting the report of a committee to which he had been assigned this day with James Duane and James Madison, who submitted their report to Congress the following day. For the context in which the committee's report on Massachusetts' opposition to the proposed impost amendment was drafted, see these *Letters*, 20:492n.3. The portion of the report containing this observation was struck out in debate after it was submitted September 19 and did not appear in the final report adopted on September 25. Cf. *JCC*, 25:611; and *PCC*, item 20, 1:151. In a footnote reference to this "note" in his treatment of James Mercer's correspondence, John Melville Jennings misidentified the handwriting as that of James. See "Letters of James Mercer to John Francis Mercer," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 59 (April 1951): 191. For Mercer's inclusion in the September 19 report of language from an essay that he had written under the pseudonym "The North American," which was published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of September 17, see these *Letters*, 20:655–64; and Ronald M. Gephart, "Who Wrote 'The North American' Essays?" *WMQ*, 54 (April 1997): 408–9.

## Edward Hand to Alexander Fowler

Dear Fowler

Annapolis 27th Decr. 1783

On my Arrival here<sup>1</sup> Captn. Hutchins put your letter into my hands. I this day on looking over the files found *the report of a Committee on your Application*,<sup>2</sup> *which is as favourable as we could wish*. I believe it has not yet been Acted on but you may rest assured that I will endeavour to have it taken up as early as possible, if I see a prospect of its terminating agreeably to your expectations.<sup>3</sup> In the mean time I will out of doors be attentive to your interest.

Farewell Dear Fowler, very Cordially yrs.,

Edw. Hand

RC (DNA: RG 233—4th Congress). Endorsed: "Genl. Edwd. Hand, Annapolis 27 Decemr. 83, respecting Mr Fowlers Petition before Congress for Lands. 10,000 Acres, Military rights."

<sup>1</sup> Hand took his seat in Congress on December 24. *JCC*, 25:839.

<sup>2</sup> For the committee report on Fowler's memorial concerning his western land claim, see *JCC*, 25:746–47.

<sup>3</sup> No action was ever taken on the committee report on Fowler's claim. See *JCC*, 27:403, 33:745, 34:621.

## John Jay's Statement on his Congressional Attendance

[November 16–December 21, 1784]

In a letter dated "New York 10 Decr 1788," Jay submitted the following statement to New York State Auditor Peter T. Curtenius concerning his congressional attendance at Trenton in November–December 1784.

"Instead of presenting a particular account against the State for my Services as one of their agents to manage their Controversy with Massachusetts and as one of their Delegates in Congress, I shall only state Facts, and submit it to the Legislature to make such order on the Subject, as may be most consistant with their Sense and Construction of the Laws respecting it.

"In order to be at Congress in Season, I set out for Trenton, on the 14 Novr. and arrived the 16th. Few Members being then there, I went the 19th to Philada., and returned to Trenton the very Day they made a House,<sup>1</sup> but not untill after they had adjourned for that Day. I think it was on the 21 Decr. following that I entered into my present office, whereby my Seat in Congress was vacated.<sup>2</sup>

"During the Session of Congress at Trenton, and afterwards in this City, while I continued one of the agents, I attended to that Business as occasions required. The Time employed in that Service was at Intervals and never that I recollect for a whole Day together. Of these Intervals and the Number of Hours actually employed, I have no particular acct. and cannot therefore ascertain the Number of Days which I ought strictly to charge.

"I shall be satisfied with whatever the Legislature may direct, for as on the one Hand I was not induced to accept these appointments from pecuniary Considerations, so on the other I am persuaded the Legislature will do what shall appear to them right and reasonable.

"P.S. I have recd. on acct. £65.6.8."

Reprinted from Burnett, *Letters*, 8:813–14, from the original manuscript in the Dreer Members of Congress Collection, PHi.

<sup>1</sup> That is, November 29, 1784. *JCC*, 27:641–42.

<sup>2</sup> See these *Letters*, 22:82–83n.4.

## William Ellery to Christopher Ellery

[January 20, 1785]<sup>1</sup>

In my letter dated at Trenton Jan. 1st,<sup>2</sup> I presented to you the compliments of the season and particularly wished my amiable Cousin Betsey, who I suspected would before the close of the year form a new and important connection, a happy new year. By a letter from Mr. Channing I find that event took place about the time I wrote that letter, upon which accept my congratulations; and be pleased with my regards to your son in law, and married daughter, to tender to them my best wishes that they may enjoy all the felicity that the marriage state can afford. The same letter from Mr. Channing informed me that your sloop after encountering many storms and tempests had safely arrived without assurance, at Bedford. I hope she has made a good [*voyage*?] and that prosperity may be the portion of you and yours.

I could wish to know how our brother is. This I think is the time of year in which he used to be attacked by the asthma, with the greatest fury. It is indeed a pity that a man who enjoys such a fine flow of spirits, and who so well loves to talk should not be able to breathe freely; but the human Constitution is subject to disorders, and he is the happiest who is the least oppressed by them. Thank God I enjoy a pretty good state of health, but I am not without my affliction. I have been for some days afflicted with an inflammation principally in my right eye which obliges me to be temperate, and debars me of the amusement of reading. I hope it will go off soon, and that I shall not long suffer by my attempts in writing, to convince my friends that I hold them in the most grateful and pleasing remembrance. I have declined several invitations to dine on this account, but if hereby I shall have lost any pleasure I may have saved constitution. The gentlemen of this city take great notice of the members of Congress. Their cards are as frequent as leaves and their tables are sumptuous. I dined yesterday with the Marine Society whose institutions resemble those of the Fellowship Club of Newport. The Company was very large and the table plentiful. This society hath a handsome fund which secures to the widows of masters and mates of vessels who had belonged to the society, a considerable support. All institutions calculated to promote the happiness of mankind merit encouragement. In the evening I went to Monsieur Quesnay's concert, which was the merest farce in the world. We saw coblers, or rather the shades of coblers &c. working to music, heard Jockey on the green played pretty well, and the tune to guardian Angels performed amidst mimic thunder and lightning. Dances by masters and misses concluded this grand and instructive exhibition. What effect exhibitions of this sort may have upon the morals of the people I leave with you to determine. This I know, they will not corrupt mine.

We have ten states on the floor and have a prospect of twelve pretty soon, when business may proceed with some degree of celerity. Most of the business of Congress requires nine states, and an agreement of nine in ten is not much to be expected. We have lately received letters from our Commissioners. They have announced their commission to negotiate Commercial treaties to the ministers of most of the powers they were instructed to negotiate (with) and received favorable and polite answers; but nothing effectual had been done when their joint letter of the 11th of November was dated.<sup>3</sup> This is all the news I have to Communicate.

I wish you would procure of Mr. Peabody two handsome walnut canes, of about three fourths of an inch thickness next the head, & three feet eight inches in length, well polished and armed with good ferrules. I mean to make a present of one of them to the President of Congress. Perhaps if these canes should be well wrought it may induce several persons to become purchasers of Mr. Peabody's walking sticks. I could wish that the canes may be sent as soon as possible, and that you would desire the Captain who may take charge of them to send them on his arrival at New York to Mrs. Hart's in Smith's Street, not far from Pitt's statue, that being the house where I board.

I am affecty. yours,

W. Ellery

Tr (RNHi: Ellery Papers).

<sup>1</sup> This date has been assigned because of Ellery's reference to having dined "yesterday" with the Marine Society of New York and afterward attending "Monsieurs Quesnay's concert," which according to the diary of William Samuel Johnson were events of January 19, 1785. See these *Letters*, 22:110n. For a transcript of this letter, printed under the date January 28, see these *Letters*, 22:145–46.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> For these letters from John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, which had been referred to committee on January 19, see these *Letters*, 22:125n.1, 153n.3; and *JCC*, 28:11n–12n.

## James Monroe to John Francis Mercer

Dear Sir

New York. Feby 27. 1785.

Two days since John Adams was appointed minister to the court of G.B., having had upon several occasions the majority of votes it was at length acceded to by the States of Maryld. & Virga. wh. gave him his election.<sup>1</sup> A secre[tar]y will shortly be appointed indeed tomorrow is assign'd for it; no one is in nomination nor do I hear any other person than Mr. McHenry spoke of, but whether he will be elected or not is doubtful.<sup>2</sup> In the course of the last week also your friend the Indian Comr.<sup>3</sup> presented himself here. What his object is I know not or how long he will continue here. Propositions for raising men, regulating commerce & upon many other very important subjects are before



Congress; upon a committee consisting of R. R. Livingston, Gerry, Beatty, King, Johnson, some other gentn. & myself upon the former subject,<sup>4</sup> Gerry & King were the only persons who voted for a recommendatn.; but they will delay it much & perhaps for some time frustrate any measure in this importt. business. I left my trunk you recollect in the care of Mr. Hodgkins to be sent to Baltimore to Mr. Pringle; Mr. P. writes me he hath heard nothing of it. May I request your attention to this matter.

Believe me very sincerely yr. frnd. & servt,                      Jas Monroe

[P.S.] I informd you in a preceding letter<sup>5</sup> of the letter of Mr. Jay to Congress upon the duties & rights of the secry. of foreign affrs. The report evaded the point in contest & merely stated that in pursuance of former resolutions of Congress all communicatns. from abroad or elsewhere for Congress shod. be processed thro' his office & measures of his departmt. carried on thro' it without saying any thing abt. reference to him in the first instance; the report pass'd. The rule however is adopted of reference to him in the first instance, but if I understand the ground upon wh. it is done not as a right in him but the pleasure of Congress.

RC (NNPM: Gilder Lehrman Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For Adams' nomination and election to this post, see these *Letters*, 22:194n.2, 208.

<sup>2</sup> According to the journals, James McHenry nominated instead William Stephens Smith to be secretary to the London legation. See *JCC*, 28:99, 111. For Smith's March 1 election, see these *Letters*, 22:241, 246–48.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Arthur Lee, who had recently negotiated the treaties at forts Stanwix and McIntosh, and who had returned to New York on February 25. See *ibid.*, pp. 25–27, 40, 198, 225.

<sup>4</sup> Based on information derived from his western tour in 1784, Monroe had proposed on February 1 that measures be taken to ensure the expeditious sale of western land by raising troops to secure "the persons and property of the settlers." A committee of seven, chaired by Robert R. Livingston and including Monroe, recommended on February 21 that 1,500 men be raised for three years to protect the northwestern frontiers, guard the public stores, promote Indian trade, and safeguard American shipping on the Great Lakes. The printed report was debated on April 1 and 7, when it was agreed to raise 700 men instead. The state quotas and pay for the troops were determined on April 11 and 12. See *JCC*, 28:28–29, 88–89, 223–24, 239–41, 243, 247–48, 29:919; and *PCC*, item 30, fols. 71–74, 397–98, item 190, fols. 8, 10, 29. See also these *Letters*, 22:217, 321, 324, 326n.3, 330–31, 343.

<sup>5</sup> That is, his letter of January 29, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 151–52, especially note 5.

## Samuel Holten to Enoch Putnam

Dear Sir,

New York, 21st March, 1785.

I have the pleasure of informing you that Congress have attended

to Mr. Hartwells unhappy case,<sup>1</sup> & have done all that could reasonably be desired; they have directed the Honorable Gentleman that represents them at the Court of Spain, to make inquiry into the matter complain'd of & if Mr. Hartwell is suffering in consequence of an offence against their Laws; Congress have directed him to ask it as a favour in their name that he may be pardoned; this you will be sensible is going a great way for one sovereign power to ask such a favor of an other, in behalf of an individual. Congress have no objection to Mr. Hartwells parents and relations knowing what they have done for him, but they are not to suppose, that this information is to be communicated to other people, as there is a great impropriety in mentioning what is done by sovereign powers any farther than they consent to let it be known.

The packet is to sail next day after to-morrow that carry's the public dispatches, & the papers respecting the case of Mr. Hartwell are now ready.

I hope Mr. Hartwells Parents & relations will believe that I have been attentive to the affair, & that it has, given me real satisfaction to have it in my power to render them services.

I conclude you will immediately make Mr. Hartwells parents acquainted with the contents of this letter.

I remain, with particular consideration, your most obedient

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> For Putnam's efforts to obtain information on the case of Jonas Hartwell, see these *Letters*, 22:518, 657, 663–64.

## Samuel Holten to Elbridge Gerry

Dear Sir,

New York 28th March, 1785

Your leaving this city earlier in the morning than I expected, prevented my having the honor & pleasure of taking you by the hand & attending you to the water side, but the information recd. from Mr. Partridge of your safe arrival at Newport, was very agreeable. Nothing material has taken place here since you left us. The appointment of commissioners to treat with the southern Indians has been announced in the papers, which I conclude you have noticed. Messrs. Wythe, Johnson & Monroe, have accepted as judges of our foederal court, Mr. Grason (who is now in Congress) has declined.

The gentlemen from N.Y. have mentioned that they should bring the matter again before Congress & move a reconsideration, respecting the place of holding sd court;<sup>1</sup> but I believe they expect a serious

opposition, & therefore, I consider it uncertain what will be their next proposal. Mr. C——r,<sup>2</sup> still appears willing to attend at Williamsburg, if Mr. Wythe, don't incline to come farther north, but whether Mr. D——e<sup>3</sup> is of the same opinion, I believe is uncertain.

The Genl. Court has sent us a number of instructions, one of which directs us to endeavor to have the Secy. of Congress annually elected,<sup>4</sup> you know very well how this will be received.

One letter addressed to you came into my hands since you left us; & I concluded you had signified your pleasure to Mr. King respectg. such letters, & therefore, I immediately delivered it to him, who informed me that it was so; otherwise, I should have considered myself honord. by inclosing & forwarding them.

This I conclude may come to hand about the time our people will be electing their G[overno]r &c, and I am still of opinion that Mr. C(ushin)ng will have the most votes with the people at large for the chair, but if he should be only a candidate; with Messrs. B——n, G——y, or L——n,<sup>5</sup> he may fail.

I have, with perfect respect, the honor to be, your sincere friend & humble servant

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 22:142nn, 284, 318–19, 335–36.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the "Chancellor," Robert R. Livingston.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently James Duane.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. these *Letters*, 22:322.

<sup>5</sup> That is, James Bowdoin, Elbridge Gerry, or Benjamin Lincoln.

## Samuel Holten to Thomas Wallcut

Sir,

New York, 24th May, 1785.

I have been favored with your address by Mr. Lowell; & the enclosed petition to Congress I presented; & it is referred to the consideration of a committee;<sup>1</sup> & you may be assured of my attention to the same, as it will give me pleasure to render you services. I took notice your letter was favored by Mr. Lowell; and therefore would observe to you, that all letters put into the post office addressed to me, will come direct.

I am, with respect, your most obedient, S. Holten

RC (MWA: Wallcut Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the favorable congressional response to Wallcut's petition Holten finally obtained September 28, see these *Letters*, 22:658.

## Richard Henry Lee to John Fitzgerald

New York, 2 June 1785

"A revealing report on a discussion Lee had with Mr. van Berkel,<sup>1</sup> Minister from the United Netherlands, in which Lee expressed his 'surprise that the Dutch who in former times had so great a share of the Trade of Virginia, should now make no efforts to recover their lost commerce. He said that it was entirely owing to an apprehension of the want of punctuality on our part, & the delays that obstructed the recovery of justice in our Courts.' Lee protested this negative assessment of the new nation's commercial reliability, and persuaded van Berkel to entertain formally drawn-up plans of business; if found acceptable by van Berkel, they would be recommended to the wealthy houses of Holland. Lee invites Fitzgerald,<sup>2</sup> a Virginia merchant and member of the Potomac Company, to present such an outline to van Berkel."

Reprinted from description and extract in *Sotheby's Catalog*, November 1, 1993, item 125.

<sup>1</sup> No record of President Lee's interview with Dutch minister Pieter Johan van Berckel has been found.

<sup>2</sup> Fitzgerald was identified in these *Letters*, 20:315n.1. For Lee's May 4 letter to Fitzgerald, see *ibid.*, 22:374.

## Samuel Holten to William Gordon

Dear Sir.

New York, 7th July, 1785.

Yesterday, I was honored with your attention of the 29th ultimo, & feel myself under renewed obligations for the intelligence therein contained, being more particular than what I had before recd. I think the good people of Masstts. can't but be happy in the administration of their first magistrate.<sup>1</sup>

It will give me pleasure to see you here, but as to the information you wish to receive, I believe there is no great to be procured or depended upon.

The newspapers will announce the reception of the Spanish Minister;<sup>2</sup> & his letter of credence from the King is very friendly & agreeable.

Congress are so embarrassed in procureing money to pay the interest of our national debt; that I am almost ready to conclude they will be obliged to hire money in Europe to pay the interest of our foreign debts.



Requisitions upon the States for money have engaged much of their attention but having no constitutional rule established to quota it upon the several states, and each state representing they are in advance to the U.S. makes it very difficult to proceed.

No doubt you have taken notice that in the late elections for delegates to represent Masstts. in Congress, I have been passed over; two reasons has been mentioned here, one is, that the honorable court considered me as not eligible, & the other that the alteration in the first magistrate, may have produced the cause, the last I have always contradicted when I have heard it mentioned, and as to the first, can it be supposed that the court did not make themselves acquainted with the matter before they proceeded to an election; your sentiments, as a friend, upon the matter will lay me under further obligations, for if I should have reason to believe that it would be more agreeable to my constituents I would immediately return.<sup>3</sup>

I remain, with sincere respect, your most obedient

FC (MH-H: Autograph File). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> That is, James Bowdoin, who had recently succeeded John Hancock as governor of Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Diego de Gardoqui.

<sup>3</sup> For Holten's concern that he had not been reelected because political enemies had misrepresented his eligibility status, see these *Letters*, 22:438, 510, 515, 551-52, 582.

## Samuel Holten to Benjamin Wadsworth

My dear Sir

New York 29 Aug. 1785.

I have been honored with your kind & polite attention of the 13th instant, which adds to the obligations I am under.

In the proposed requisitions, now under deliberation of Congress, on the several states for money, the interest due on the domestic debt will be included.

I think it can be easily accounted for, why the erecting a new meeting house goes on slow,<sup>1</sup> viz, want of ability in the good people, that are well disposed for the works going on, & exertions of the principal men to compleat the same but you may be assured that the prosperity of the church, I have the honor of being a member as well as the interest of the parish in their corporate capacity, are matters that will always engage my attention, as I have opportunity. The acceptance of deacon Putnam gives me pleasure, for he is a sensible man, & a worthy character. Majr. Epes's disagreeable situation give me real concern, as I beleive him to be, an honest worthy man.

Congress have recd. from Mr. Adams at the Court of London the particular reception he has met with at that court,<sup>2</sup> and 'tho' I am

not at liberty to mention particulars, yet, you may be assured, it was such, as must be agreeable to every true friend to this country, and if I should ever be so happy, as to have an opportunity of making you my personal respects, I may mention some particulars of what passed that I conclude might be worthy of your attention; you must be sensible that there is a propriety in keeping secret, for a while (at least) what passes between sovereign powers: but nothing is to be depended upon from all this, nor no opinion to be formed, whether that Court will be favorably disposed, in the important affairs Mr. Adams is charged with.

Since my last, his Excellency the President of Congress, being out of hea[l]th, has taken leave of us, for the present, & in that case a chairman is to supply his place in congress, & having the honor of being unanimously elected,<sup>3</sup> the important business has engaged my first & constant attention, but if his excellency should not soon return, I fear, I must follow his example, & give up the chair to a third person, or leave my remains in this city, for my hea[l]th is really injured.

I remain, with perfect consideration & respect, your sincere friend & humble servant

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Wadsworth was the minister of the First Congregational Church in Danvers, Mass., that Holten attended. See these *Letters*, 12:329n.3.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, 22:527n.6.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 582; and *JCC*, 29:631.

## William Ellery to William Channing

Dr. Sir,<sup>1</sup>

Newyork Sept. <sup>2</sup> 1785.

I have received your letter of the 27th of August, and am inclined to think that, as you have examined the Schedules of 79 & 80 and have not met with the order subjecting the delegates to the direction of the Assembly, it was not published in the Schedules, and probably might only be enter'd in the minutes of the lower house. If there should be any such order of that house only I could wish to have it; because it seems that would turn the scale in our favour. There is still some of the old leaven in Congress that raised the ferment at Annapolis. I imagin our right to a seat until the adjournment would not have been called in question if no dispute had taken place there.<sup>3</sup> We shall contend earnestly for our right, or rather for the right of the State, but at the same time I must declare that I am so tired with the slow proceedings of Congress, the difficulty of getting money to subsist on, and with my poor sprained ankle that I wish I was at home.

I have only money enough to pay a fortnights board; and must take the liberty of drawing upon you for 20 or 30 dollars if Capt. Lawton will advance as much. We are called upon weekly for our board; and it would be a sore mortification to me not to be able to pay it.

You mention that the Assembly have not appointed a Judge in the room of Mr. Arnold;<sup>4</sup> but you say not a word about my Judge-ship; nor the letter I wrote to the Governor,<sup>5</sup> inclosed in one to you<sup>6</sup> by Capt. Warner, on that subject. As you say nothing of either of those letters I conclude they have miscarried notwithstanding I deliver'd them with my own hand and gave him, Capt. Warner, particular directions concerning them.

Taxes must be laid and monies must be raised however disagreeable it may be to the people. The requisition has not yet passed. I expect it will get through the house in some shape or other this week. The States not being fully represented is the cause of all the delay of public business; and unless some mode is adopted to bring and keep the delegates together; they may as well almost stay at home. The principal advantage of a Congress not capable for want of members to transact important public business, is the keeping up some visible head of the Union. We have nothing new.

I have not tasted one good water-melon this season. The vines I am told have died before the melons were ripe; and as for peaches I have not seen one equal to our rare-ripes. I imagin it must be difficult to transport peaches to Newport in good order. Unless they are ripe before they are gather'd they will be good for little, and how to preserve ripe peaches two or three days in baskets without bruising; especially in warm weather, I don't know. However when Lawton returns again if there should be any melons or peaches worth sending, I will consult with him and if practicable gratify you. I hope there is no longing in the case.

I am glad Sweet has at last received to [the] amount of one half of his judgment, and that he is to receive the remainder from the government. By the way there is something due to me for my services in his cause. I hope I shall not be forgotten.

Since I wrote the foregoing I rec'd a letter from the Govr. dated Augt. 29th, acknowledging the receipt of the letter which I supposed had miscarried. By his letter I conclude that I am at liberty to continue here until the adjournment, and that my acceptance is admitted on that condition, altho' the Govr. says nothing about it. I should be glad to know what observations, if any, were made upon that letter. I never wrote a letter in my life which embarrassed me so much.

My love to Lucy & the children. Yrs affecty., W Ellery

<sup>1</sup> William Channing, who was married to Ellery's daughter Lucy, was attorney general of Rhode Island. William M. Fowler, *William Ellery: a Rhode Island Politico and Lord of Admiralty* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1973), p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Date blank in RC; but as Ellery states that he had recently received Channing's letter of August 27, and subsequently wrote to him on September 13, it seems clear that this letter was written at the beginning of the month.

<sup>3</sup> For the "ferment at Annapolis"—a May 1784 effort to oust Rhode Island delegates Ellery and David Howell from their seats through a credentials challenge—see these *Letters*, 21:631n.2. A new challenge to their "right to a seat," which hinged on the dates they had been elected as well as the dates they had previously served, had opened August 8, 1785. The committee on qualifications reported, however, "that the Delegates of Rhode Island. . . have a right to sit in Congress until the first Monday in Novemr. next." The report was submitted September 6 and assigned for consideration on the 8th, but no action was taken on it. See *JCC*, 29:620n, 630n, 682–84; and these *Letters*, 22:603n.2.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Arnold, justice of the Rhode Island Superior Court. Bartlett, *Records of R.I.*, 10:112.

<sup>5</sup> Ellery had been appointed chief justice of the Rhode Island Superior Court, but had asked to continue as delegate to Congress until the adjournment of its current session in November. See these *Letters*, 22:567–68n.3.

<sup>6</sup> Not found.

## William Ellery to William Channing

Dear Sir,

Newyork Sept. 13th. 1785.

I believe that you have found in the schedules of 79, 80, & 81, all that has been done respecting the matter about which I wrote to you.<sup>1</sup> If you should have found any thing more pointed in the journals it will probably arrive in season. A report has been made by the Committee of qualifications in our favour, and it was made an order of the day for yesterday; but is postponed because it is supposed that there are not States enough on the floor to give an affirmative vote either for or against our sitting until the first Monday in next Novemr.<sup>2</sup> We cannot be amoved from our seats without a majority of the U.S.—and I think that could not be obtained even if all the States were on the floor; so that in all probability you will not see me until the last of October.

I sent your letter to Mr. Shotwell yesterday, the day I received it.

I am sorry that any disagreement should have taken place at the last Sessions respecting the trade between Us & G.B. I think the Lower house were right in endeavouring to prevent our vessels using two sets of papers & colours. I think trade ought to be carried on fairly honorably and equally; and that all the States should unite, if possible, in some measures that might compel G. Brit. to more liberality or draw some money from her.

I understand, that, agreeably to your prediction, that mob rose agst one of the Nova-Scotians that went up to Providence; and would have played the mischief; but were prevented by the interposition of some leading characters.



I think as matters stand we should not admit any provisions to go to Nova Scotia; but in our own bottoms. They bring money among us 'tis true for provisions; but it is necessity that compels them, and we have a right to avail ourselves of that necessity to promote our carrying trade; or at least to draw their money from them by a smart tonnage on their shipping or some other duty or impost.

To suffer mobs to regulate the trade of a State is to say no worse extremely disgraceful; but if the legislatures will not do their duty the people will think themselves excuseable, when they endeavour to set matters right, and their rulers will be ashamed to punish them for their good intentions altho' irregularly manifested.

We are still hammering upon the report for a requisition;<sup>3</sup> but as we shall, I believe, this day have 12 states on the floor we shall make some progress. If Congress should recommend some commercial regulations to the States, I think in the present temper of the people, they might be embraced; and it is the business of Statesmen to regard the tempers, the opinions, the passions, and even the humours of the people at large. But it seems to me, from the observations I made when something of this sort was on the carpet about 6 weeks ago, Congress will not suddenly agree in proposing any system to the States.

I told you in my last that I should take the liberty of drawing upon you in favour of Capt. Lawton for a small sum to supply my most urgent necessities, if he would be so kind as to lend it to me. I wrote to him<sup>4</sup> to that purpose, for the State of my ankle would not admit of my walking so far as the Crane-wharff, where his sloop lay; at the same time desiring him to call at my lodgings before he sailed. I waited until yesterday for a visit from him. Then I sent my letters to him with a verbal desire that he would call upon me. He was upon the point of sailing; and is gone without seeing me. I must pay my weeks board this day, and shall not have a copper for the next week unless you should furnish me with some money. I expect to be here about six weeks longer, and shall want about 100 dolls. to pay my board and other necessary expences for that period. Let me intreat you, my dear Sir, to make known my distresses to the Treasurer and to urge him in the most pressing manner to relieve me. Unless I am supplied and immediately I must return home; for my Landlady cannot trust me, and I have no acquaintance here from whom I can ask the favour even of a small loan.

I am told that the Genl. Assembly made no provision for supplying their delegates at their last Session; altho' Mr. Howell wrote to the Govr. on that head. He has lately wrote a pressing letter to the Lieut. Govr. What effect it may have I don't know. Perhaps some of the Provi-

dence Gentlemen may make an advance for him on this occasion. His situation differs from mine only in this respect, that he has some friends here from whom he can borrow. But it is hard, I am sure you will think it very hard, that the servants of the public should be obliged to the benevolence of friends for their daily bread.

I have sent a card to Mr. Law; but the servant could not find the place of his abode. When I see him I shall communicate Mr. White's wishes to him; and will acquaint you with his determination.

Col. Barton has been here some considerable time, waiting for a decision upon an application to Congress for compensation for a dangerous wound he received at Bristol in repelling the enemy. That wound has become a very serious matter. He has consulted the most skilful Surgeons here, and they are of opinion that unless he submits to an operation at which human nature revolts, that wound will sooner or later prove fatal to him. In consideration of his deplorable situation, and the services he has render'd to his country Congress have unanimously made him a grant of fifteen hundred dolls.,<sup>5</sup> and if the State of our finances had not been low they would have granted him double that sum.

He is gone to Philadelphia to consult the most eminent Surgeons in that City.

I was so lame at the time the grant passed that I could not attend Congress, and therefore our State had no voice in this matter. However I am glad that Congress took so favorable a notice of the merit and sufferings of our gallant countryman.

Sept. 14th. I am now warranted in telling you that there is no probability of G. Britains entering into a commercial treaty with us, until they are compelled to do it by duties on or prohibitions of their trade with us. We must make them feel; before they will act as they ought.

I begin to think that as soon as we get through the requisition, we shall take up the business of commercial regulations, and at least recommend to the States some efficacious measures for obliging the British to alter their system. So long as they are allowed to engross the carrying trade, and to import their commodities, and export ours as they please, without any restraint, and to prohibit our vessels entering their port or lay such duties upon our commerce as they shall judge proper, without any prohibitions or duties on our part, we may reason with them but it will be without effect. We must strike at their interest; and make them feel thoroughly. This is the only way to deal with them. What nation ever admitted another to a reciprocity in trade against its interest? There is no friendship in trade, and nations are governed only by their interest. If by some

such compulsory measures as have been hinted at, we can make Britain relax her selfish system; it will influence other commercial powers to relax also; and thus we may trade hereafter upon equal terms with all the world.

You have observed that France pursues a system similar to that of Britain. They are rivals, and competitors for naval power; and the augmentation thereof depends upon their monopolizing as far as possible the carrying trade; and as they both draw a great revenue from Commerce their national wealth will be increased also in proportion to the extent and enlargement of their commerce.

We have a right to our share, and if we cannot obtain a participation with them without, we must adopt their measures. All restraints upon trade are against nature. The exchange of the commodities of one country for those of another, ought to be as free, as the exchange is of articles between the citizens of any particular State or Country. But the lusts of ambition and avarice have induced nations to adopt principles contrary to that equality and freedom which ought to subsist, and as by habit, and from situation we are a commercial people we must follow suit, and oppose restraints to restraints.

France has of late years enlarged her commerce, the Emperor of Germany is ambitious of becoming commercial. Prussia would if he could. Russia & the Emperor of Germany have in constant view the conquest and partition of the Ottoman Empire in order to extend their commerce. In short commerce seems to be the great object of almost every power in Europe, any part of whose dominions border upon the sea. As they extend their commerce, the necessity of navies to protect it will suggest itself. The smaller naval powers will form combinations to support their trade against the interruptions of the larger. From the constant clashings of interest wars will arise. Naval wars. The Ocean will become if possible an *Acaldama*; and if such an extravagant idea might be indulged I could conceive that the conflict of numerous navies might hereafter set the sea on fire, and evaporate the channels of Commerce.

We have a large territory, and shall have an extensive home trade in a course of years. If we could but moderate our rage for foreign trade, and be content, as the Chinese are, with our domestic intercourse, we might for a long time keep clear of war, and be happy; but alas! avarice & ambition are insatiable.

Give my love to Lucy & your children. I am Yrs affecty., WE

RC (MHi: Channing Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> For this report, which was adopted September 27, see these *Letters*, 22:499n.2.

<sup>4</sup> Not found.

<sup>5</sup> For this September 7 grant to William Barton, see *JCC*, 29:684.



## William Ellery to William Channing

Dr. Sir,

New York Sept. 24th. 1785

I had not the pleasure of seeing Mr. Law until within a few days past. I communicated Mr. White's request to him. Mr. Law says he is engaged to keep a school here; that it may break up in the winter; if it should, and it should suit, he would then open a school in Bristol. I asked him what he should ask for keeping school there, He said thirty dolls. a month and his board.

I suppose by this time all our lads & lasses are singers, and they perform most melodiously. I wish to hear them, and to see my dear Newport friends. My ankle, under the weakness of which I have long laboured, grows stronger very gradually. I hobble about a little; but with great caution. I plunge my foot in cold water every night and morning, rubb it frequently with flannel, and assist the endeavours of nature to restore the relaxed vessels to their usual tone by all proper means; but at my age her efforts are not so vigorous as in the prime of life, and the sprain I suffer'd was extremely violent. Considering all circumstances my acquaintances say that I have come off well. I believe I have. In every affliction it is some consolation to reflect that the calamity might have been greater.

We are still hammering at the requisition.<sup>1</sup> We have often been as I thought very near to a decision; but at the crisis some objection has been started, which has put us to a dead stand. The facilities,<sup>2</sup> as they are called, in the opinion of the southern, favour too much the middle and eastern States. The latter have more loan-office certificates, and certificates for liquidated debts than the former and these press that debts which they have assumed without any warrant from Congress should be consider'd in the requisition, or at least that they should be liquidated and credited in the general adjustment of the public accounts. There can be no objection to their liquidation, and to the credit demanded; but some plan should be first formed for the liquidation of such debts; otherwise some large and improper charges might be admitted by the Commission[ers]—and to suspend the requisition until such plan should be formed & established might put it off to too distant a period. Unless a requisition is soon passed, and in operation, public creditors, both foreign and domestic, will have reason to complain, the civil officers of Congress be unpaid, and the wheels of government stand still. The southern delegates would avail themselves of this necessity, to force a compliance from others with their demands on the score of Assumptions. Here's the rubb. But they will not be gratified; and the requisition must finally pass. Until we agree in a mode for ascertaining the State's quotas of the public debt, requisitions for money will meet with great & tedious embarrassments. When this shall be done, and the accounts of individual States with



the United States are adjusted each State will know what it has to pay, and measures may be adopted to procure a payment of the respective ballances. I am told that the Commissioner for our State has not yet liquidated and settled its account with the U.S. An accountant, Mr. Thompson, was long since appointed by the Genl. Assembly to prepare our account for settlement. What has occasioned this great delay? It would seem that the Commissioners in general wish to prolong and put off the settlement of accounts; that they might the longer enjoy their salaries.

The plan recommended by Congress for fixing the quotas of the States by polls,<sup>3</sup> must I believe be adopted. The mode fixed by the confedn. is thought to be impracticable. An estimate by numbers may at present be against us; but in the long run it may prove as equal as an estimate of the lands in the several States. It is very easy to take the number of polls in each State, and fraud may be avoided; but an estimate of the lands must be extremely difficult, and great frauds might be perpetrated. If there was not so much difficulty in collecting monies, arising principally from the sources I have mentioned, and we could keep the machine of government agoing it might be best for Us, (even if the State should think favorably of polling) to postpone the matter for some time. Our State has and probably will diminish as to numbers, in consequence of the diminution of trade, and emigrations. The States to the southward are filling fast with negroes, and foreigners. Pennsylvania and this State have imported great numbers of Scots, Irish & Germans since the war, and are I think increasing, or, to speak in the phraseology of the learned President Stiles, are in a state of rapid increase: But this is a local, State idea; and as I have already said it is of the last importance that the quotas of the States should be soon fixed.

Our commissioners have signed a commercial treaty with the King of Prussia.<sup>4</sup> I don't look upon this as a matter of much consequence. It is of more consequence to us to agree in some commercial regulations that shall make Britain feel, and induce her to enter into a liberal commercial treaty with the U.S. A letter from Mr. Adams on this subject is committed; but no report made. The Requisition engrosses all our time and attention. If the requisition should pass, some commercial measures be recommended to the States, a mint established, and a few other matters of some magnitude be determined I should return home contented; but without these things are done what answer can I give to those who sent me to Congress? I must say as our Church chaplain tells us to say: "We have left undone those things that we ought to have done." I believe we have not done many things that we ought not to have done. By the by, Dr. Rogers after being long nominated a chaplain, was at length chosen about 6 weeks ago.<sup>5</sup> The Dr. prays about 4 or 5 minutes, Mr. Provost<sup>6</sup> about 8 or 10, of course the Dr. is best liked by the majority.

We have now 12 States on the floor; but I expect as soon as the Reqn. is passed several will fly away. They seem to be already on the wing.

Sept. 28th. The requisition at length is passed. It passed yesterday.<sup>7</sup> As I predicted one State is already flown, and some others are preparing to fly. Our quota of the requisn., which amounts to three millions of dollars, is 64,636 dolls. Two thirds of the reqn. may be paid by the interest upon loan-office certificates, and upon other certificates of the liquidated debts of the United States. No interest certificates are to be issued by any loan-officer until the State shall have passed a legislative act complying with the requisition. Besides this there are many provisory guards & checks, too many to mention. The whole is to be paid into the common treasury on or before the first day of May next. The quotas are adjusted by a new apportionment, and ours is much less in proportion, than it was in the former requisn. The reqn. will soon be transmitted to the State which renders it unnecessary to be more particular.

Congress have passed sundry new resolutions respecting Loan-Officers. Their duties & salaries are increased. The highest salary is not to exceed fifteen hund. dolls. per annum, exclusive of office-rent, stationary &c—nor the lowest to be less than 600 dolls. They are to be the issuers of certificates for interest, and the Receivers of money; the sellers of Lands &c. &c. Their duty will be laborious, and the reward is not I think too great.<sup>8</sup>

Oct. 7th. I have recd. the six guineas you sent me by Lawton, which, after paying my arrearage of board, will leave about five or six dolls. behind. I am obliged to you for your exertions, and beg you would continue to relieve me. If the treasr. cannot get the money otherwise, he ought to hire it. I am tired of writing and writing upon this subject; but necessity compels me to complain, to intreat and to beg. Orders upon the collectors are more than sufficient to swallow up the whole of the State-tax now in collection. I think the orders of Delegates ought to have a preference to all others.

I am glad to hear of the success of our society in the lottery, and that you have gone on so cleverly. In my opinion it would have been better to have taken down the steeple than even to have been at the trouble of painting it. It never did & never will look well. But ye are high minded. I congratulate you on the visit from the Presidt. & your Brother, and the return of my brother &c to Newport; and wish you may have the company of Mr Dana also. I am not very sorrowful on account of the loss of the Nova Scotians; but I cannot help regretting that so much provision should have been render'd useless. As you observe, the scarcity produced by suffering the Nova Scotians to purchase of us, will work for good. The States must do that which I think Congress will not speedily do. There are some Delegates who think it

best not to do any thing about commercial regulations. They are afraid that restraining the British will throw the carriage of their produce into our hands, that the competition for freightage and for their productions will be lessend, and by consequence the former will rise, and the latter fall in its value. The Delegates of the State of R. Island have urged and will urge this matter; but I believe it will be in vain.

I lament the indisposition of your Sister Nancy and heartily wish she may speedily recover. My ankle is still weak, and I am sometimes afraid it will never recover its pristine strength.

If you can possibly get any money for me don't wait for Lawton to take it, if an opportunity should offer to transmit it, unless he should be about to sail soon after you have received it; for I shall be very soon destitute. Give my Love to Lucey & the children. Regards to your friendly visitors from abroad, & to all Newport friends.

I am Yrs. affecty.,

W Ellery

RC (MHi: Channing Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See these *Letters*, 22:298–99, 502–3, 534.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 589n.4.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, 23:175–76n.3; and *JCC*, 30:268–85.

<sup>5</sup> That is, John Rodgers. See these *Letters*, 22:550.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Provost. *Ibid.*, 23:29–30n.

<sup>7</sup> *JCC*, 29:765–71.

<sup>8</sup> As these loan office provisions were adopted September 30 (*JCC*, 29:792–95), Ellery must have appended this paragraph after writing the preceding one, which he dated September 28.

## Samuel Holten to John Avery

My dear Sir,

Newyork, 3d. Oct. 1785.

I have been honored with your attention of the 20th ultimo. Since my last we have had 12 States represented, & one gentleman from N.C.; Congress embraced the opportunity & passed the requisitions which I conclude are come to hand but we are again lowered down to nine states. I am sensible the states are apt to consult their own particular interest too far in national affairs, & that is one weighty reason why we ought not to meddle with the confederation, if it can possibly be avoided, however, Congress are greatly united and are endeavoring to agree upon some great principles by which the demands of the several states upon the union, may be adjusted & settled, which appears to them to be absolutely necessary.

It gives me satisfaction to find that the reasons assigned by the delegates against a revision of the confederation has your approbation, as it more confirms me in my opinion that we were right, & I should be happy to hear it was approved by the honorable court.



Two days were spent in a committee of the whole considering whither any farther powers were necessary to be vested in Congress, respecting commercial affairs, & 'tho' they did not agree upon any report to Congress, yet, it was very evident, whatever is agreed upon, will be only temporary, by way of trial.

In my address to you of the 4th of July<sup>1</sup> are these words (viz) "I shall present the pamphlet with your polite respects to the President," but I acknowledge, I have been wanting in not informing you of the kind & polite reception it met with from his Excellency, & of his desire that I would communicate it to you, with [h]is respectful compliments.

I intend to forward by this post a copy of the resolution lately passed, in Mr. Wallcut's favor.<sup>2</sup>

It gives me pleasure to hear your health is more confirmed; & I hope you left my worthy friend Mr. Collins well at Rhode Island. A correspondent has favored me with the names of the gentlemen that were upon the committee, from the honbl. house, to enquire who of their delegates were again eligible, but I have not, yet, been favored with a copy of their report, however, it is observable that two of the gentlemen were elected.

I remain, your sincere friend and humble servant

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See Holten to Thomas Wallcut, this date, in these *Letters*, 22:658.

## William Hindman to Gunning Bedford, Jr.

Dear sir New-York Octr. [i.e., Novr.] 14th. 1785<sup>1</sup>

You have I fear e'er this determined Me to be a Man not to be depended upon, having promised to write You & send the Papers, which Promise I should have complied with, but Mr. Vining having remained here some Time after You,<sup>2</sup> said He regularly wrote You, which made it unnecessary for Me, since his Departure Nothing has turn'd up worthy of Communication.

There have been but four States represented in Congress, since the Commencement of the new Congressional Year. I think it probable We shall have a Congress in the Course of this Week.<sup>3</sup> I know not who We shall elect President—Mr. Hancock is talk'd of by some if He comes on. Mr. Bull is talk'd of by others, He intends this Week for South-Carolina. It would give Me much Pleasure to see You in the Chair. When will your Delegation be on?<sup>4</sup>

My best Respects to Mr. Vining & am, with much Esteem, Yr. very humble servant, Wm. Hindman



RC (DeHi: Holcomb Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Hindman obviously misdated this letter, as the subject of it is the new session of Congress that had been attempting to convene since November 7.

<sup>2</sup> Bedford had last attended Congress September 27; John Vining continued to October 14. See these *Letters*, 22:xix, 703.

<sup>3</sup> Congress finally achieved a quorum on November 23. *JCC*, 29:875–76.

<sup>4</sup> Bedford never attended under his new November 4 election.

## Henry Lee to Henry Lee, Sr.

My dear sir<sup>1</sup>

New York Feby. 7th. 1786

I have but one moment leisure now, being so lately arrived, unprovided with quarters & the post about leaving the city to transmit to you the enclosures.

Mr. W. situation is deplorable, I am told he is much in debt & the interest of 7 per cent which he pays accumulates [fa]st. Indeed a heavy Judgement will fall on him in the spring term.

He writes to me very pressingly & I loose no time in my communication. Was it in my power I would instantly pay the debt. I will at every loss pay the 50£ you lent me, if you can send a bill for 100£ sterling to him at once it will very much please and assist him.

Eight states are only assembled. We daily expect the delegates from the other states, when the affairs of the empire will be introduced. My love to my mother & sister. Your aff. son, Henry Lee Junr.

RC (ViU: Leesburg Papers [8557-a]).

<sup>1</sup> Henry Lee, Sr. (1729–1787) of Leesylvania in Prince William Co., Va., was a lawyer who married the wealthy Lucy Grymes in 1753. He was a justice of the peace and county lieutenant and served in the House of Burgesses, 1758–76, the Virginia conventions, 1775–76, and the Virginia Senate, 1780. See also the letter of April 19 from Henry Lee, Jr., to his father in these *Letters*, 23:244.

## Arthur St. Clair to Joseph Nourse

Wednesday Feby. 14. [17]87

The President of Congress  
Presents his Compliments to  
Mr. Nourse<sup>1</sup>  
and requests the Favor of his  
Company at Dinner, on Tuesday  
next, at Four O'Clock.

Please to Answer if engaged.

RC (DNCD: Nourse Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Nourse was the register of the United States treasury. See these *Letters*, 18:67.

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| 2 St Paul's Church                | 20 French D <sup>o</sup>         |
| 3 Trinity D <sup>o</sup>          | 21 New Quaker Meeting            |
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| 10 The Colleges                   | 28 Peck's Slip D <sup>o</sup>    |
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| 12 Old Dutch Church               | 30 Bridewell                     |
| 13 New Dutch D <sup>o</sup>       | 31 City Alms House               |
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| 15 Old Quaker Meeting             | 33 Hospital                      |
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| 17 Baptist D <sup>o</sup>         | 35 Jews Burying Ground           |
| 18 Calvinist Church               | 36 Lower Barracks                |
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